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Translated Texts for Historians
Volume 72

The Council of Ephesus of 431

Documents and Proceedings

Translated by RICHARD PRICE
with an Introduction and Notes
by THOMAS GRAUMANN

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University
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PREFACE

The Acts of the Council of Ephesus (431) have a character quite different from that of the Acts of all the other early ecumenical councils. The council escaped from imperial control at its very opening, when the bishops divided into two parties who met separately and never together, each claiming to be the 'ecumenical council' and neither recognized as such by the emperor. In consequence, there were never any official Acts drawn up under the aegis of the emperor for distribution to the great sees. A variety of unofficial collections of material relating to the council made their appearance, some immediately after the event but most in the sixth century, when the Three Chapters controversy made it of renewed relevance.

Another unique feature of these Acts is that only a small part of them consists of actual records of conciliar sessions. Quite apart from the fact that these are far from complete, they jostle in the collections with a mass of other material, relating more or less closely to the council itself, much of it in fact either predating or postdating it, and consisting of theological treatises, sermons, pamphlets, and above all letters. The importance of this material is that it provides a window quite unique in its extent into what went on around the conciliar sessions – the appeals to the emperor, the activation of agents and allies in church or state, the circulation of propaganda, and the manipulation of public opinion, especially in Constantinople, where the outcome of the council was decided, rather than in Ephesus itself. There is no episode in late Roman history where we are so well informed about how politics were conducted, principally in the imperial capital, in relation to issues which excited the loyalties or animosities of all classes and a large section of the population.

The various collections were first analysed and published in their full richness and complexity by Eduard Schwartz, in the five volumes of what constitutes the 'first tome' of the Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (1922–30). One of these volumes (in eight fascicles) is in Greek, and four in Latin. Apart from the papal letters, the original language was always

Greek, but a substantial part of the Latin texts are translations of documents which do not survive in Greek.

Although many scholars have drawn on this material, no genuinely scholarly account of the whole story of the Council of Ephesus has yet appeared. Considering the extraordinary richness and interest of the material, this is surprising, but it must be admitted that Schwartz's edition is far from easy to use: the documents are presented in the order in which they appear in the various ancient collections, which bears little or no relation to chronology.

THIS EDITION

The present edition makes no attempt to present the full scope of the material: its intention is to present the story of the council from the documents that paved the way for it, those relating to the months of its deliberations (in two rival assemblies) from June 431, and down to its dissolution in October. We include none of the theological treatises and only some of the many sermons included in the various collections. Above all, we proceed no further than the immediate aftermath of the council, omitting the mass of material in the collections relating to the years that followed. But within these significant limits our intention has been to present all the material of significance for an historian of the course and politics of the council.

Many accounts of the council take the story further, down to the 'union' of the spring of 433, when communion was restored between the rival sees of Alexandria and Antioch, and a theological formula, the so-called 'Formula of Reunion', was accepted, not without misgivings, by both parties. But this 'union' was less a peace than a truce, and the warring between the two sides continued with only short periods of tranquillity down to the Council of Chalcedon (451) and beyond. The actual sequence of events during the council itself and its utterly indecisive termination is a story that deserves to be told in its own right.

We order the material in what is basically a chronological sequence. Although few of the documents can be precisely dated, the main stages of the council and the evolving pattern in the confrontation between the two sides and in the degree and character of imperial intervention enable an at least approximate dating of the vast majority of the documents. At the same time, links between documents created by authorship and purpose need also to be taken into account. These links we make clear in the initial

list of documents at the beginning of each of the six main sections of the translation, where each group of documents has its own heading.

AUTHORSHIP AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is a work of genuine collaboration, and the two authors have learnt much from each other. But the basic division of labour was as follows. The translation, and the two appendices (one on attendance at the council, and one on the Coptic Acts) are by Richard Price. The General Introduction and the introductions to each document or set of documents are by Thomas Graumann.

Both of us have acknowledgements we would like to make. Richard Price has Professor Michael Whitby to thank for checking through the translation, and Dr Carol Downer for teaching him Coptic and reading through the Coptic Acts of Ephesus with him. Thomas Graumann wishes to mention the stimulus he received from teaching 'councils' at Cambridge, from conversations with Drs Luise Frenkel and Mark Smith, and from the research on the First Council of Ephesus that they undertook under his supervision. We would also wish to mention Alexander Abecina, who assisted us in the final editing stage.

A special tribute is due to Professor Sir Fergus Millar, whose *A Greek Roman Empire* (2006) brought home the exceptional interest and importance of these Acts even for secular Roman historians, for they arguably make the Council of Ephesus and the attendant controversy the best-documented episode in the whole of ancient history. He gave continuous encouragement to our project for many years, and showed a philosophic patience with our delays. It is a sorrow for us that he died before our book went to print and that he never saw it.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
BBKL	*Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*
CA	Collectio Atheniensis (ACO 1.1.7, pp. 17–167)
CC	Collectio Casinensis (ACO 1.3–4)
CP	Collectio Palatina (ACO 1.5, pp. 1–215)
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
CPL	Clavis Patrum Latinorum
CQ	Collectio Quesnelliana (ACO 1.5, pp. 321–340)
CU	Collectio U (ACO 1.1,7, pp. 171–172)
CV	Collectio Vaticana (ACO 1.1.1–6)
CVer	Collectio Veronensis (ACO 1.2)
CW	Collectio Winteriana (ACO 1.5, pp. 341–381)
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques*
doc.	document
DSp	*Dictionnaire de spiritualité*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
EAC	*Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (eds Di Berardino and Ogden)
EEC	*Encyclopedia of the Early Church*
ep.	*epistula* ('letter')
H.E.	*Historia ecclesiastica*
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*
LXX	Septuagint
NDB	*Neue deutsche Biographie*
NPNF	Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*
ODCC	*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition
PCBE	*Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*
PG	Patrologia Graeca (ed. Migne)
PGL	*A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (ed. Lampe)
PL	Patrologia Latina (ed. Migne)

PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie* (ed. Pauly)
SC	Sources Chrétiennes

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I. THE SOURCES

The Council of Ephesus is the first ecumenical council of which significant records survive. These include minutes or protocols of sessions based on stenographic records as well as many more documents in various genres (letters and reports being first among them) relating to the event. Of earlier councils we have a sizable, if incomplete, record of the Council of Aquileia (381); and from an imperial adjudication between Donatists and Catholics in Carthage in 411 (the so-called Conference of Carthage) there has survived another lengthy protocol of interactions; it, too, is incomplete, breaking off in the middle of business during the bishops' third meeting. Of other fourth-century councils (and some earlier meetings) only individual documents, often only excerpted or fragments, have been transmitted. With the Ephesine Acts, then, a new level of documentation is reached.

The Ephesine *acta* offer perhaps the fullest documentation of an event in late antiquity, rivalled only by the Council of Chalcedon. Because of the specific historical conditions, the material in letters, reports and other documents far outweighs the recording of transactions in formal sessions. The legitimacy of the first session was already contested, and the subsequent splitting of the bishops into two rival groups was not just the reason for partial, and partisan, gatherings in competition with each other; it also fundamentally affected the creation and transmission of minutes and documents. No 'official' set of Acts was ever made and published. Instead, the continuing interest in the conflict, certainly in its doctrinal dimension, and the repeated outbreaks of fresh debates in the following decades and centuries resulted in the gathering together of many and diverse items of documentation into collections that comprised (albeit selectively) not just protocols of sessions but numerous related documents in varying genres.

These collections, and not the records of formal sessions alone, constitute what has conventionally come to be called in a wider sense the Acts of the council, and on these our translation rests.

THE EPHESINE ACTS IN THE ACTA CONCILIORUM OECUMENICORUM

The Acts of the Council of Ephesus – in the wider sense just outlined – are preserved in a number of documentary collections, mainly in Greek and Latin.[1] The texts translated here are taken from the Greek and Latin texts found in the first 'Tome' (consisting of many 'volumes'), dedicated to Ephesus, of the Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. Eduard Schwartz edited its parts between 1922 and 1929 (with an index in 1930), providing the first edition of this corpus that meets the standards of modern textual criticism and editorial practice. In fact, in many ways Schwartz's edition set the standard for such an enterprise and represents a monumental achievement.[2] From the complex textual tradition of conciliar documents Schwartz was able to identify and reconstruct a number of separate documentary collections, each with a character of its own, and decided to make these collections the basis and object of his edition rather than to amalgamate them into a single sequence as had been done hitherto. His edition comprises one 'volume' of Greek collections,[3] of exceptional length

1 Additional documents in ancient oriental languages sometimes contain valuable individual details but are in general also characterized by early novelistic and legendary expansion and retelling; CPG IV, 55–60 gives a succinct list of these traditions. Perhaps the most important of these are the Coptic Acts, of which we present some extracts in Appendix II. Their novelistic character otherwise does not merit their inclusion in full. For their description see the introduction and annotation to be found there and Kraatz (1904) (with the critical review by Schwartz (1928)). Apart from these, our presentation contains no documents in other less familiar languages as they are mostly dependent, directly or at one or more steps removed, on Greek exemplars and traditions. For the Syriac tradition, see Rücker (1935); for the Armenian, id. (1930) 3. Documents in Ethiopic, mainly offering sermons and correspondence associated rightly or wrongly with the council, are collected in Weischer (1979); this collection goes back, in the relevant parts, to early documents of Egyptian, probably Alexandrian, origin.

2 Mühlenberg (2015).

3 When quoted, reference is therefore made to the first tome of the edition of ecumenical councils, the first volume (presenting the Greek textual tradition), and the respective part: e.g. I.1.1 (first tome, first volume, part 1: containing, in this instance, the first part of the *Collectio Vaticana*).

and subdivided into seven parts (plus an index), and four volumes of Latin collections.[4]

Schwartz described the character and context of these collections in the prefaces to the individual fascicles of his edition, written in a dense and complex Latin, that have seldom been studied in any detail, and a number of related studies. His identification of numerous codices not used in older editions and the editorial choice to present the documentary collections in their integrity and individuality allowed Schwartz to gain significant insights into the material and its transmission, surpassing significantly what the seventeenth-century *Editio Romana* (1608)[5] – and the presentation, in many ways inferior, in Mansi[6] – could offer in this respect.[7] Since he

4 The four volumes containing Latin collections are not subdivided further, so tha. they may be quoted simply with reference to the relevant tome and volume: e.g. I.2 (first tome, volume 2: containing, in this instance, the *Collectio Veronensis*). Only the *Collectio Casinensis* is subdivided into a first and second part (*pars prior – pars altera*), but since the page numbering is continuous, there is no need to separate them out beyond reference to the volume.

5 The *Editio Romana* is based principally on the *Collectio Vaticana* as it was represented in a (lost) Bobbio Codex, see Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.1, xviii.

6 *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio: in qua praeter ea quae Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius et novissime Nicolaus Coleti in lucem edidere ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur (Editio novissima ab eodem patre Mansi ... curata)* (Florence and Venice 1759–98, repr. Paris 1901–27).

7 Schwartz (1956) 13 put his main insight, and its special relevance for the Ephesine Acts, succinctly: 'One can, and indeed must, understand all collections of council acts in manuscript form as *Publizistik* [publications for propagandistic purposes]. The clearest example are the Ephesine acts, collected and published against each other by the two parties into which the council split'. Elsewhere he noted that 'the collections of acts that are published do not serve historical but political and polemical purposes' (Schwartz (1904) 390, repr. (1956) 71). Schwartz (1956) 14 also summarizes the central demand arising from this concept in his 'Wissenschaftlicher Lebenslauf': 'Because the *publizistische* [persuasive-propagandistic] intention can usually only be recognized from the compilation of the published material, it must be demanded that the collections be edited as such, not dissolved and reassembled according to arbitrary criteria as it was done, to the misfortune for research, by the first and only editors of the Greek acts in 1608. The later collections of Labbe, Hardouin, and Mansi are, as far as the Greek text is concerned, only reprints'. His scathing critique, generally, of 'reprints' is best illustrated by the frequent appellation of Migne as the 'cloaca maxima', Schwartz (1925) 5. Schwartz's assessment of 'Publizistik' understands it as principally, indeed almost exclusively, political in character and discounts the historical as well as the intrinsically theological interests of the compilers (see Meier (2011)); such judgements cannot convince and need to be kept separate from the insights about textual transmission. A sketch of Schwartz's years of work on the conciliar Acts can be found in Rehm (1942) 41–54. On Schwartz, see W. Unte, *NDB* 23 (2007), 797–9; 'Schwartz, Eduard', *ODCC*, 1479–80.

considered the attempted 'historical' amalgamation of the *Editio Romana* (followed by all the later editions) a calamity, the arrangement of material in our present edition could be accused of ignoring his insight and reverting to just such a misguided and fruitless venture of 'arbitrary re-composition'. The dangers can only be mitigated by a constant and explicit attention to the effects and contexts of the compilatory activities analysed by Schwartz, in such a way that the judgements implied and the perspectives imposed upon the material in the recomposition presented here are fully transparent to our readers.

With its scrupulous attention to the different collections, Schwartz's edition is eminently historical as well as philological in that it places every document in the context in which it was preserved (that is, in the specific collection) and which in this way belongs to a specific point in time and a distinct discourse. At the same time, the ordering of material according to collections that characterizes his edition undeniably complicates the use of the conciliar Acts from a historical point of view. Any historical approach to the council cannot rely on an authoritative set of 'Acts' – which does not exist – and nor can it simply follow the sequence of documentation in any one volume of ACO (nor the order offered by the *Editio Romana* or Mansi!); it demands a close study of the information to be gleaned from Schwartz's critical apparatus and his prefaces and indices across the whole range of collections.

In order to draw out of Schwartz a historical presentation of the council, the first step must be a study of how the extant collections were compiled and transmitted. The vast majority of documents pertaining to the council were originally composed in Greek, but a significant number, especially those originating in Rome and the West but also some emanating from the imperial administration, in Latin. In the sessions the language of business was Greek, but Latin was also occasionally spoken – mainly by the papal legates – and translated on the spot; documents were read and presented, where appropriate, in both the Latin original and a Greek translation. The resultant bilingual form of much of the record was, over the course of the textual transmission of the Greek collections, almost entirely relinquished and only the Greek version of documents and interventions retained, though we are often told where this represents a translation from the Latin. Even early Latin collections often present originally Latin documents only in retroversion from the Greek they found in their source or sources. This enables us to date this linguistic simplification to within only a century after the events.

Even though the original language of most of the documents and the original protocols of sessions, then, was Greek, the oldest extant form of the Acts of Ephesus is, paradoxically, represented by a number of Latin collections, which originated in the first half of the sixth century, when the Acacian schism was healed and renewed contacts between East and West reawakened the interest of western audiences in the older theological debates in the Greek East. Before this, hardly any facts or documents from the Council of Ephesus were known in the West, apart from the deposition of Nestorius and the 'Reunion' between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch in 433. Even though in the main they translate from the Greek, the shape and scope of these Latin collections represent in consequence an earlier stage of the tradition than what we find in the Greek collections, which were subject to a significantly longer process of expansion and reorganization that continued at least till the eighth century.

The interest of Latin collectors in this council, then, came about at the time of Justinian's renewed attempts to establish the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, for which Ephesus, the debates about Nestorius, and Cyril's theological heritage were foundational. It is this context that determined the dominant perspective in the early Latin collections. The brief description of them that follows will explain the connection more clearly. In dependence on Schwartz, the main collections from which the material presented here is taken may now be briefly described.[8]

THE LATIN COLLECTIONS

Collectio Turonensis (CT)

Probably the oldest selection and arrangement of Ephesine material that has come down to us is that represented by a Latin collection, the *Collectio Turonensis* (named after its most ancient codex, originally from Tours, Parisinus Lat. 1572, end of eighth or early ninth century). It was used, and linguistically corrected, by the Roman deacon Rusticus before 565 (see below), and used even earlier in Liberatus' *Breviarium* composed

8 See especially Schwartz's *Praefationes* and his discussion (1920). Further detailed information on individual codices is gathered in *Index Generalis Tomorum I–IIII. Index Codicum*, ACO IV.3.1 (Schieffer 1974).

shortly after the death of Pope Vigilius (in 555),[9] though not by Facundus of Hermiane, who worked on material from the council between 546 and 548.[10] It can, therefore, be precisely dated to the middle of the sixth century.[11] At the time, Justinian's religious agenda and the Three Chapters Controversy provided fresh impetus for investigating the council as the distant origin of the dispute.

Like the *Collectio Turonensis* itself, the Greek collection from which it derived must have contained, almost exclusively, texts of interest and value to the party of Cyril; it must therefore go back in essence to a primary collection with a pro-Cyrillian purpose which, according to Schwartz, was compiled in Alexandria soon after the council.[12] Virtually all the other collections show a similar initial kernel of documents focused on Cyril's council and its associated documentation, with the same pro-Cyrillian bias.[13] The *Turonensis*, however, also includes documents which Schwartz plausibly surmised to have originated in Constantinople.[14] The subsequent fate of the *Turonensis* illustrates factors also at work in the evolution of other collections, namely their refocusing over time by means of further expansion. The Roman deacon Rusticus included the *Turonensis* as the first part in a much larger collection, the so-called *Collectio Casinensis* (below), and in so doing gave it a new orientation. In the process he also undertook to correct the existing Latin texts by comparing Greek codices, as well as substituting (where possible) original Latin documents for retroversions (from Latin into Greek) found in the *Turonensis*.

9 For Liberatus and the Breviarium see Drecoll and Meier (2010) 3–269. Drecoll (2010), 17 places the Breviarium between 555 and 566.

10 Facundus, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum Concilii Chalcedonensis. Défense des trois chapitres (à Justinien)*, SC 471.478.479.484.499 (2002–06).

11 Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.3.1, viii–x.

12 Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.3.1 x; cf. ibid., *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, xv. Not presented at the Ephesine Council (and contained in the hypothetical 'Alexandrian' collection), some additions could probably be found in Constantinople and were almost certainly already part of the Greek *Vorlage*/exemplum used and translated by CT; see Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.3, xiii and Rücker (1931) 6, 40. Whether the collector of CT could use, in these parts, translations by Mercator, as Schwartz and Rücker suppose, is open to doubt.

13 For the character of this earliest type of 'Alexandrian', 'pro-Cyrillian' collection see in particular Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, xviii and xxviii. Kindred in terms both of its initial scope (comprising of documents no. 1–92) and in maintaining the fundamental pro-Cyrillian outlook is the Greek *Collectio Seguerianа*; see Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, xvi and *Praefatio* I.1.7 iii.

14 Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.3, x–xii.

This collection already shows a roughly tripartite division of documents into those before the council, those during the council, and those after the council – an arrangement to be found in all other collections. As a result, documents of earlier date that are quoted in the course of particular sessions of the council are excised from the actual minutes of those sessions and placed in an earlier sequence. Even if the arrangement follows in the main the temporal sequence of events before the council, respect for the tempora' sequence is not the only factor at work: there is also a clear effort to gui the user in his perception of the dispute by making the documents treated into the 'headpiece' of the collection, providing an interpretation what is to follow. This arrangement, in other words, directly expresses t intention of the compilators in each case, as Schwartz emphasized. Their aim is not to elucidate 'how the crisis started' but to suggest which voices are particularly important for understanding it.

Collectio Casinensis (CC)

The *Collectio Casinensis* (named after a codex formerly in the library of Monte Casino)[15] is the work of the Roman deacon Rusticus, a nephew of Pope Vigilius (d. 555).[16] Rusticus finished the relevant parts of his *Synodicon* (as it is known) before the death of the emperor Justinian on 14 November 565. Its first part, as we have already said, is a corrected version of the documents in the *Turonensis* (*a Rustico correcta*).

Rusticus' own interests come to the fore more clearly in the second part, the *Collectio Casinensis* in a narrow and proper sense. This extensive second part contains numerous documents relating to the activities of the eastern bishops, and thus creates a different balance, and is patently related to a contemporary debate. This was the debate centred on Justinian's attempt to secure the authority of the Council of Chalcedon by demonstrating that the correct interpretation of its decrees was a strongly Cyrillian one. This involved condemning an opposing 'Antiochene' tradition, as expressed in

15 Bibliotheca della Badia, cod. II (saec. XII); see Schieffer, *Index Codicum*, ACO IV.3.1, 24.

16 About Rusticus, only the basic facts of his career are known. He accompanied his uncle Pope Vigilius and stayed in Constantinople from 547; fell out with him there and was probably excommunicated (perhaps only temporally) in 550; as an ardent defender of the Three Chapters, he was exiled to Egypt by Justinian after the ecumenical council of 553; he returned to Constantinople in 564, shortly before Justinian's death, where he worked on his *Synodicon*.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and in specific writings either by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. *c.* 458/66) or attributed (falsely it was claimed) to Ibas of Edessa (d. 457) – whence the name the 'Three Chapters Controversy'. The original dispute over Theodore had principally belonged to the years following the Ephesine Council,[17] but can already be seen on the horizon in the condemnation at Ephesus, by the Cyrillians, of a creed presented as anonymous but in fact known to have been written by him. The case of Ibas had arisen in the 440s and then been taken up in debate over the legitimacy of the Council of Chalcedon, where his *Letter to Mari* – strongly critical of Cyril – had apparently been confirmed as orthodox.[18] Theodoret of Cyrrhus, however, had already been a major voice in the events surrounding the Ephesine Council and was arguably the most accomplished theologian of the Antiochene camp during the period; his ideas and drafting may be suspected behind numerous documents issued by the eastern bishops at Ephesus even when his responsibility is not stated. Theodoret's controversial role both at Ephesus and later, before and during Chalcedon, made him a figure of central importance to Rusticus; it explains the addition of a large number of documents relating to the eastern bishops of which he was a leading representative. The wider interests of the collection are illustrated by the inclusion of post-Ephesine documents relating to the Union of 433 and its aftermath, and also selected material relating to the Council of Chalcedon.[19] Rusticus' defence of Theodoret in particular not only tried to exonerate him in the Three Chapters Controversy, but served at the same time to provide a defence of Chalcedon, and this without recourse to the strained attempt by Justinian and the Council of Constantinople of 553 to argue that Chalcedon had reinstated Theodoret only as a repentant heretic.[20]

It is finally to be noted that most of the additional documents in this second part came from the work of a personal friend and avid supporter of

17 See Behr (2011) 88–100; Abramowski (1955/56).

18 See the *Acts of Chalcedon*, X. 161–81 (trans. Price and Gaddis II, 305–9). The annulment of Ibas' condemnation at the Second Council of Ephesus made his reinstatement a foregone conclusion. But his letter to Mari had been read out, and therefore his reinstatement seemed to imply an acceptance of its orthodoxy.

19 Rusticus continues his collection and presentation of documents beyond the Ephesine Council to include, significantly, texts concerning the Council of Chalcedon; see, in this respect, Grillmeier (1987) 26–7.

20 A defect in this claim was that it ignored the traditional axiom (authoritatively expressed in Athanasius' *Letter to Rufinianus*, PG 26.1180–1) that a repentant heretical bishop could be readmitted to communion but not restored to episcopacy.

Nestorius, the *Tragoedia* of Comes Irenaeus, written after the council (see below).[21]

Collectio Veronensis (CVer)

The *Collectio Veronensis* (ed. Schwartz, ACO I.2; see the *Praefatio* i–xii) is represented by a single tenth-century codex from Verona (Codex Veronensis LVII) from which it derives its name. It preserves in essence the pro-Cyrillian perspective of practically all the older collections but modifies it by adding as a supplement documents of mainly Roman origin. This interest is most apparent in the addition, and placing at the beginning of the collection, of twelve letters written by Pope Celestine in the run-up to the council. And just as the collection opens with papal letters, it concludes in a mirroring move and equivalent emphasis with a further two letters by Pope Xystus of September 433, to Cyril and John of Antioch, respectively, congratulating them on reaching an accord. Several of these papal letters cannot be found in any other Ephesine collection. Including them as a frame to the other documents had the aim of attributing a leading role in the controversy to the church of Rome. Curiously, however, the role of the Roman legates at Ephesus (documented especially in the session of 10–11 July, which is absent from the collection) was not brought into focus. Nevertheless, we may still see this treatment as a mirror for the role of Pope Vigilius in the Three Chapters Controversy. This suggests a date for this collection as well in the middle of the sixth century, probably in the immediate aftermath of the council of 553.[22]

A detail worth noting is the treatment in this collection of the problems surrounding the Cyrillian sessions of 22 June and 22 July (on which see our discussion below). The collector creates a single session, dating it to 22 July, for both the condemnation of Nestorius (22 June) and the hearing of the Charisius case (22 July), cutting out (as now intrusive) all elements in the latter session that reduplicated the former.

21 It is impossible, otherwise, to date Irenaeus' *Tragoedia*. It may have been written in exile or at any other stage of his later life, of which we know – after the end of the council – only the basic outline. See E. Prinzivalli, 'Irenaeus of Tyre', *EAC* II, 356; *PLRE* II, 624–5. On his relationship with Nestorius and his fate after Ephesus, see Millar (2006) 168–91. After his stint in civil service, Irenaeus was bishop of Tyre until 448.

22 Schwartz, ACO I.2, viii.

Collectio Palatina (CP)

The *Collectio Palatina* (so called after a Carolingian manuscript, Codex Palatinus 234, now in the Vatican Library) does not focus on the Ephesine Council as such. In its critical stance towards Origen as well as Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, it appears, like most of the others already described, to belong to the context of Justinian's ecclesiastical policy, which included a drive against 'Origenism' as well as against the Three Chapters; it may therefore be dated to around the same period, the second quarter of the sixth century.[23] The *Palatina* adds, however, to the information about the council through taking up and incorporating two earlier, initially separate, collections compiled and in part translated by Marius Mercator. Of these, Marius' earlier collection, the *Commonitorium super nomine Caelestii* (*Palatina* 36), is interested in the fate of Pelagians in Constantinople and in this context contains a number of sermons by Nestorius and letters exchanged before the council. Otherwise, the material about Ephesus is comparatively scarce, the most important document being the doctrinal exposition by Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Palatina* 15) that was also used at the council. It is here presented on its own and without mentioning the use made of it at Ephesus. Its insertion could possibly be the work of Marius Mercator; for his second and later *Commonitorium adversus haeresim Pelagii et Caelestii* of *c.* 439, when Theodore was also the target of anti-Nestorian propaganda, suggests a connection between his thinking and Pelagian ideas. The Cyrillian session of 22 July 431 in which the same exposition was condemned is presented separately and independently of this context (*Palatina* 38), and with it comes a second version of the credal-style exposition that is slightly differently worded and must be independent of the one given earlier. This part, then, is unlikely to be Marius' work, and its insertion in the *Palatina* is more plausibly to be assigned to compilers during Justinian's reign.[24]

23 For the anti-Origenist decrees of 543 and 553 see Price (2009) II, 270–86.

24 See the discussion in Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.5, vii–ix. Strongly advocating an important role of Marius Mercator in the early translation and dispatch of documents to Rome is Amann (1949) 5–15 (for some texts Amann's reconstruction must be corrected; cf. Graumann (2002a) 318–19 with n. 143). For the documents in the *Collectio Palatina* relating to Nestorius, see also Rücker (1931) 133–46.

THE GREEK COLLECTIONS

The Greek collections relating to the council embody the paradoxical effect of textual transmission by being at once 'older' and 'younger' than the Latin ones. Most of the documents written in connection with it were originally composed in Greek. Moreover, the sixth-century Latin collections all testify to the existence of a Greek model or models, which they reproduce with modifications. Rusticus in particular explicitly mentions his consultation of Greek codices in the library of the *Akoimetoi* monastery near Constantinople. We may surmise that the contents of these codices shou already be understood as 'collections' of documents pertaining to tl council. Such early Greek collections will have provided the kernel for tl later collections that survive and which Schwartz edited. However, the have not themselves survived. The extant collections are rather the product of a long history of adaptation and expansion over centuries. Their final forms, those edited in ACO, are themselves much younger than their Latin counterparts.

Collectio Vaticana (CV)

Of the Greek collections, the most comprehensive and therefore most important source for the documents in our edition is the *Collectio Vaticana*, so called after the main codex by which it is represented, Codex Vaticanus graecus 830 (fifteenth century).[25] It is also the youngest collection and has undergone a long history of expansion and addition in at least three stages, continuing till approximately the ninth century. As a result its final form displays a complexity and even heterogeneity that blurs to some extent the contours of what earlier collectors had tried to achieve.[26]

At its heart lie the documents relating to the Cyrillian council and expressing the stance and self-understanding of the bishops led by Cyril. They are similar in this respect to the Greek models that must lie behind the early Latin collections, and they are likely to have originated within a similar time frame not long after the council. This almost universal kernel of Ephesine documents must go back, as we said above, to editing undertaken in Egypt under the eye of Cyril himself. In the *Vaticana*, this

25 For other codices see Schieffer, *Index codicum et auctorum*, ACO IV.3.1.

26 A detailed description of the contents of this collection is provided by Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.1, iii–xvi.

nucleus was subsequently expanded into the form that Schwartz discerned as the first reconstructable stage of compilation. This primary expansion notably reinforced the bias in favour of Cyril. For numerous texts from his pen, or those of his close allies, were added: letters, treatises, and sermons. Their inclusion shaped the collection into what was at one and the same time a broad panorama and an intensive presentation of his theology and anti-Nestorian activity. With the same aim further texts were added at this point, mostly sermons by theologians who were Cyril's friends and allies. Sometimes these texts' relationship to the Council of Ephesus had to be artfully constructed by the rubrics.[27] The documents as now presented did not follow a strict chronological order and even obscure the basic subdivision between pre- and post-conciliar material; there are some doublets suggesting that a variety of sources were employed.

As the second stage of step-by-step expansion Schwartz identified the appending of 25 new documents (nos 140–164),[28] including further treatises by Cyril but also, notably, documents from the eastern bishops at Ephesus. It was only at this significantly later stage of compilation, then, that documents stemming from the counter-council of the eastern bishops were added (nos 151–164). We may surmise that these went back to a collection similar to the *Tragoedia* of Count Irenaeus, which, as we said above, was a major source of the Latin *Collectio Casinensis*. These additions can only have been made when the hostility at Ephesus between the rival factions, and also the Three Chapters Controversy, were things of the past, and the interest of the compilers became historical rather than controversial. Schwartz dates this stage of the *Vaticana* to the seventh century. This late addition of documents relating to the activities of the eastern bishops reminds us that, even though the *Vaticana* in its final form contains material from both sides, this fact epitomizes the sensitivities and concerns of a significantly later age; bringing them together cannot be linked to the activities and interests of the rival parties or of the imperial administration at the time of the council. It is also to be noted that a reader of the collection in its final seventh-century shape would even then not have

27 See in this respect the discussion in Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, xxiiii–xxv, who surmises an early collection of sermons.

28 Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, xxviii. Schwartz dates this stage to before approximately 700, when the dogmatic controversy had given way to, as he sees it, a purely historical interest: ibid., viii. Whether the late sixth century no longer retained a dogmatic, polemical interest is open to discussion. Alternatively, this second form of the *collectio* might have to be dated later still.

seen the roughly contemporary documents from both sides alongside each other, because of the interposition between the Cyrillian and Antiochene sections of more than one hundred documents, including some of considerable length.

A final, third expansion detected by Schwartz added only a small number of documents, and these were not concerned with the Nestorian controversy at all; it needs no discussion here.

Collectio Seguerianα (CS)

This collection is of limited importance for the transmission of the concilia documents, since all the documents contained in it are also in the *Collectio Vaticana*. It is for this reason that the collection is not edited by Schwartz as a separate entity; it provides no more than textual variants to be displayed in his critical apparatus for the *Vaticana*. The documents' presence in the *Seguerianα* is nevertheless important, because it reveals a comparatively early compilation of documents that is in many ways akin to the Greek prototypes from which the sixth-century Latin collections derive; as a result, the *Seguerianα* sheds light on what collections of the late fifth and early sixth century would have looked like. The main significance of the collection is to provide further illustration of both the pro-Cyrillian bias of the surviving (or hypothetical) collections and the principles operative in the work of collectors generally.

It is noteworthy that the first part of the collection (nos 1–92) resembles the earliest Latin collections. Its later parts, in contrast, mirror directly the expansions also found in the later parts of the *Collectio Vaticana*. Here the *Seguerianα* (nos 136–146) adds documents from the Antiochene side of the dispute – matching those of the late parts of the *Collectio Vaticana* (CV nos 151–164).[29] Schwartz opined that this material was perhaps taken directly from the *Collectio Vaticana* to replace an earlier second part of the collection, now lost.[30]

29 See *Collectio Seguerianα*, *Capitulatio* ACO I.1.7, 3–16; Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.7, i–ii.

30 See Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, v–vi and vii–viii. In fact, this group of documents seems to be an appendix that was added very late, not before the ninth century; it includes the final document from a late expansion of the *Vaticana* (see there) not concerned with Ephesus, which is of 811 (Schwartz, ibid., vii).

Collectio Atheniensis (CA)

The *Collectio Atheniensis* is named after a codex from Athens (Codex Societatis arch. Christ. 9) written in the thirteenth century.[31] Just like all the other collections, its earliest shape is that of a pro-Cyrillian dossier which was subsequently enlarged. Like other Greek collections, it also underwent a lengthy period of development and gradual expansion which gives it a composite character. Some late additions match exactly those found in the second, and late, part of the *Collectio Seguerianа* (nos 137–177); earlier documents in the *Atheniensis* (nos 2–4, 24–29) overlap with material compiled in a different collection dating from the reign of the emperor Zeno and the Acacian schism, the Codex Vaticanus graecus 1431.[32] The resultant basic form of the collection must therefore postdate Zeno's death (in AD 491). The subsequently expanded collection begins with three dogmatic treatises from the pen of Cyril, and appears to have concluded – at this stage of its compilation – with his letters answering doctrinal doubts over the Union of 433, both of which are indications of a predominantly theological interest.

The collection's importance for the historian lies in its transmission of 58 documents not included in the *Collectio Vaticana*.[33] The *Atheniensis* in particular retains, almost uniquely, a number of decisions taken by the council in July and August of 431,[34] among them the important record of the session of 22 July, which did not feature in the early collections represented by the *Seguerianа*. In this case as in others already mentioned, the documents relating to the eastern bishops are only found at the very end of the collection and were probably added, therefore, at a late stage in the collection's gradual growth.

Where the documents contained in the *Collectio Atheniensis* overlap with the *Vaticana*, Schwartz simply lists the relevant documents, while giving the textual variants in the critical apparatus for the same documents as they appear in his edition of the *Vaticana*.[35]

31 See Schieffer, *Index codicum et auctorum*, ACO IV.3.1, 8 and, including comparison to other collections, Schwartz (1920).

32 Schwartz (1927) 3–43. For the material in the *Atheniensis* compared to other collections, see Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, ii–vii, with table at II.

33 Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.7, ii–vii; cf. ibid., *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, vii and x.

34 The decisions may also be found in the *Collectio Winteriana*, for which see Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.5 (see the following footnote).

35 In addition to the main collections sketched here, Schwartz edited a number of smaller

MATERIAL FROM THE EASTERN BISHOPS: DOCUMENTS IN THE *TRAGOEDIA* OF COUNT IRENAEUS

The sketch of the main conciliar collections just given reveals the significant fact that no collection survives that springs directly from an assembling of documents after the council by the anti-Cyrillian, oriental party. The closest thing to a collection of documents compiled by this party is the first-hand documentation presented in the polemical *Zeitgeschichte* entitled *Tragoedia* and written by the one-time count and later bishop Irenaeus the loyal friend and staunch supporter of Nestorius, and its indire and selective representation in the second part of Rusticus' *Collect Casinensis*. We have already mentioned it several times as the likely sour of documents from this group that entered other collections at a late stage o their development. By including documentary evidence, Irenaeus followed in the tradition of ecclesiastical historiography established by Eusebius of Caesarea. But quite apart from the difference of genre and even if we ignore its historiographical framing and comment, his collection does not constitute a partisan representation of the council comparable to that in the pro-Cyrillian collections. The agenda was not 'pro-Antiochene' in the sense that it represented the Antiochene position and interests at the time of the council: its aim was rather to document the 'betrayal' of Nestorius committed by John of Antioch and many eastern bishops *after* the council – in accepting Nestorius' deposition and making peace with Cyril. This will inevitably have left its mark on what Irenaeus chose to retain and how he presented it. The same is true for the *Tragoedia*'s later treatment at the hands of Rusticus, who reversed the Irenaean critique in order to defend Theodoret and his colleagues (see above). Twice adapted with quite distinct intentions, a hypothetical 'eastern' collection of Ephesine Antiochene material, therefore, is two steps removed and cannot be reconstructed with confidence.

collections which only contribute individual items to our selection of documents. These are the *Collectio Sichardiana*, so-called after the German humanist Johannes Sichardt (d. 1552), who published it in Basel in 1528; the *Collectio Quesneliana*, named after the French scholar Pasquier Quesnel (d. 1719), printed in 1675; and the *Collectio Winteriana*, printed by Robert Winter in Basel 1542 (for all of these, see ACO I.5). An additional single document is provided by the fourteenth-century codex 'U' [Bibliotheca Vallicelliana, Rome, Cod. Gr. C 4]; see Schieffer, *Index* ACO IV.3.1, 47, and Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.7, viif.

THE COLLECTIONS AND THE 'HISTORICAL' APPROACH TO THE COUNCIL

The peculiar aims and character of the collections just described mean that the historian (for whom this edition is intended) needs to approach them with circumspection. None of the collections we have discussed attempted to present a full historical record of the council with a primarily historical purpose, presenting the sources relating to the council in a dispassionate, scholarly way. Rather, in their different ways, they all undertake in the guise of historical documentation the defence or promotion of a particular church-political and/or theological stance, and this in the context of different and later debates. Through the choice and arrangement of documents, they present what for each of them were the main achievements and events, and the roles played by churches and individuals. The example of the Latin *Collectio Veronensis* with its creation of a frame made up of numerous papal letters provides one obvious illustration of this point.

To illustrate the effect arising from questions of organization and selective transmission in the collections, one example must suffice: the imperial *sacra* sent to the council through Count John in August 431 (our doc. 87) is addressed to all the bishops as if they formed a single joint council. The reality became apparent not only in Count John's difficulties in assembling the warring bishops in one place, but also, and more poignantly, in the two separate responses to the emperor's letter written by either side: that of the Cyrillians is preserved in the *Collectio Vaticana* and its siblings, that of the Easterners only in the *Collectio Atheniensis* (these are our docs 89 and 90, respectively). And even in the Latin version of the *Collectio Casinensis* – compiled more than a century after the events – which includes both texts, they are presented far apart and separated by many interposed documents: the Cyrillian response features as document no. 41, that of the Antiochene bishops as no. 105 of the collection, respectively. While our edition brings the documents together as belonging to exactly the same historical point in time and identical thematic context (they were written on the same day, in response to the same imperial *sacra*, addressed to the same recipient, and dispatched using the same courier), the difference between such a presentation and the grouping and transmission of this and other similar pieces of information in antiquity, and beyond, needs to be taken seriously in a scholarly use of this material.

The preservation of all conciliar documentation in collections, therefore, has a principle bearing on the historical assessment of the

council. Schwartz's edition of collections as collections, while true to the historical modes and contexts of their transmission, and even though his indices and prefaces provide much information to help this task, poses a significant challenge and requires the historian to survey critically all the collections and reconstruct for each document contained therein its historical (that is: during the years 428–31) order and context. The present translation attempts to assist this task and serve the interests of contemporary historians by regrouping the documents in an historical sequence and context.

The propagandistic nature of the collections did not derive solely from their compilation in later generations, however, but characterized the material from the time of its original composition at, or around the time of, the council itself. The variety of presentations was amplified, indeed caused, by the fact that no official, imperially endorsed and promoted, version of the 'Acts' ever existed. The splitting of the bishops into two rival factions excluded any official publication of the proceedings of the council. Instead it was private initiatives, not least by Cyril himself, that accounted for the early dissemination of material, obviously for purposes of propaganda. The pervasive pro-Cyrillian bias of the early collections is the direct result of this.

The separation of the bishops into two camps firmly opposed to one another also resulted, historically, in parallel yet distinct tapestries of conversations and writing, which at times interweave but more often remain separate. These parallel strands of communication between groups and individuals do not allow the ordering of all the documents into a precise chronological sequence; nor is it desirable to split up and splinter groups of documents belonging to one conversation by interspersing those from a different one. Aiming instead to balance chronology and cohesion, we group documents according to their historical origin, while attempting to retain their interconnection.

Observing chronology requires a further caution. In some cases there was a significant lapse of time between the original writing of a document and its receipt by the intended readership; and in some cases it took even longer before they became known to secondary and tertiary recipients, be it through public reading or through forwarding and wider circulation. Such documents, then, find a place in a variety of historical contexts and at different stages of the conflict. Our attention needs to be directed not only to the moment of writing, but also to their impact in (possibly multiple) new and evolving circumstances.

In summary, it remains essential, for any user of this edition to realise that no ancient person, or indeed modern scholar, ever had in front of them the exact range and order of documents presented here. Any researcher will have to go back to the collections edited in ACO if he wishes to encounter the documents as they were read by collectors in various centuries and localities, concerned to select and arrange what 'belonged' together and spoke to their own needs. What 'the Council of Ephesus' meant to these people and their audiences is reliant on the complexity of textual transmission and on both the mechanics and the intentionality of each documentary collection. This applies as well to the selection and ordering of texts that is presented here: it must not be mistaken for the authoritative *Acts of the council*, but is in a sense no more than another collection, this time shaped by the methods and interests of academic historians in the twenty-first century.[36]

II. THE 'NESTORIAN CONTROVERSY' AND THE FIRST COUNCIL OF EPHESUS: A BRIEF HISTORY

The chronological arrangement of documents adopted by and large in our collection rests on a reconstruction of the sequence of events and by itself tells the story of the dispute and council. Problems in the dating and relative chronology of certain documents will be discussed in the notes. However, it may be useful, for a preliminary orientation, to sketch in advance the events leading to the council and unfolding during the summer of 431, as they emerge from these documents. Additional information will be gleaned from a number of sources not part of this collection, in particular for the earliest developments; and a consideration of the main contributing factors – whether theology, social competition, or ecclesiastical politics – will be adumbrated along the way to put the specific documents into perspective. We do not attempt to write a comprehensive history of the conflict and the council, but more modestly to offer an outline to help the reader of the

36 Sometimes the selection is purely pragmatic. The exclusion of Cyril's important *Letter to the Monks* (*ep.* 1), for instance, is due solely to the availability of many translations in the English language already, and its significant length, which might unduly inflate and dominate the first part of the collection. Cyril's long theological treatises and a number of sermons from the period have not been included for similar reasons.

documents we present. More detailed exposition and discussion will be provided in the commentary on specific documents.

NESTORIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF A CRISIS: BACKGROUND AND CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

In a short chapter of his church history, Socrates Scholasticus, writing in the 440s, placed the fate of Nestorius squarely at the centre of his narrative about the events around the Council of Ephesus. In his perspective the bishop's deposition and banishment (the latter took place only a few years after the council) were both the council's original purpose and its main achievement. Nestorius' ill-fated career exemplified for him the dangers of personal ambition and of an overzealous drive to impose episcopal control, exemplified by the bishop's fall from the heights of episcopal power into the depths of ignominious exile. His deposition was the deserved punishment for the arrogance and violence of his earlier attacks on other Christian groups with whom Socrates sympathized. Yet on Nestorius' theology Socrates is strangely ambivalent. He reports the by then conventional accusations levelled against him, while affirming that his own reading of Nestorius' writings provided no evidence of heresy, but showed him to have been both ignorant and arrogant.[37] Socrates' story demonstrates how a dominant narrative about the council had swiftly taken hold in collective memory within little more than a decade, a narrative that focused on Nestorius' flaws and failings, and treated these as the sole cause of the council. It is a conception that has shaped presentations of the 'Nestorian Controversy' ever since. The documents of the council tell a more complex story. Even so, any narrative about the Council of Ephesus must start from his enthronement as bishop of the eastern capital.[38]

Nestorius ascended the episcopal throne of Constantinople on 10 April 428. The death of his predecessor Sisinnius, three months earlier, had exposed the rifts and factionalism of the local church. Competition between rival candidates and their supporters in the city caused much unrest, and made a peaceful succession to Sisinnius difficult if not impossible. In this

37 Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 29–32.

38 The most recent account of Nestorius' life and thought is provided by Bevan (2016); for a survey of scholarship on Nestorius, see Abramowski (1994).

situation the emperor Theodosius II opted for an outsider: Nestorius, a deacon in Antioch, who had a monastic background and was beginning to make a name for himself as a preacher there. Who had brought him to the emperor's attention, we do not know.

From the start of his episcopacy, Nestorius brashly embarked on a programme of cleansing Constantinople of the remnants of the many heretical and schismatic groups which had formed as a result of the doctrinal disputes of the fourth century and remained as minorities outside the established Theodosian orthodoxy. His ordination address promised the emperor spiritual support against the Persians in exchange for the emperor's help against the heretics. 'Give me, my prince, the earth purged of heretics, and I will give you heaven as a recompense. Assist me in destroying heretics, and I will assist you in vanquishing the Persians', Socrates quotes him asserting.[39] This set the tone. When – just a few days after taking office – the 'Arians' (Homoeans) chose to burn down their church rather than surrender it to the bishop for demolition and the flames caused destruction in the vicinity, his reputation as a 'firebrand' was made. For Socrates, Nestorius' keen, even aggressive, commitment to promoting orthodoxy and to expelling groups outside the established Theodosian orthodoxy encapsulated his flaws of character (as he saw it) and defined his episcopal agenda. Quite a few in the city and beyond may have felt the same.

The city of Constantinople was a microcosm of diverse and competing cultural, social, and religious allegiances and aspirations, and questions of theology were entwined with other concerns. The 'Arians' just mentioned, for instance, were represented primarily among the Germanic component in the army, and therefore targeting them was not a simple matter of religious conformity. More important, however, than his conflicts with marginal groups of Christian outsiders (in the eyes of orthodoxy) were a set of challenges *within* the main ecclesiastical establishment of imperial Theodosian orthodoxy that made his tenure precarious from the start.

While bringing in an outsider from Antioch who was not entangled in internal quarrels must have seemed to the emperor the best way out of an impasse, it created difficulties for Nestorius from the moment he took office and which continued throughout his tenure. He relied for his authority almost exclusively on the emperor's support and lacked a natural constituency in the capital. That the unsuccessful candidates for the episcopal throne remained active and vied for influence with various

39 Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 29.5 (Hansen 377; trans. Zenos (1989) 169).

groups in the city did not help. Against one of them, Philip of Side, Nestorius eventually encouraged accusations, brought by one Caelestius – a problematic figure himself.[40] Yet the presence, in particular, of another rival, Proclus, who was nominally bishop of Cyzicus but had never taken up office there but stayed in Constantinople as a bishop without a see, was to intensify the coming disputes. His continued ambition was fulfilled a few years later, when in 434 he became Nestorius' second successor.

With such focal points of discontent and opposition in the city, the bishop could never enjoy unchallenged authority over the Christian congregations and establish himself as the unrivalled source of patronage. More important even than rivals for the episcopal throne, however, were a group of revered monastic figures in the city.

MONASTIC HOSTILITY AND POPULAR FERVOUR

In trying to strengthen his episcopal authority within the pluriform religious cityscape of 'orthodox' Christianity, Nestorius attempted in particular to bring to heel the fiercely independent and sometimes troublesome monastic and ascetic groups and individuals. The result was monastic opposition that would prove a decisive factor in the coming conflict. Hostility was sown even before his arrival.[41] It was not just a reaction to Nestorius personally, but reflected a pattern of tension between monks and bishop that went back to earlier generations. The emperor's choice of an outsider hailing from Antioch had uncomfortable echoes of the past, when John Chrysostom had been brought in on just such an imperial initiative. Nestorius himself invited the comparison: he introduced the liturgical commemoration of John in the first year of his appointment. Already during John's episcopacy (398–404) tensions with monks and ascetics had been a problem. One monk named Isaac in particular – who has been called the 'preeminent spiritual leader of Constantinople's monks and aristocrats alike' – played a significant role in John's accusation before a synod (the infamous Synod of the Oak, 403), which set in motion the sequence of events resulting in his eventual relegation from Constantinople.[42] Conflicts between monastic

40 See n. 72 below.

41 That the leading archimandrite Dalmatius was hostile to Nestorius even before his arrival is asserted in the letter addressed to him by the Cyrillian party at Ephesus (doc. 52).

42 Cf. Caner (2002) 190–205; quotations at 194.

or ascetic aspirations and pretensions on one hand, and episcopal authority on the other were deeply engrained, then, and not a problem introduced by Nestorius.[43] There is, at the same time, clear evidence that Nestorius did not shirk forceful measures and harsh punishment against some of these men once the controversy was under way. Unbending characters on both sides did little to smooth relations. If we can trust Cyril of Alexandria's account, by the summer of 430 virtually all the monasteries and their leaders were boycotting Nestorius' services.[44]

While traditional Weberian juxtapositions of institutional authority and episcopal establishment versus ascetic, charismatic claims to personal authority are simplistic in interpreting such tensions, the presence of many monks and ascetics with various pretensions was a particularly challenging feature of the Constantinopolitan church. That the Council of Chalcedon, twenty years after Nestorius' deposition, saw the need to direct several of its canons against the lack of episcopal control of these individuals and groups, and even challenged the very validity of their self-description as monks in some cases, is vivid testimony to this particularly volatile element of religious life in Constantinople and the continued concern it caused the city's bishops.[45]

Prominent monks and ascetics maintained tight-knit networks of patronage and influenced public opinion. The emperor and his officials treated some 'holy men' with the utmost respect. The documents preserve, for example, letters he wrote to Symeon Stylites both in the immediate run-up to the council (doc. 30) and again directly after its termination,[46] showing his desire to enlist his spiritual authority for the conciliar project. More importantly still, at the height of the conflict in the summer of 431 he had a meeting with one of the most prominent and revered archimandrites (the leader of a monastery) by the name of Dalmatius, who presented him with a strongly anti-Nestorian view of events in Ephesus (doc. 50). Since he had not left his cell for 48 years, his emergence made a great impression. And even if Dalmatius hardly swayed the emperor's stance at once (as he claimed), the unabating campaign of monks and their following

43 See Dagron (1970) 260–72.

44 Cyril, *ep.* 11.3 (doc. 12).

45 See Acts of Chalcedon IV. 64 (on the allegedly dubious standing of various monks, Price and Gaddis II, 153–4) and Canons of Chalcedon 4, 8, 18, 23 (Price and Gaddis III, 95–101).

46 CV 121, ACO I.1.4, 5–6.

in the capital had a notable impact in slowly distancing the emperor from Nestorius. For Dalmatius – and others like him – exercised significant influence on the local population; we learn of processions through the city, open-air gatherings with chants and psalm-singing, and many more similar activities that whipped up the populace and exerted pressure on the court. But these events belong to the summer of 431, when the council was under way in Ephesus and the conflicting sides were attempting to assert themselves in the capital.[47] For the earlier period of Nestorius' tenure, when conflict was emerging only gradually, they are nevertheless illuminating in so far as they illustrate the ready potential for anti-Nestorian monastic fervour in the city and its likely resonance with the people and by extension with the court.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT

The conflict was not restricted to clergy or theologians, but inflamed the populace of the city from the start. One of the earliest documents witnessing to the emerging crisis is the denunciation composed and publicly posted by a layman (doc. 1); and reports – both in our documents and in other writings – of vocal interruptions by the congregation during services overseen by Nestorius illustrate the importance of public feeling. For the eventual downfall of Nestorius and the victory of Cyril's side, in the summer and autumn of 431, popular demonstrations in the city, stoked by monks and Cyril's agents, were certainly significant and may even have been decisive. It became clear to the authorities that a return of Nestorius in this atmosphere was unthinkable whatever the merits or demerits of his case.[48]

It is nevertheless difficult to quantify how universal this popular discontent with Nestorius became. Even at the end of the council, when the emperor had decided against Nestorius, Theodoret of Cyrrhus still claimed that, in distinction from the Constantinopolitan clergy and monks, the people were 'sound' in their orthodoxy (which to him meant a Christology

47 See our commentary on the relevant documents, below; brief sketch in Caner (2002) 216–23.

48 Note the statement by Ibas of Edessa, a supporter of Nestorius, in his *Letter to Mari the Persian*: 'Nestorius, since he was hated by his city and by the great men in it, was not able to return there' (Price and Gaddis II, 296).

not unlike that of Nestorius); and more than a decade after the events, the church historian Socrates reported a continuing division of the populace over Nestorius. Cyril and his allies were certainly more successful in mustering popular support, but Nestorius was not completely without popular backing, even though the 'orthodoxy' of the people claimed by Theodoret need not have meant acceptance or support of Nestorius personally.

EMPEROR AND COURT

We have already mentioned that the emperor chose Nestorius for office; and in fact he gave him support throughout the unfolding crisis and during the conciliar period until quite late, around the end of August of 431. That his support, and its eventual withdrawal, should be decisive cannot surprise. Even if a coherent religious policy of Theodosius is hard to detect, and although in reality his decisions reflected not autocratic decisiveness but a precarious balancing act between competing interests, the pivotal role of the emperor is evident in many documents; but so is the fact that his designs and initiatives were not always successful, and that he eventually had to bow to public pressure and to realities shaped by others. The influence of the wider imperial family, especially of the Augustae, Theodosius' wife and sisters, has been a topic of much discussion. Cyril's separate approach to the female members of the imperial family (cf. p. 200 below) certainly suggests that he knew of, or hoped for, division among the imperial family and tried to exploit it, though the attempt backfired. On the part of the emperor, the stirring of anti-Nestorian unrest in the city by Cyril's literary propaganda and with the help of his agents, and his approaches to members of the imperial family inviting discord, resulted in open antipathy towards the Alexandrian bishop on the eve of the council; and is clearly revealed in his angry letter to Cyril (doc. 29) that accompanied the invitation.

Theodosius' elder sister Pulcheria, it has been suggested, was actively hostile to Nestorius and undermined his position. In her later years and after the death of Theodosius, Pulcheria certainly became a significant figure, and helped to shape the course of imperial religious policy in the prelude to the Council of Chalcedon. May the same be said of her role in the Ephesine context or is it a retrojection from the time of Chalcedon? Stories circulated soon after the council of early conflicts between her

and Nestorius that earned him her lasting hostility. Recent scholarship has also pointed out how the self-image of the imperial women relied strongly on notions of virginity and their adoption of the Virgin Mary as a model.[49] And even Proclus' famous homily in praise of Mary (on which see below) has been said to be directed towards a mainly female audience, with a likely presence of the women of the imperial household.[50] Should Nestorius' rejection of the epithet Theotokos be seen as a denigration of Mary and thus, by inference, a challenge to the status of the imperial women? Nestorius apparently did not consider Pulcheria an enemy and praised her piety (meaning her orthodoxy) as late as December of 430. Looking back after twenty years in the *Liber Heraclidis*, he identified her as instrumental in his downfall.[51] Had he earlier failed to perceive the cultura and political implications of his doctrinal stance, or did he seek to portra himself as a victim of intrigue only in retrospect?[52] After the council, o the other hand, Cyril could complain of not receiving the support he hac hoped for despite significant 'blessings' (meaning bribes) sent to Pulcheria. Her role, then, must at least have been ambivalent. She may have been neither pro-Cyrillian nor sympathetic towards Nestorius personally. For the inception of the conflict and its early development in Constantinople, we can only speculate as to whether there was any sponsorship let alone incitement of anti-Nestorius clergy and monks by the Augusta.[53]

49 Holum (1982) esp. 139–46; Limberis (1994) 52–61. More circumspect is Cooper (2004); Price (2004) is critical.

50 Constas (2003) 59.

51 Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* (trans. Driver and Hodgson 96f.): '[Pulcheria] was a contentious woman who fought against me because I was not willing to be persuaded by her demand that I should compare a woman corrupted by men to the bride of Christ'. The episode of their clash over her access to the sanctuary during the service reported in the *Letter to Cosmas* (French trans. Nau, *Livre d'Héraclide* (1910) 363f.) is discussed in Holum (1982) 152–5 and, rightly critical of the letter's evidentiary value, Price (2004) 32–3. Holum strongly emphasizes Pulcheria's hostility towards Nestorius and her importance in his downfall in general.

52 If a set of acclamations recorded in the Coptic Acts, probably from late August 431, are genuine, the anti-Nestorius demonstrations in the city thanked Pulcheria profusely (along with Theodosius) for the 'confirmation' of the faith when Nestorius' deposition was made public; it suggests that popular opinion credited her with a role in his downfall. There is, however, a strong possibility that originally the name of Theodosius' wife Eudocia featured here and was exchanged after she fell into disgrace (in 443) and the fable of Pulcheria's direction of imperial religious policy had taken hold; see Appendix II, pp. 637–8, and the literature cited there.

53 On her role, see Price (2004) 31–8, at 32–4.

The consistory was apparently divided – at least during the summer months of 431 when the council was underway,[54] while for the period before then there is no direct evidence. Bribery was claimed at the time to have played a not inconsiderable part, and the frequent missives sent by either party to various officials confirm what we would expect – attempts to influence the emperor by winning the support of those with ready access to him. The mechanisms of court politics were also operative in the religious sphere. From this perspective, we cannot expect the government to speak with one voice, and sympathy or antipathy towards Nestorius in the early days of his career will have varied among the civil elites. One loyal and determined supporter of Nestorius was an imperial officer, Count Irenaeus. Nestorius' standing with civil officialdom, then, and the powers around the throne was neither unequivocally favourable or hostile, and does not help explain developments until late in the summer and autumn of 431.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE PROVINCES

Nestorius' initiatives against dissenting Christian groups (such as the 'Arians' and Novatianists) and monastic independence illustrate his aim for tighter control and the promotion of unquestioned 'orthodoxy' within the city. It is a central element in his early moves against the profession of 'Theotokos' – a heterodox expression in his view – which initiated the conflict. Before we turn to these events, it is to be noted that Nestorius' activities in pursuit of orthodoxy were not confined to Constantinople.

Outside the city, too, Nestorius' agents went after deviant groups and did much to strengthen the Constantinopolitan bishop's influence over the churches in the provinces of Asia Minor. He made many enemies in the process, whose opposition contributed to his downfall. The fallout from one such instance, the campaign against the Quartodecimans (a group that deviated from mainstream Christian practice by celebrating Easter on the fourteenth of *Nisan* – hence the name – in line with the Jewish Passover)[55]

54 See particularly the letter from Count Irenaeus to the Easterners at Ephesus (doc. 84).

55 Controversy over the correct dating and consequent celebration of the Crucifixion and Easter goes back to the second century and has a background in the chronology implied in the Passion narrative of John's gospel and its difference in this respect from the other gospels. Key to the rejection of Quartodeciman practice from the time of Constantine, however, was the dependence of their Easter calculation on the Jewish Calendar. See DelCogliano (2011) 39–68.

in the province of Lydia, would even have a direct role to play in the Council of Ephesus.[56] The relationship between successive bishops of Constantinople and the metropolitans of the provinces in Asia Minor had been coloured by increasing competition and resentment for some time. John Chrysostom, some 25 years earlier, had already been accused of undue interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of the provinces, especially in a conflict over episcopal appointments in the metropolis of Ephesus. As bishop of the capital, Nestorius could not expect a warm welcome in Ephesus when the council convened there. But the radiation of influence and power was not one-directional, flowing from Constantinople to the traditional provincial capitals in Asia Minor. Just as the irresistible pull of the empire's court drew much of political activity and aspiration from the provinces, so, in a parallel movement, many ecclesiastical figure sought advancement of their cases in the city. The development of semi-permanent synod there (the *synodos endemousa*), formed of bishops present in the city on some business or other and convened on the bishop's initiative and by his authority when required, is testimony to this. The synod could be induced to act as a quasi-court of appeal over matters in neighbouring provinces or even further afield. Nestorius' dealings with Alexandrian dissidents illustrate this; they gave Cyril cause for concern. The rising power of the new capital of the East as the centre of the imperial administration fuelled aspirations in their bishops for a greater role in the churches of the East; this clashed with the proudly independent traditions of these cities, many of which could trace their Christianity back to apostolic origins. In the council, some of these metropolitans of Asia Minor certainly had their day. By the same token, bishops not participating in the council in Ephesus but present in Constantinople in the summer of 431 (some of them on their own business and not sent there by either of the contending parties) did much to amplify the resonance of events in Ephesus and stir up public feeling.

56 See pp. 463–9 below for the reading of affidavits by repentant Quartodecimans at the council, with Millar (2004).

OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL CENTRES

Alexandria

The conflicts originating in Constantinople soon outgrew the city and began to draw in actors from far afield, notably from Alexandria and Rome. With Cyril of Alexandria in particular, a formidable adversary entered the fray. Cyril knew how to operate the levers of power and the tools of propaganda, even if at times he overplayed his hand and made himself the object of imperial anger. His initial approach to the imperial family (in the summer and autumn of 430), in treatises addressed separately to the emperor and to the Augustae,[57] was certainly clumsy. However, he was more successful in rousing monastic and popular passions. Nor was he timid in making use of the considerable economic resources of the Alexandrian church in support of his cause. His 'inducements' liberally distributed among members of the consistory and other officials became infamous.

Yet, importantly, Cyril was not just a consummate political operator, but also – and foremost – a significant theological thinker who expressly and determinedly rebutted what he considered the fundamental errors in Nestorius' theology. In addition to the letters expounding his theology preserved and collected in the Acts, over the course of the dispute Cyril wrote several lengthy treatises as well and even a refutation, *Against Nestorius*, in five books; these lengthy theological works are not included in this edition.[58] In turn, the most uncompromising expressions of his anti-Nestorian theology before the council – condensed into twelve short statements of condemnation or anathemas (regularly called the Twelve Chapters; in doc. 20, *fin.*) – drew fierce criticism and became the target of theological refutation by the major controversialists among his opponents in the eastern provinces. After December 430, the eastern bishops' main objective was not discussion of the merits or demerits of Nestorius' position or the defence of his orthodoxy, but denunciation of the perceived 'heresy'

57 CPG 5218: *Oratio ad Theodosium imperatorum de recta fide*; CPG 5219: *Oratio ad Arcadiam et Macrinam augustas de fide* (conventionally called *Ad Dominas*); CPG 5220: *Oratio ad Pulcheriam et Eudociam augustas de fide* (conventionally called *Ad Augustas*). These documents are not included in our collection.

58 ACO I.1.6, 13–106 (cf. ed. Pusey 6, 54–239); CPG 5217. See our listing of such documents below, in 'Theology', p. 65.

of Cyril's ideas. The theology of the dispute will require separate analysis below. There were real theological concerns on all sides, and these must not be discounted; they were vital, both for the origins of the conflict and its subsequent unfolding.

The firm intent of bishops from the Antiochene sphere of influence to detect and denounce heresy in Cyril's Chapters and the barely contained anger of the emperor at his troublemaking (vividly expressed in doc. 29) combined to make the upcoming council as much about the 'Cyril affair' as the 'Nestorian controversy'.

Rome

The involvement of Rome in the conflict marks another decisive elemen' Early reporting about events in Constantinople after Nestorius took offic and even the transmission of documents and texts – hard though they ar to trace – alerted Pope Celestine. What may be reconstructed about these news flows will need to be discussed below in connection with the origins and early development of the controversy. Celestine's subsequent collaboration with Cyril of Alexandria and his willingness to pass judgement on Nestorius were in many ways decisive. Two aspects are important to note at this point already: for all the reticence in expounding theology, Rome's direct involvement with the dispute and subsequently with the council was a new step and marked the beginning of a fresh development – albeit not yet on the level of Pope Leo's engagement with the Eutyches affair and the Council of Chalcedon twenty years later. In the major councils of the fourth century there had been no comparable engagement. Pope Celestine's correspondence over the Nestorius case reveals his claims to superior authority, something which Cyril's council was happy to use to its own advantage, but which his own letters and other eastern voices at the time did not normally entertain: to them 'Rome' was principally the epitome of the 'western' voice in the church.[59] How Roman perceptions of the issue were shaped by a conflation of unfavourable reports from the East with distinctly western sensibilities, and how a Roman synodical decision in

59 For Rome's involvement see Amann (1950) 28–52, 235–65. See also Scipioni (1974) 149–200; and for the theological assessment in particular, Grillmeier (1990 = 2004) 665–72. The most comprehensive study of Roman relations with the East in antiquity in general (written from a determined 'Roman' perspective) remains Pietri (1976); cf. the nuanced interpretations of Celestine's role in de Vries (1974) 61–102.

August of 430 set in motion the events directly motivating the council, will occupy us below.

In this way the rapid widening of the conflict beyond Constantinople added complexity to it. Hierarchical and personal sensitivities, rivalry, and antagonism added motivation to the opening of hostilities. Political motives, in this wider sense, are not to be discounted, but nor are they to be treated as if they provide the 'real' explanation. A sociopolitical interpretation that understands theological differences as a mere ploy and front for altogether different ambitions equally fails to do justice to the way in which multiple and varied factors intermeshed in a complex web. Any simple or mono-causal interpretation proves deficient. The documents assembled here cannot be neatly arranged or interpreted to tell a single story or form a smooth overall picture. By their very variability they alert us rather to the explosive mix of ingredients, ignited in Constantinople soon after Nestorius took office, which both shaped, and were shaped by, subsequent developments.

The following sketch of unfolding events will show the continuous entanglement of such factors at various stages of the conflict. They explain, at the same time, how the conflict developed between several focal points (geographically: Constantinople – Rome – Alexandria and later Ephesus; socially: bishops – monks – the people – the emperor, court, and imperial officials) and was fed by their complex interconnection, whether directly and in person, or at a distance, through correspondence and a war of pamphlets and treatises.

ORIGINS AND EARLY ESCALATION OF THE DISPUTE (428/9)

This complex mix of group interests, competing aspirations and agendas, distinct intellectual traditions, and clashes of styles and personalities provides the context for the way in which the conflicts played out. The immediate causes and precise origins of the dispute which led before long to an imperial council are not fully apparent, however. The earliest developments are particularly obscure, and only partly illuminated by the documents collected here. They require our careful attention.

Nestorius, we have already pointed out, was from the start worried by a perceived lack of sound doctrinal thinking in the city's congregations. It is

probably his drive for precise orthodoxy that gave birth to the controversy that led to the convocation of an imperial council. Writing in exile some twenty years later, he recalled how he had encountered an existing quarrel in the city over the way in which Mary should properly be addressed, whether as Theotokos (literally 'God-bearer', more usually translated as 'Mother of God') or as Anthropotokos ('Man-bearer'). The question was not principally one of the degree and style of Marian devotion, nor at heart about Mary as potential role model for the women of the imperial family. Behind the debate over terminological propriety and exactitude, what for Nestorius as bishop and theologian was ultimately at stake was the understanding of the person and agency of the incarnate Christ. Nestorius claims to have settled the dispute quickly and to general satisfaction with the suggestion to adopt the title Christotokos ('Christ-bearer') instead – a term that did justice, to his mind, to both the divine and human dimensions of her son. For Nestorius the preferred terminology was not simply a compromise between competing preferences but of far-reaching doctrinal significance: Christotokos, to him, steered a proper middle course between two equally flawed theological misconceptions and in this way expressed precisely the correct understanding of the natures and person of Christ – something we shall consider in more detail below. This concern was the direct expression of his efforts to purify the capital of heterodox ideas and doctrinal inexactitude and to promote instead more 'precise' (an important notion to him) theological thinking and expression. He was quoted as having said, with an apparent lack of respect for his predecessors:

> I observe that our congregations have great devotion and most fervent piety, but often err through ignorance of the knowledge of God that involves doctrine. This is not a criticism of the laity, but (how can I say it politely?) arises from the fact that your teachers did not have the opportunity to inform you of any of the more precise doctrines.[60]

An element of self-justification is, however, surely present in Nestorius' account of the origins of the controversy and his affirmation of early success in reconciling the parties; if it represents his thinking at the time, it proved wildly optimistic. There is no real evidence for an existing controversy or

60 Quoted (with slight variation in the use of tenses) by Cyril, *ep.* 10.4 (doc. 4, of *c.* 429), and again in the excerpts presented in accusation of Nestorius in the first session of 22 June 431 (p. 277 below). See n. 151 ad loc. The repeated quotation highlights the offence opponents took at this remark.

even for the common use of the term Anthropotokos in Constantinople before Nestorius' arrival, whereas this language can be found in the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), the great master of what is commonly called the Antiochene theological tradition, in which Nestorius was steeped. The evidence suggests that the advocates of Anthropotokos were in fact mainly clergy he had brought with him from Antioch.[61] His own liking of the term is clear – as is, in documents well into 430, his hostility to the use of 'Theotokos' – but there is no suggestion that the Anthropotokos title on its own would have satisfied Nestorius' understanding of the incarnation.

The conflict erupted when the presbyter Anastasius, who had come from Antioch with Nestorius, condemned the use of the word Theotokos during a service and in the presence of his bishop, who did nothing to rebuke him.[62] Cyril of Alexandria reports a similar incident with Bishop Dorotheus of Marcianopolis as the main protagonist; Dorotheus even went so far as to pronounce an anathema against the use of 'Theotokos'.[63] It would appear that it was the activities of men like these – allies of Nestorius who

61 See p. 92 below. Nestorius already presents Christotokos as a mediating term in a letter to John of Antioch in late 430, where at the same time he is quite unapologetic for making enemies in the pursuit of exact orthodoxy, and John gave him no reason to misrepresent events in defence of his reputation. The later account in the *Liber Heraclidis*, therefore, should not be dismissed as an effort of purely retrospective self-justification. That his proposal to use Christotokos was meant to be conciliatory as well as being – most importantly to him – doctrinally apposite, need not be discounted as propaganda.

62 Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 32 (trans. Zenos, NPNF n.s. 2, 170–71): 'Nestorius had an associate whom he had brought from Antioch, a presbyter named Anastasius; for this man he had the highest esteem, and consulted him in the management of his most important affairs. This Anastasius preaching one day in the church said, "Let no one call Mary Theotokos: for Mary was but a woman; and it is impossible that God should be born of a woman." These words created a great sensation, and troubled many both of the clergy and laity; they having been heretofore taught to acknowledge Christ as God, and by no means to separate his humanity from his divinity on account of the economy of incarnation ... While great offense was taken in the church, as we have said, at what was thus propounded, Nestorius, eager to establish Anastasius' proposition – for he did not wish to have the man who was esteemed by himself found guilty of blasphemy – delivered several public discourses on the subject, in which he assumed a controversial attitude, and totally rejected the epithet Theotokos. Wherefore the controversy on the subject being taken in one spirit by some and in another by others, the discussion which ensued divided the church, and resembled the struggle of combatants in the dark, all parties uttering the most confused and contradictory assertions. Nestorius thus acquired the reputation among the masses of asserting ... blasphemous dogma'.

63 The scene is narrated vividly in Cyril, *ep.* 8 (doc. 7), and repeated in a number or other letters, that to Celestine included (Cyril, *ep.* 11.3, doc. 12). Nestorius' sermons show that

accompanied him to the city or joined him there – that played a crucial part in creating the conflict. Nestorius' claim that it already existed when he arrived is best dismissed as an attempt to present himself as a peacemaker rather than an instigator of conflict.

When Anastasius spoke against this term in church, tumult erupted.[64] This is evidence of the opposition which such 'Antiochene' teaching encountered among the faithful in Constantinople. Later historians identified one Eusebius, a layman later to become bishop of Dorylaeum, as leading vocal protest in the church. To Eusebius is also attributed an anonymous pamphlet which was posted around the city, perhaps in the late autumn of 428 or (more probably) early in 429; it denounced Nestorius as a heretic in the mould of Paul of Samosata (doc. 1), who was remembered a teaching that Christ was a 'mere man' and denying his divinity, an error tha Nestorius' critics considered the inevitable consequence of his thinking. The pamphlet exemplifies an increasingly heated, and already very public, dispute that affected the liturgical life of the local church and engulfed the city and its people at large at an early stage of Nestorius' episcopacy. An exact chronology of these earliest controversies in Constantinople itself and of their initial resonance in the wider church and empire proves elusive. If indeed the debate was stayed for a time by Nestorius' intervention, as he claimed, it soon re-emerged, and with much greater ferocity.

In another incident in the escalating controversy in Constantinople, Proclus of Cyzicus (one of the failed contenders for the succession of Sisinnius) laid down a direct challenge to Nestorius, when he preached a sermon about Mary in his very presence, and explicitly affirmed the need to call her Theotokos.[65] Nestorius improvised a sermon to answer him, which proved less effective.

The exact dating of Proclus' sermon is controversial. It was preached at an unspecified Marian feast. Drawing on the analogy of Marian feast days in the orthodox (and some western) churches since Byzantine times, the liturgical Christmas cycle as well as dates in March or August have been suggested. However, during the early fifth century, the feasts of the Dormition in August or of the Annunciation in March are not attested in Constantinople, and so the frequently advocated Christmas period (25 or

he supported these men's rejection of the title Theotokos. See the so-called 'First Sermon against the Theotokos', Loofs, *Nestoriana* 249–64; trans. Norris (1980) 123–31.

64 Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 32.

65 Proclus, *Homily* 1, ed. Constas (2003) 136–47.

26 December specifically) remains the most plausible.[66] Equally uncertain is the year of Proclus' sermon; each of the years from 428 to 430 has been suggested.[67] The decision rests on an assessment of the development of the conflict. With a notable escalation of the conflict elsewhere from the spring of 429, would Nestorius still have given Proclus a platform that year (and even less probably in 430, when a council was already mooted)? Possibly he underestimated Proclus' willingness to challenge him openly. But barring such a miscalculation on Nestorius' part, a date in the Christmas period as traditionally advocated – probably in 428 and certainly no later than 429 – would fit best with the development of the controversy. It also allows for some credibility in Nestorius' account of his initial attempts at calming the situation (and even some success, at least for a time), and marks, on this reading, a renewed flaring up of the conflict rather than its first eruption.

Proclus' sermon is a little masterpiece of exalted and high-flown rhetoric. He extols Mary in rhetorical flourishes full of biblical imagery and metaphor, culminating in the demand to call her Theotokos as the only appropriate title:

66 Most scholarship identifies the feast in question as that of the Memory of Mary, celebrated in Constantinople and elsewhere on 26 December (Shoemaker (2003)). Celebration of the Dormition or Assumption of the Theotokos on 15 August is not attested in Constantinople before the sixth century – it was only introduced there definitively during the reign of the Emperor Maurice (582–602) – and comes to flourish only in the seventh and eighth, which rules out this date (against Bevan (2016) 102–7). Similar caveats apply to the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March. Further discussion of the dates proposed in scholarship can be found in Constas (2003) 57f., 67f.

67 The year 428 could seem to be implied already by the early ninth-century *Chronographia* of Theophanes (I, 88,3 De Boor, trans. Mango and Scott (1997) 138), which recounts events during Nestorius' first year in office while listing them under the year 430/1); this interpretation has been widely disputed in scholarship. However, Bevan's arguments for an early date (though not already in the summer of 428; see previous note) have some merit in suggesting the place of the sermon near the beginning of the controversy rather than at a point when it had already escalated and become firmly engrained. At the same time, Proclus' call to cease contradiction is more easily understood if the conflict was not at its very inception. Nestorius' developed terminology in his direct response to the sermon (in the Latin translation of Marius Mercator, ACO I.5, 37–9) also points in this direction, as do the echoes in Nestorius' sermon of charges laid against him in the anonymous pamphlet posted in the city early in 429 (doc. 1). Constas (2003) 71 considers the confrontation in church to be the 'high point of the organised opposition to the teachings of Nestorius in Constantinople' and *before* the spreading of the conflict beyond the city, which, however, undermines his late dating to 430. On balance, an earlier date of December 428 and certainly not later than 429 seems preferable.

> O womb, in which was drawn up the bond that gave us liberty! O belly, in which was forged the sword that defeated death! O field, in which Christ, nature's farmer, himself sprouted forth as an ear of corn! O temple, in which God became a priest [...].
>
> [*The sermon ends*] There you have the clear testimony to the Holy Mary Theotokos. Let all contradiction now cease, and let us be enlightened by the teaching of the scriptures, so that we may attain to the kingdom of heaven in Christ Jesus our Lord. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.[68]

The sermon, we are told, was applauded loudly by the congregation. Nestorius responded with an improvised sermon himself,[69] but to little effect. Public opinion (at least the more vociferous kind) was already beginning to turn against him.

If we conjecture a date for Proclus' sermon in the Christmas perio of 428, it may already have been a response (and would certainly be that, if delivered in 429) to a series of sermons in which, over the course of 428/9, Nestorius expounded his understanding of orthodox Christology.[70] Transcripts of these sermons were soon circulating in the East, whether on his own initiative or that of his critics. In the spring of 429 they prompted a first response by Cyril of Alexandria, who spoke of their troubling effect on the monastic communities in Egypt; and by the summer of 429, when Nestorius wrote to Rome, he expected news and some texts to have reached the western capital.

So by the spring of 429 – after Proclus' sermon, public protests during services, the posting of a critical pamphlet in the city, and initial reverberations further afield – clear battle lines were emerging and a sharp conflict was underway. The year 429 brought feverish disputes in the city as well as the beginnings of a wider campaign of letters and treatises involving the main sees of the imperial church. The documents belonging to this phase show a number of distinct yet intersecting strands of news and debate that carried the dispute beyond the confines of the capital. It gradually drew

68 Proclus, Homily 1, 3 and 1, 9 (trans. Costas (2003) 139 and 147).

69 CPG 5716, CP 22, ACO I.5.1, 37–9 in a contemporary Latin translation by Marius Mercator, cf. Loofs, *Nestoriana* 337–41. The text is probably shortened.

70 For the sermons preserved in Latin translation, see Loofs, *Nestoriana* 120–51. In the Acts of the Council, Nestorius' sermons feature only in the shape of a number of extracts culled from them and put on record for the purpose of his denunciation. These Cyril had initially compiled – and discussed most of them already in his five-book *Contra Nestorium* of 430. For discussion of the fragments, see Loofs, *Nestoriana* 103–20; listed also in CPG 5690–720.

in all regions of the church and empire, so much so that by 430 his main opponent, Cyril of Alexandria, could call it an 'empire-wide scandal'. It was the involvement of Rome and Alexandria in the conflict that was to prove decisive.

NEWS ABOUT NESTORIUS AND EARLY RESPONSES IN ROME

By what channels the news about Nestorius' teaching and the opposition he had aroused first reached Rome is uncertain. Marius Mercator has traditionally been credited with bringing the problem to Rome's attention and supplying versions of Nestorius' sermons, but a textual comparison between his translations of Nestorian texts and the very few excerpts that can be securely identified and are attested in Rome before 430 do not bear this out.[71] It is not surprising, though, that travelling state officials and those in their employ, as well as the networks of monks, clergy, and pilgrims on the move, should have circulated news, gossip, and even texts about affairs in the eastern capital.

Nestorius also wrote to Pope Celestine in Rome – probably no later than early summer of 429 – enquiring about a number of bishops (known in the West as Pelagians) who had sought refuge in Constantinople and were pressing their case with both him and the court. Here he mentioned his fight against heresies in general, but referred to local doctrinal opposition only in summary (doc. 2). Despite their confident tone, these remarks seem written in response to suspected hostile reports that would have reached Rome, and to assume that sermons of his had been received there. A second letter, written considerably later, shows that he had failed to receive a response (doc. 3). Uncertain of the situation in Constantinople, the Roman bishop wrote to Cyril of Alexandria to inquire about the causes of the tension – the first stage in a fateful collaboration.

The seeming indecision expressed in Nestorius' letters over the status of 'Pelagians' condemned in the West must have caused irritation, indeed consternation, in Rome. When in the summer of 430 Cyril of Alexandria sent an envoy to Rome to move decisively against Nestorius, he did not fail to claim a connection between the Pelagian sympathizers around Nestorius and the issues in dispute. Nestorius' apparently friendly relations with the

71 Graumann (2004) 227–38.

Pelagians certainly helped Cyril cast suspicion on the theological soundness of his opponent and his character in general. There was, however, no real substance to the suspicion of Pelagian thinking on Nestorius' part.[72] From an eastern, Constantinopolitan perspective, it is problematic to speak of his reaction to 'Pelagianism': he found himself confronted with seemingly respectable bishops who enjoyed close ties with Constantinople's nobility and claimed to be innocent victims of persecution. He was not trying to show lenience, still less sympathy, towards a known heresy.[73]

Whatever his motives, Nestorius' enquiry left him exposed to misrepresentation. In the run-up to the council, Cyril shrewdly exploited it and took the opportunity to add suspicion of Pelagian sympathies to his denunciation of Nestorius. During the council itself both sides accused one another of including in their numbers people of dubious repute an legal standing – Pelagians among them – and the question surfaces on th Cyrillian side of the council in a brief remark referring to a condemnatio of Pelagianism which is not otherwise documented (doc. 76).[74] It spoke to western sensibilities and could therefore be exploited in propaganda, but it had no significant bearing on the doctrinal disputes in the East.

The question nevertheless played a significant role in determining the early perception of Nestorius in Rome. In 429 the then deacon and future pope Leo commissioned John Cassian to write a treatise on the issues raised by Nestorius' teaching; it was completed before the Roman Synod of August 430, but is otherwise difficult to date. In the preface, Cassian

72 In a compilation of material relating to the presence and treatment of Pelagians in Constantinople slightly earlier, Marius Mercator offers us a glimpse into the wider context of Nestorius' ill-advised enquiry (for Marius, see O. Wermelinger, 'Marius Mercator', *DSp* 10 (1980) 610–15; for his role in the controversy, see also Amann (1949) 5–17). Though in other respects critical of Nestorius, it is clear to Marius that Nestorius was not culpable of Pelagian thinking. Nestorius appears to have availed himself of the presbyter Caelestius (see 'Celestius' *ODCC* 313; A. Jülicher, 'Caelestius 2', *RE* III.1 (1897) 1251–2), one of the main propagators and theoreticians for Pelagian ideas, to bring an accusation against one of his defeated rivals for the episcopal throne, Philip of Side.

73 See Lössl (2001) 294–7.

74 Cf. Wickham (1989). A curious reference to Pelagianism may be found in a set of acclamations recorded in the Coptic Acts (see p. 642 below). If they are genuine, they show a demand by the people of Constantinople (and the clergy obliged them) that the members of John of Antioch's counter-council be called 'Pelagians' – doubtless as a term of abuse (like others in the context, including 'Jew' and 'sorcerer') rather than a theological assessment. 'Pelagianism' had entered the public consciousness as another heresy label to be hurled at unpopular characters.

claimed that Leo had asked for a refutation of Nestorius, which should not surprise us. Modern expectations of a dispassionate appraisal of a disputed theological topic are misplaced both in view of what Cassian will have been asked to achieve and how he attempted to do so. Cassian interpreted the little he knew about Nestorius in the light of the recent case of one Leporius, a monk and priest from Gaul[75] who had raised questions about Christology with Augustine and been corrected by him on the matter. Leporius' consequent recantation of his previous errors provided Cassian with a somewhat ill-fitting frame of reference for assessing Nestorius' thinking; and in this way, the Pelagian questions that had for so long occupied Augustine, and which reverberate in his discussion with Leporius, fed into the understanding, or rather misunderstanding, of Nestorius.[76] What Cassian detected in Nestorius was principally the teaching that Christ was a 'mere man' (echoing the anonymous *Contestatio* which he certainly had at his disposal) combined with the 'Pelagian' idea of his gradual growth in holiness.

For the understanding of early Roman engagement in the dispute with Nestorius, Cassian's text is valuable principally for what it reveals about Roman concerns and preoccupations. Additionally, it is significant not so much in virtue of its theological discernment, which is open to criticism, but as evidence for the range of Nestorian material available to Cassian, and hence presumably in Rome. Cassian initially shows knowledge of only a very small number of extracts from Nestorius, from which we may gage the limited range of Nestorian texts that had reached Rome and the West at the time he started to write. Only the last two books of his treatise expand on the handful of earlier quotations;[77] the new material they include must derive from excerpts brought to Rome from Alexandria by Cyril's envoy Posidonius in the spring of 430. In support of this hypothesis of two stages in the composition of Cassian's work we can point to the second, internal preface at the beginning of Book Six, the addition of new Nestorian texts, and a fresh argumentative strategy in the last two books which mirrors that

75 See E. Amann, 'Leporius', *DTC* 9.1 (1926) 434–40; 'Leporius', *PCBE Afrique* 634–5; 'Leporius', *ODCC* (2005) 997; B. Studer, 'Leporius', *EAC* II, 552f. Cassian used the *Libellus Emendationis* he had published in 418, recanting his errors.

76 For the character of Cassian's work and theological assessment, see Vannier (1999) 33–70. Critical discussion of Cassian's Christological understanding and his misrepresentation of Nestorius can be found in Grillmeier (1990) 666–72. See Green (2008) 28–35, who speaks of a 'failed critique' (28).

77 See Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 51–7 for the extracts preserved by Cassian.

of Cyril.[78] This would date the reception of new Nestorian texts and a final redaction of Cassian's work to the summer of 430, just before the Roman Synod of August that year (see below).[79] Cassian's work, along with the presentation of the case by Cyril's envoy, will have fed decisively into the judgement by this synod in August 430, which provisionally deposed Nestorius.

NESTORIUS' TEACHING ECHOING IN THE EGYPTIAN DESERT AND CYRIL'S INTERVENTION

A more immediate controversy than that with Rome arose between Nestorius and Cyril of Alexandria, however. News of the events and discussions at Constantinople, and also transcripts of Nestorian sermons, swiftly circulated in the East. In early 429 they had reached the communities of the Egyptian desert and agitated the monks there. In response to these developments, Cyril of Alexandria wrote a substantive letter to the monastic leaders in the spring of 429, in an attempt – he claims – to defend and protect them against the dangers of heresy. A little earlier, in the Festal Letter announcing the dates of Easter 429 and written not long after the turn of the year,[80] Cyril had already touched on the Christological question, without however so much as hinting at events in Constantinople, let alone naming Nestorius. Now, with the *Letter to the Monks*, he took up a firm position in opposition to Nestorius' ideas (who was still not mentioned by name). It was his first direct statement on the matter and had a significant impact not just in the desert communities to which it was ostensibly directed, but in Constantinople too, where Cyril's agents passed it around; documents in our collection from this time reveal the attention it attracted.

78 See for this analysis, Graumann (2002b).

79 *Pace* Green (2008) 25–8. Green hypothesizes two visits of the Alexandrian deacon Posidonius to Rome; during the first, in 429, he already brought Nestorian texts assembled by Cyril (and their damning critique) to Rome. On this basis, Cassian was commissioned to write against him. However, first, the very slim range of Nestorian material in Cassian's first five books militates against this hypothesis. Secondly, the complete lack of evidence in the sources for an earlier voyage further undermines it. I can see no reason for an early dating of Cassian's work or, by extension, for an early collusion between Celestine (or Leo) and Cyril. When Cyril writes to Celestine in 430 (doc. 12), he claims that it is his first approach; there is no reason to doubt him.

80 *Festal Letter* 17 (SC 434, 251–95, with French translation); for the Christological terminology employed by Cyril, see ibid., 297–9.

This important *Letter to the Monks* deserves close inspection.[81] His first entry into the controversy, Cyril's letter stakes out the main direction of his Christological thinking and puts in place decisive elements of his strategy that ultimately allowed him to prevail in the conflict – first among them, a close alliance sought with the monastic milieu. At the very beginning of the letter Cyril portrays himself as the guard, instructor, and 'trainer' of the spiritual athletes in the desert, responsible for their sound orthodoxy, without which asceticism is in vain. He reminds his addressees of the direct collaboration (as it was collectively remembered) between his great predecessor Athanasius and the founding figure of Egyptian monasticism, St Antony. Not only does he model himself on Athanasius, presented as both the inspiration behind Nicene Orthodoxy and subsequently its staunch defender against heretical attack – a role which, Cyril implies, he is ready to take up in the current conflict – but also quotes directly from his writings. The strategy of presenting himself as the faithful follower of the 'Fathers' when Nestorius will soon be portrayed as a raging anti-traditionalist is the other key element in the way Cyril frames the conflict. This emphasis on Athanasius was, however, more than a rhetorical ploy. Cyril's early writings show very clearly how he had studied and appropriated Athanasian writing for his own theological formation. The tradition he inherited from him and appropriated for himself in this way was noticeably different in its overall outlook and emphasis from the sources of Nestorius' formation, the heritage of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) in particular, from which Nestorius drew his main inspiration. The contrast has conventionally been described as one between the 'Alexandrian' and the 'Antiochene' theological schools. The notion is not without problems and will require discussion in our introduction to the theology of the conflict (pp. 59–61 below).

The *Letter to the Monks* also lays out the central theological concerns for Cyril and defines his approach in this respect too. The passages quoted from Athanasius (*Contra Arianos* III, 29 and 33) not only confirmed for Cyril the use of 'Theotokos' but also identified the incarnation as the *story* to be told about the divine Logos. This perspective brings out and underscores that there is only one acting subject in the whole of God's economy and specifically in the life and death of Christ – namely the Son and Word of God. The unique status of the Incarnate one as 'Emmanuel' (meaning 'God with us', Matt 1:23 – for Cyril, the emphasis must fall

81 Cyril, *ep.* 1 (ACO I.1.1, 10–23). The letter is not part of this collection; translations are available, e.g. in McGuckin (1994) 245–61, or McEnerney (1987) I, 13–33.

on the word 'God') is not sufficiently expressed, Cyril insists, as long as his incarnation is treated as comparable to other occasions and modes, notably inspiration, in which God disclosed himself to mankind. In the incarnation, and in all that the gospels narrate about Christ, we rather observe, for Cyril, the divine agency of God the Word, and not that of a man, however exalted by God's blessing. The *Word* took flesh to himself, as his instrument (*organon*), making it 'his own' (*idios/idion*). It is by virtue of making human characteristics and experiences 'his own' that these may be (indeed must be) predicated of the divine Word. Later generations would call this the *communicatio idiomatum*, the exchange, in predication, of the divine and human characteristics allowing paradoxical statements such as speaking of the birth, or death, of God. An implication of this is that Mary should rightfully be named 'Theotokos', even if this term is not used in the Bible or the Nicene Creed; much to Cyril's annoyance, opponents in Constantinople gleefully latched on to this last admission. While the conceptual framework and terminology are not yet fully developed, Cyril already presents in this letter a clear presentation of the incarnate Christ in which the uniqueness of his salvific agency and a single divine subject are paramount. This understanding, as he does not fail to emphasize, has significant implications for the path to salvation of every Christian and the sacramental life of the church; it is not a mere intellectual exercise. In this context Mary's title Theotokos falls into place without being the central topic of debate even at this early stage.

The *Letter to the Monks* marks the beginning of a wider, and sustained, epistolary campaign by which Cyril sought support for his criticism of Nestorius – not always, initially, with success. This campaign, and the letter's direct resonance in Constantinople and elsewhere, are documented in the Acts and our collection by a series of letters and reports from the first half of 429 (docs 4–7).

Later that year, in the summer of 429, Cyril wrote directly to Nestorius for the first time (doc. 8). Without developing the theological themes, Cyril warns in general terms of the negative consequences of Nestorius' refusal to accept the term Theotokos and the unrest it has caused far and wide. Rome's concerns are mentioned specifically, doubtless as a warning. Nestorius responded haughtily and in kind (doc. 9). Disaffected Egyptian clergy who had been expelled by Cyril were in Constantinople and making complaints. Nestorius did not say overtly that he might open a tribunal and review Cyril's conduct in office, but Cyril was hardly wrong to fear such a move and had his clergy in Constantinople make preparations for such

an event. This threat to Cyril has led scholars since Schwartz[82] to argue that it is such threats and the politics of the rival sees that were the root cause of the conflict between the two men, and that Cyril only moved the dispute onto the field of doctrine as a political tactic. This interpretation is not supported by the chronology of events and ignores the genuineness of the theological concerns on both sides. For all the undoubted personal enmities and rivalry, the understanding of Christ's person and agency was to both bishops a matter of the highest significance, and salvation itself was at stake.

CONFRONTATION AND PREPARATIONS FOR A COUNCIL (430)

The decisive escalation of the conflict is apparent in the documents from 430. During the winter of 429/30 Cyril excerpted salient passages from the sermons and treatises of Nestorius that were circulating, and set out to refute them. The fruit of this was his *Five Books against Nestorius*, published in the spring of 430.[83] The Council in Ephesus would rely on this work in its compilation of extracts from Nestorius to prove his heresy (below). His *Second Letter to Nestorius*, of January/February 430 takes up the theological argument in some detail and with greater conceptual force (doc. 10). It is this letter that the Council of Ephesus would endorse as the authoritative statement of Christological orthodoxy.

In the spring or early summer that year Cyril sent a trusted emissary, the deacon Posidonius, to Rome, equipped with a volume of excerpts from Nestorius and samples of his own writing. For the convenience of Celestine and the Italian clergy, he had this collection translated into Latin. Posidonius was given careful instructions on how to use these materials, depending on the situation he found in Rome. His mission and the material he brought were decisive in shaping Rome's perception of the issues and her assessment as to who was to blame for the conflict.

Pope Celestine convened a synod in early August 430 which decreed a conditional deposition against Nestorius, thereby initiating a new stage in the conflict. No records of proceedings from this synod are included in the Acts of Ephesus or are extant in full anywhere else. The only

82 Schwartz (1928), (1910); cf. Meier (2011).
83 CPG 5217 (n. 58 above).

surviving textual snippet that may with some confidence be attributed to it is preserved in the *Dispute between Arnobius and Serapion*, written by the so-called Arnobius Junior just before or immediately after the Council of Chalcedon.[84] This short passage gives an address by Pope Celestine; it is noteworthy chiefly for the way in which it presents a cento of earlier Latin theology – from Cyprian to Hilary and Ambrose – and in this way speaks to the concern for tradition that Cyril's polemic had also appealed to.

While we have no further information about how the synod discussed Nestorian ideas, the *Collectio Veronensis* offers a number of letters which Celestine composed at its close and sent to the East (docs 14–17); they are remarkably devoid of theological argument. This dispatch of letters, entrusted to Posidonius on his return to Alexandria, announced the decision to depose Nestorius, unless he recanted, and gave Cyril the task of carrying it out. Prompted accordingly, Cyril convened an Egyptian synod in the autumn and drafted in its name his *Third Letter to Nestorius*, in which he set out the doctrinal differences in stark and uncompromising terms (doc. 20). A list of Twelve Anathemas (or Chapters) that was appended to the letter spelled out what Nestorius was required to condemn if he wanted to escape the Roman judgement. The anathemas demanded his complete submission and offered not even so much as a token gesture that would have allowed him to save face. A delegation brought this letter – along with those by Celestine – to Constantinople where they were delivered to Nestorius after the Sunday service on 30 November or 6 December 430.

News of the Roman position must have reached Constantinople before the official delegation, however. Celestine had also composed letters to bishops in the East, and Cyril passed them on, combined with his own messages. The letters sent to John of Antioch were forwarded by him to Nestorius and will have arrived before the delegation from Alexandria. Perhaps rumours reached Constantinople even earlier. The uncertain channels through which news about Nestorius had initially travelled to Rome also functioned in the opposite direction. The increasingly fraught atmosphere in the city and the open conflicts between Nestorius and some clergy and monks were now intensified by early warnings about Rome's verdict on Nestorius. All this contributed to demands for an imperial council, from not only Nestorius' local opposition but also Nestorius himself – obviously

84 Arnobius (Iunior), *Conflictus Arnobii et Serapionis*, ed. Gori (1993), with Gori's annotation and commentary. For additional analysis of the relevant passage, see Graumann (2002b) 489–501.

with diametrically opposed agendas and expectations. For Theodosius II, who still supported Nestorius, his chosen candidate for the episcopal throne, it must have become abundantly clear that only such a gathering could bring unity and peace back to both the church in Constantinople and the wider empire. On 19 November 430, before the Alexandrian delegation reached Constantinople to serve Nestorius with the decrees of the Roman and Alexandrian synods, imperial letters of invitation for an ecumenical council were sent out to the metropolitans of the East and selected western prelates (doc. 28). The council was to convene in Ephesus, at Pentecost (7 June) 431. Metropolitans were to bring 'a few' of their suffragans (no precise number was specified), ensuring sufficient numbers for the work of the upcoming synod, without hampering the continued liturgical life of the churches in the provinces.

Much has been made of the choice of the city of Ephesus to host the council, as allegedly undermining Nestorius' position from the outset, in view of, supposedly, a strong local tradition of Marian devotion in the metropolis of Asia. The choice of location has been attributed to the secret interventions of Theodosius' sister, the empress Pulcheria, who had allegedly long since become an enemy of Nestorius. This, however, is problematic on several counts. The claim about Pulcheria's role is inevitably pure conjecture, and we have already discussed her ambivalent attitude to Nestorius.[85] The view about Ephesus as a centre of Marian devotion is equally questionable. It rests – if sometimes unconsciously – on the idea that the cult of Artemis of Ephesus had been transmogrified into veneration of the Virgin Mary; but archaeological evidence shows a significant gap in time since the demise of the Artemis cult and no spatial continuity between its site and Christian buildings.[86]

Instead, the reasoning given by Theodosius for the choice of Ephesus as the venue for the synod should be taken seriously.[87] There were limited options. Holding a council in the explosive atmosphere of the city of Constantinople itself, or in close proximity on the other side of the Bosporus

85 See pp. 24–5.

86 I am grateful to several members of the excavating team of the Austrian Archaeological Institute who very kindly explained to me the present state of the unfinished (and currently suspended) excavations. See, in survey, Ladstätter (2011); and, with a focus on early Byzantine developments, slightly later than the events here in view, ibid. (2017) 238–46. Specifically for the church 'named after Mary', see Degasperi (2013) esp. 19f.; Karwiese (1989); ibid. (1996) 12–18; ibid. (1997) 13–20.

87 See CV 93, ACO 1.1.3, 31f. (doc. 87).

(as in the choice of Chalcedon for the colloquia in the autumn of 431 and for the council there twenty years later) must have seemed too great a risk to public security. Given this situation, one of the major *metropoleis* in Asia Minor was a natural choice. Of these, Ephesus with its excellent harbour and plentiful accommodation, and its standing as the capital of the province of Asia, the pre-eminent province of the region, was a natural first choice. No conspiracy theories are required to explain its selection.

The *sacra* of convocation issued in November of 430 gives no indication that Theodosius perceived of a *causa Nestorii* as the upcoming council's main agenda. Unity and peace had to be restored. How that might be done, who was to blame for the disturbances, and what might happen to those responsible, is left unspecified. A personal letter sent to Cyril with the same dispatch criticizes him severely; for the emperor, his conduct was under scrutiny, whatever else might transpire at the council. Nestorius, certainly, felt confident.

Together with the Roman Synod's verdict – now in effect suspended by the imperial convocation of a council – Cyril, we recall, had the requirements for Nestorius' recantation delivered to him in the form of the Twelve Anathemas. These caused a stir. Nestorius passed them to John of Antioch, who in turn presented them to other bishops in his area. There was instant alarm over their perceived heretical character, amounting (in the eyes of the Syrian bishops) to a revival of the heresy of Apollinarius, who in the last third of the fourth century had offered a first attempt at reconciling the full divinity of God's Son and Word with his incarnation.[88] He had proposed a schema by which the divine Word in effect replaced the human mind (the seat of cognition and volition, the higher faculties of the soul) in the person of Jesus Christ. He had drawn furious refutation from the Cappadocian fathers, but also from Diodore of Tarsus (d. 390),[89] another foundational figure of the 'Antiochene school'. This notion of the assumption by the Godhead of an 'incomplete' manhood resulted, as Gregory of Nyssa had succinctly stated, in only partial salvation: 'What has not been assumed has not been saved.'[90] Canon 1 of the Council of

88 See in brief Ch. Kannengießer, 'Apollinarius of Laodicea (d. 392) – Apollinarianism', *EAC* I, 181–3. His Christological ideas will be further examined in our introduction to the 'Theology', pp. 69–70.

89 M. Simonetti, 'Diodore of Tarsus', *EAC* I, 713f.

90 Greg. Naz., *ep.* 101 to Cledonius (cf. CPG 3032), (SC 208, 36–68); trans. Wickham (2002) 155–66.

Constantinople in 381 condemned the Apollinarians along with other groups. In the winter and spring of 430–31 Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Andrew of Samosata produced two refutations of Cyril's Chapters that drew out the Apollinarian implications of Cyril's ideas. The deeper theological concerns in this dispute will be addressed below.

From this point in time onwards, the eastern bishops' critical attention was firmly focused on the 'heresy' of Cyril's Chapters. They came to Ephesus with the clear intent of making this the central topic of discussion at the council. The question of Theotokos (and Nestorius' linguistic preferences and idiosyncrasies) was for them a side issue. While they equally condemned the illegality of the Cyrillian council's 'deposition' of Nestorius, there is a noticeable silence about his theology. It was not the defence of his orthodoxy that exercised their minds and spurred their endeavours, but the condemnation of Cyril's Chapters.

THE COUNCIL AT EPHESUS (JUNE–AUGUST 431)

June

The imperial convocation had set 7 June 431, the feast of Pentecost, as the start date of the council. One of the first bishops to arrive (we do not know exactly when) was Nestorius with a group of bishops and a number of others in his entourage. He was also accompanied by an imperial official, Count Irenaeus, who came as a friend in an exclusively private capacity and without any official role. Nevertheless, he would become an important spokesman for the eastern bishops in dealings with the imperial court and administration, and stayed a loyal friend and supporter of Nestorius in the years after his deposition.

The official envoy of the emperor was Count Candidianus, who had received instructions about both the conciliar agenda and his own role. The main task entrusted to him was to keep order. In the course of fulfilling this (in his own eyes at least) he became a contentious figure at the council.

In the weeks before Pentecost and with more bishops arriving there were already tensions. Reports from the following weeks speak of threatening behaviour, intimidation, and violence, each side accusing the other, and the barring of churches in the city to Nestorius and his group, so that they could not celebrate Pentecost services. It is not always clear otherwise to which time the more general complaints about violence

relate, whether to the weeks before the council or the period after the initial session.

Conversations also took place between Nestorius and other bishops, some eminent metropolitans among them. Here Nestorius expressed his theological preferences in unguarded, provocative terms. They were reported as evidence against him at the council's first session.

Cyril arrived only just before the deadline. He brought a large contingent of bishops from Egypt (47, including himself)[91] and a 'bodyguard' of *parabalani* from the local Alexandrian baths. Though not mentioned in the conciliar sources, monks were also in his entourage the famous Schenoute among them. The papal delegation left Rome o or after 8 May; it took weeks to arrive and joined the (Cyrillian) counc only on 10 July. The North African church, ravaged by Vandal invasion, only managed to send one deacon with a letter of apology. The set date passed and the bishops continued to wait for those yet to make their way to Ephesus. Severe delays hampered the arrival of a group of bishops from Syria-Mesopotamia travelling with John of Antioch. After being detained in Antioch after Easter by a famine in the city, they had only set out from there some 30 days before the appointed time. They made slow progress on the arduous land route and were hampered additionally by the sickness of some elderly bishops in their party. Eventually they were just some five days away when John sent a couple of bishops ahead to inform the bishops in Ephesus of his progress and likely date of arrival. These envoys arrived on 21 June and announced that the rest of their party would be with them in three to five more days. On receiving the news, Cyril acted decisively. On the 21st, a Sunday, he, together with Memnon of Ephesus and Juvenal of Jerusalem, took the initiative to send round invitations for a first session on the following day. Cyril would always maintain that John's letter had in effect encouraged them to go ahead without him; John in turn always rejected that interpretation and insisted that Cyril and his supporters were clearly in the wrong in opening the council before his arrival.

The imperial representative Candidianus protested against Cyril's and his associates' initiative. Clearly he gave priority to the imperial demand for a convention of all the bishops over any particular date. Resistance came not only from this imperial official; 68 bishops present in Ephesus, a

91 The Syrian bishops were to complain to the emperor that this far exceeded the number he had laid down, but it would have been absurd to give the whole of Egypt (which comprised several civil provinces) the same representation as a typical province in Syria or Asia Minor.

significant number of metropolitans among them, signed a note urging Cyril to wait for John and his group (doc. 37). Cyril and his allies nevertheless went ahead the next day.

In the morning of Monday 22 June, they assembled in the church 'called [after] Mary'. Candidianus and several bishops who had signed the protest note of the previous day attended in order to register their objection. Of the dispute that followed, the official records of the day tell us nothing. But it is clear that the bishops with Cyril persuaded Candidianus to read out the imperial orders and, on the grounds that these limited his role to keeping order and excluded him from doctrinal discussion, promptly expelled him from the building (see doc. 53.3). The protesting bishops left with him. And so commenced the fateful first 'session' of the council, which proceeded to depose Nestorius. A detailed analysis of the protocol of the meeting and its representation of events will be given below in our introduction to this session. Here it must suffice to highlight that after Nestorius rejected the summonses delivered to him, an examination of his theological tenets was conducted *in absentia*. In the course of this, the bishops approved Cyril's interpretation of the incarnation and the person of the Only-begotten – as set out in his *Second Letter to Nestorius* – as orthodox and fully concordant with the Nicene Creed, the yardstick of orthodoxy, and found Nestorius, by contrast, in contradiction with the creed, as Cyril's letter had interpreted it. Recent remarks he had made in Ephesus were quoted as proving him unrepentant of his errors, and thus in violation of the requirements made of him by the Roman verdict of August 430. The aim of the minutes is to show that this made his deposition inevitable. After a long day the bishops were led back from the church in a torchlit procession and to the vociferous acclaim of the local people. Nestorius was informed of his deposition the following day and the decree was posted round the city. Cyril and the council with him had created 'facts on the ground' that no subsequent protests were able to overturn.

Over the course of the following days those who had originally chosen to stay away from the council were subjected to significant pressure to approve its decision and sign the deposition. Intimidation and violence once more appear to have played a role; it would certainly help to explain the speed with which bishops allied themselves with Cyril's council. But it would be too sceptical to ascribe these changes of mind solely to intimidation. The fact that a large number of bishops, ostensibly in formal convention, had reached a common verdict must have exerted its own gravitational pull. If the common mind of a council was understood to

represent and express the mind of the church, with some appeal to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, abstention by an individual was a momentous decision and a problematic stance to take. Later on, in Chalcedon, bishops claimed it was impossible to go against the joint council of all the other bishops. The notion of a minority opposition was contrary to the very idea of a church council, where unanimity was expected. Of the bishops signing the protests on 21 June, a significant number – 30 out of the original 68 – were in this way rapidly 'persuaded' to join Cyril; for they never took part in the rival council that soon met under the presidency of John of Antioch, and all sooner or later appear in lists of members of the Cyrillian group.[92]

With the arrival of John of Antioch and his travelling party on 26 Jun this draining away of anti-Cyrillian opposition stopped instantly. He at on convened in his lodgings the bishops who had arrived with him and thos opponents of Cyril who had already been present in Ephesus. They heard the report about events on 22 June given by Count Candidianus and declared Cyril and Memnon 'deposed' on account of their illegal proceedings (doc. 53). At the same time, the group took aim at the – heretical – theology of Cyril's Twelve Chapters. As they interpreted the proceedings of 22 June, Cyril had dared to present them for official sanction and subscription – a clear violation of Nicene Orthodoxy. The bishops who had supported Cyril at the illegal session had to repent, reject the Chapters, and join the group around John to form a 'proper', legitimate council in accordance with the emperor's orders; until such time, they were suspended. The verdict had no effect on the Cyrillians and their resolve. Yet the confrontation of two competing parties was now set and was to become ever more hardened and entrenched. The bishops around Cyril chose to celebrate the liturgy the following Sunday, and so the schism became enshrined liturgically.

In Constantinople, meanwhile, the emperor relied for his assessment exclusively on critical reports from his envoy, Count Candidianus. No other documents, and certainly no protocol of the session of 22 June, had yet reached him when he issued a stern warning against precipitous, partisan activities by partial assemblies. His courier Palladius arrived with this missive on 1 July and took the separate responses of both parties back with him to Constantinople on the same day. With this commenced the efforts of both parties to impress their position and interpretation of events on the imperial administration and the clergy and populace of Constantinople. A fresh war of pamphlets and letter-writing ensued, producing complex

92 See Price (2012b) 406–10.

strands of communication between each party, their respective supporters, and members of the Theodosian establishment.

July

The month of July brought a series of decisive steps by both sides which consolidated the bishops' party allegiances, splitting them ever more irrevocably into two opposing, and irreconcilable, parties. Cyril's side was buoyed by the arrival of the papal delegation which, following their instructions from Pope Celestine, joined the majority council. They were ceremonially received and presented with the records of Nestorius' deposition, which they approved and signed (10–11 July, docs 68–69). The protocol and the interventions by Cyril were carefully ambiguous about the relationships between the council's verdict, the prior papal decision, and the legates' role and authority.

Thus strengthened, the Cyrillians moved against John and his counter-council a few days later. With Cyril and Memnon initially appearing as petitioners in a double session of 16–17 July, the bishops declared the counter-council's 'deposition' of these two bishops (from 26 June) null and void, and after John of Antioch's ignoring of their summons, deposed him along with some 30 supporters for their illegal activities and Nestorian sympathies (doc. 73). Documents from the eastern bishops list more than double that number on their side; the Cyrillians appear to have played down the numbers on purpose, preferring, it seems, to convey an impression of their opponents' weakness and marginality over identifying everyone by name. An encyclical and two reports written after the meeting, addressed to the emperor and to the pope, respectively, further suggest that they considered the work of the council complete at this point (docs 74–76); what remained to be done was the appointment and consecration of a successor for Nestorius. Yet permission to go home was not granted, and so they languished at Ephesus in conditions they increasingly lamented as intolerable, because of the expense and the heat. Further decisions on specific disciplinary matters in a number of provinces were taken during these weeks or perhaps later still, in August; with one exception, no dates are provided.

The Easterners in their turn repeatedly sent written representations to the emperor and important officials, but without discernible effect. When in mid-July Nestorius' friend Count Irenaeus decided to return to Constantinople, they took the opportunity to issue him with yet more

documents for delivery to the emperor and members of the imperial administration. He had only just left when they learned with alarm of an even earlier Cyrillian dispatch of reports, probably sent not long after the papal delegates had affirmed the decisions against Nestorius; they also found themselves confronted with the 'deposition' declared against John and his allies on 17 July. So they sent further hasty communications after Irenaeus, hoping that on his arrival in Constantinople he would be able to present the full set of documents and thereby counteract the effects of Cyrillian propaganda. His response, however, cannot have done anything for their confidence: he found that Cyril's propagandists had been hard at work, and the atmosphere in the city hostile. When eventually there was a meeting of the consistory, Irenaeus was able, nevertheless, (or so he claimed) to make a convincing case against the Egyptians and in favour of the eastern bishops (doc. 84). As a consequence, the emperor issued notification of Cyril's and Memnon's deposition (along with that of Nestorius) – accepting in this way the lawfulness of the Easterners' decisions. The emperor's stance seemed to augur well for the Easterners, yet difference of opinion in the consistory quickly took hold again. Irenaeus links this development to the arrival of Cyril's *syncellus* John; and although he does not explicitly accuse him of bribery and the officials of venality, the inference is inescapable. Different members of the consistory vied for the task to go to Ephesus and clear up the tense stand-off between the parties there. Irenaeus was alarmed about what he feared were their secret pro-Cyrillian designs. In the end, we know from the events and documents from the following month, August, that the official chosen for the purpose executed the imperial will faithfully and without noticeable bias.

Quite isolated from these developments, a document dated 22 July presents the minutes of a further session of the pro-Cyrillian bishops on that day. It raises many complex questions that will receive detailed discussion in our commentary below. The decision it reports, later listed as Canon 7 of Ephesus, proved one of the most influential ever taken at a council: the canonization of the Nicene Creed as the exclusive doctrinal norm. In the events just sketched and the documents originating from them, however, it is without resonance.

August

The month of August saw heightened tensions between the camps and another unsuccessful attempt by the imperial administration to bring

reconciliation to the warring bishops and avert the complete failure of the council.

In the city of Ephesus, tensions were running high and the threat (and sporadic reality) of violent outbursts was palpable, so much so that leading bishops took measures to assure their personal safety. Perhaps the sailors and *parabalani* whom Cyril had brought to the city and their Ephesian counterparts were put to good use here. Meanwhile, on the other side, the *zeusippitai*, attendants from one of Constantinople's main baths, accompanying Nestorius, had a similar reputation for violence. Bishops also put the blame for violence on soldiers headed by Candidianus. Each side pointed the finger of responsibility at the other and deplored their violent conduct.

Theodosius II sent another envoy – John the high-ranking 'Count of the Sacred Largesses' – to save the situation; he was promoted soon afterwards, still in the summer of 431, to 'Master of the Offices' (in effect Chief of Staff), evidence both of his seniority and the trust the emperor placed in him. His mandate was to bring all bishops together, announce the decisions about Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon, and to ensure they reached a consensual conclusion to the disputes. But he found the bishops split into two parties and firmly entrenched in mutual hostility. Count John had the unenviable task of bringing the bishops together in one room in order to read out the imperial letter addressed to them. To avoid physical confrontation, he assigned them separate entrances and placed soldiers between them. It still took him all day to persuade and compel the bishops before he could eventually read out Theodosius' letter (doc. 87), and not before he had removed Cyril and Nestorius from the groups and placed them under guard. In the evening, the local bishop Memnon, who at first had stayed away, surrendered himself and was also placed under guard. The bishops whose 'deposition' the emperor had accepted were now all under house arrest. One consequence of this was Cyril's exclusion from the further activities of his group; after this point it was Juvenal of Jerusalem who acted as their leader. Yet even the removal and insulation of the main actors did little to foster peace and harmony between the warring parties. Rather than engage jointly with the emperor's wishes and meet under Count John's supervision to resolve the disputes, they directed separate responses to Theodosius, each complaining bitterly of the other side and protesting their own innocence of any wrongdoing and their unimpeachable intentions.

With the stand-off between the two sides and the ineffectual imperial mission, the month of August might seem to have been a period of mere

stalemate. That impression, however, is deceptive. During all this time frequent letter-writing and reporting on both sides attempted to shore up support and sway opinion. The public, clergy, and monks in the capital in particular were the targets of a bombardment of epistolary communication, and so also, crucially, were officials in the imperial administration and the emperor himself. Not all letters reached their intended addressees, and some only after lengthy delays and by surreptitious means. Even so, the pressure told. Cyril's side managed to rouse the Constantinopolitan populace. The correspondence of these weeks reveals constant activity by his agents in the capital. In the letters exchanged between the Cyrillian council and addressees in the capital, no fewer than nine bishops come to light who were never in Ephesus,[93] but tirelessly promoted Cyril's cause in the capital city. Perhaps even more decisive than their efforts was the willingness of highly respected local ascetics and the monastic communities to take up their cause. The archimandrite Dalmatius in particular emerged as the leader in highly effective public demonstrations. After an earlier audience in which he presented the Cyrillians' case, the emperor, tellingly, chose him to make public documents produced by the Cyrillians about Nestorius' condemnation and the need to proceed to the election of a successor. Some time during these weeks, then, and no doubt under monastic and public pressure (illustrated credibly in the Coptic Acts),[94] Theodosius abandoned Nestorius. He realised that the public mood in the capital did not allow for his return, whatever was decided about the legitimacy of proceedings in Ephesus. He granted Nestorius' wish to withdraw to his former monastery (just outside Antioch), thus at least avoiding the public humiliation of deposition and exile. A short letter concerning the arrangements for his withdrawal is (except for doc. 85) the only time we hear directly from Nestorius after the arrival of John of Antioch in Ephesus on 26 June. Whether Nestorius was excluded – or withdrew – from the activities of the bishops around John and their theological deliberations before he was placed under house arrest is impossible to say. That he did not sign any documents may be explained by the legal ramifications of his 'deposition' decreed by the Cyrillians. However much this was contested and regarded as invalid by the eastern bishops, fourth-century canons prohibited a deposed bishop from resuming office

93 The exception are the two bishops Theopemptus of Cabasa and Daniel bishop of Darnis, who testified in the session of 22 June (see CV 50, p. 256 below) and thereafter returned to Constantinople.

94 See pp. 636–42.

before formal rehabilitation by a synod (Council of Antioch, Canon 4). It was neglect of this principle that had sealed John Chrysostom's downfall. Similar concerns must be behind the petitions of Cyril and Memnon on 16 July for an annulment of the depositions decreed by John's counter-council (doc. 53). With this example in mind, the Easterners might of course have rehabilitated Nestorius in just the same way as the Cyrillians lifted the verdict against Cyril and Memnon. Perhaps they avoided doing this so as not to offer easy ammunition for an accusation against them as 'Nestorians', for they were on occasion still accused of sharing his errors – an accusation which, however false in their eyes, would have distracted the debate from where they wished it to centre. With the Cyrillians' verdict yet to be legally cancelled, Nestorius could not have any formal, visible part in the group's decisions, or claim co-authorship of any of the official position papers presented by it. The absence of his name from the documents and activities of the eastern bishops therefore entails no verdict on the soundness of his ideas.[95]

COLLOQUIA AT CHALCEDON AND THE END OF THE COUNCIL (SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER 431)

Count John's failed mission motivated a final attempt by the emperor to resolve the impasse, and by different means. Both sides were ordered to send delegations for meetings with the emperor and the consistory. These took place at Chalcedon, across the Bosporus from Constantinople on the imperial estate of Rufinianae, from mid-September to mid-October of 431. The initial plan to meet in Constantinople itself had to be abandoned in view of the hostile and feverish atmosphere there.

When the eastern bishops arrived for the talks, they learned to their dismay that the emperor had recently accepted Nestorius' resignation and allowed him to retreat to his former monastery (probably at the beginning of September). Even though their primary objective to denounce Cyril's Chapters was not directly affected, their further plans (we can imagine) of also holding the Cyrillians to account over the illegality of their proceedings against Nestorius collapsed at a stroke.

The emperor's withdrawal of support for Nestorius, who had after all been his personal choice for the episcopal throne of the capital, signalled a

95 Cf. our discussion of the eastern bishops' reluctance to speak of his orthodoxy, pp. 81–2.

spectacular change of direction. From now on the mere mention of his name in the emperor's presence drew angry responses and accusations, even of treason (doc. 117.3). Overall the emperor's personal involvement in the talks marked a significant ramping up of imperial pressure to cajole and compel both sides to reach agreement. But not even this attempt could overcome the intransigence of the Cyrillian delegates led by Juvenal of Jerusalem. In their eyes both the need for Cyril's and Memnon's reinstatement and the theology of the Chapters were non-negotiable. This is at least what several reports by the eastern bishops – the only ones to survive from this period – constantly reaffirm and deplore (docs 112–113, 123). The unwillingness and inability of the bishops with Juvenal to defend Cyril's Chapters, they assert, contrasted with their own theological superiority when presenting their positions in the consistory, a superiority acknowledged by the emperor A first imperial *sacra* to dissolve the council, drafted but not promulgated around this time, confirmed their orthodoxy and upheld the decisions against Cyril and Memnon (doc. 119). Yet the emperor's acceptance of their orthodoxy did not help the eastern bishops' specific case. The atmosphere was changing remarkably and irreversibly to their disadvantage – ultimately caused, they claimed, by the lavish bribes distributed among key officials by Cyril's agents. It was they who were now put under pressure to make peace with the Cyrillians. When they refused, declaring their readiness to suffer martyrdom for orthodoxy, Theodosius terminated the colloquies and invited the Cyrillian bishops to come to Constantinople with him and consecrate a successor to Nestorius. Settling at least the situation in the capital after Nestorius' resignation and replacing the disgraced bishop was now his priority; solving the theological question and overcoming the schism between the supporters of Cyril and the eastern bishops could only be a long-term goal. The price the Cyrillian delegates demanded and received for acting as consecrators – however much the installation of a new bishop in place of Nestorius matched their own wishes – appears to have been the restoration to their sees of both Cyril and Memnon; this had been their chief objective throughout the now failed talks at Chalcedon. Cyril's eventual restoration is the context in which the Easterners, while regularly deploring the 'illegality' of Nestorius' deposition by the Cyrillian council, finally pointed out Nestorius' orthodoxy. They mentioned it only to lament his fate in contrast to Cyril's, who was in their eyes the real heretic and who had nevertheless avoided punishment (doc. 123). They still saw 'orthodoxy' under threat from Cyril, and now that the council had failed, it fell to them, they believed, to rally even more urgently to its defence.

Maximian was consecrated bishop of Constantinople on 25 October 431, and presumably around that date Theodosius issued a (final) *sacra* dissolving the council, sending the bishops in Ephesus home and – in contrast to the earlier draft *sacra* – allowing Cyril and Memnon to retain their sees (doc. 124). Despite his house arrest Cyril had already found a way to leave Ephesus and arrived in triumph in Alexandria on 31 October. The oriental bishops waiting at Chalcedon were also allowed to return home; they did so with dread and defiance, expecting the worst, yet willing to defend their sense of orthodoxy to the last (doc. 123).[96] In this way, the council resulted in schism. It took renewed diplomacy and negotiation to overcome it a couple of years later – in the so-called Reunion of 433. John of Antioch sacrificed Nestorius to achieve it. In 435 Nestorius was finally sent into exile. On the theological question concerning the incarnation and the person of the Incarnate, Cyril and John of Antioch reached an uneasy settlement with a formula originally drafted by the Antiochenes at Ephesus. It was far from the final word. Dispute resurfaced soon afterwards, and in various guises theological disagreement over the core questions and ramifications of Christology, and their social and cultural fall-out, repeatedly occupied theologians, churchmen, and emperors over the next three centuries. It fell to three more ecumenical councils – and many meetings beside – to attempt to provide the answers.

III. THE THEOLOGY

To understand the controversy and the council, the real theological concerns on all sides need to be taken seriously. We have identified a range of contributing social, cultural, and political factors that all played important parts in the events. Yet the theology must not be mistaken for a mere ploy in a power struggle or a means for expressing identities and solving conflicts on these other fields. Not just bishops were convinced that salvation was ultimately at stake when a 'proper' understanding of the divine was disputed: imperial politics equally rested on the commonly

96 The final manoeuvres in the second half of October of 431, terminating the colloquies at Chalcedon, bringing about the consecration of Maximian and the formal conclusion of the council, are in many ways obscure, and the rough sketch just given is not uncontroversial. Our introductions and notes to relevant individual documents will discuss these along with questions of dating and their import for the reconstruction and interpretation of events.

shared assumption of a direct link between orthodoxy and the welfare of the empire and its people, and that the divinely appointed role of the emperor included a responsibility to protect and promote orthodoxy.

When Nestorius began at the very start of his episcopacy a campaign against the heterodox and schismatic groups in the city and the surrounding provinces that had formed as the result, mainly, of the fourth-century disputes over the doctrine of the Trinity, such real worries and not just the consolidation of episcopal power were at play. This campaign provides the context for his attacks on the use of the Marian title Theotokos and the criticism of insufficient theological awareness in his congregation over its implications. His teaching, in turn, drew fierce criticism from various quarters, precisely for the deeper theological issues, perceived or real, and not merely because of sensitivities over popular piety. The question of Theotokos as a Marian title, then, kick-started the controversy. What, however, was pivotal from the start was not the 'right' way to refer to, and honour, the Virgin Mary, but the correct understanding of the union of God and man in the incarnate Christ. The theological subject matter, in other words, was Christology.[97]

Historically, the Christological question occupied the late antique and Byzantine churches (including the West) for at least four centuries after the Council of Ephesus, and in various permutations. Theologically, it remains a central topic for reflection to this day, and the fundamental decisions taken in antiquity are still essential reference points for such reflection. Innumerable articles and monographs have addressed the historical side of the topic and the theologies, in particular, of the main protagonists and conciliar decisions. Of those directly involved in the phase of the dispute here documented, discussion of Nestorius' theology in the twentieth century has often been shaped by an attempt at 'rehabilitation' and with current ecumenical interests in mind. Interest in Cyril's theology (and his defining influence on later generations) on the other hand has often been promoted (predominantly but not only) by Orthodox voices or those with an Orthodox penchant.[98] This interest, too, has in part played out against the background of ecumenical discussion and

97 See Price (2004).

98 The influential and in many ways informative account in the chapter on the 'Christology of Cyril' in McGuckin (1994) 175–226 is an example. It needs to be cautiously disrobed of elements of flaming pro-Cyrillian apologetic, fiercely partisan and at times crossing over into hagiography.

consultation, especially between Eastern Orthodox churches and Oriental Orthodox churches. In all this the Council of Chalcedon is still, or again, the pivot on which judgements turn.

Faced with this vast panorama, the aim of this introduction must of necessity be limited strictly to those elements of the topic that help to understand the erupting controversy, its build up to the Council of Ephesus, and the way it played out there over the course of the summer and autumn of 431. In the context of an historical investigation, no theological judgement is called for; but it cannot, however, be simply brushed aside if a discussion of the controversy is to be more than purely antiquarian. This much at least must be said: the denunciation of Nestorius as a heretic fails to do justice both to his intentions and to the actual conceptual level of his thinking, constrained as it was by the limits in both terminology and clarity of the central categories, and even if his Christology cannot be said, from a theological point of view, to offer a wholly adequate response to the problem. Cyril's theology does not require similar protection against swift superficial rejection. The Chalcedonian Definition of 451 named his writings as authoritative sources of orthodox Christological doctrine and much of the discussion in the following centuries focused on his legacy. As a consequence, his thinking remains influential in most traditions of mainstream Christology; in the Orthodox churches he is even held in the highest esteem as the 'seal of orthodoxy'.

CONVENTIONAL MODELS FOR THE CONTROVERSY

One Nature versus Two Natures

Conventional manuals frequently portray the central theological difference between the sides as the teaching of 'one nature' versus 'two natures' in or of (a big debate in itself) the incarnate Christ. This antithesis becomes more pronounced particularly in the context of the Council of Chalcedon – and reverberates in similar and related contrasts between one or two 'operation(s)' (or 'energies') and one or two 'will(s)' during the many decades and centuries of dispute that followed. For the role of these concepts in the early conflict between Nestorius and Cyril, the understanding of 'nature' and related concepts requires a nuanced explanation not captured by the simple (and simplistic) juxtaposition of one versus two (natures). There was no standard agreed (philosophical, metaphysical, 'theological')

terminology or set of categories for Nestorius or Cyril to fall back on, even if the Trinitarian debates of the fourth century had opened important avenues. Unsurprisingly, scholarly assessments of their respective usages of such terminology vary considerably.[99]

The Alexandrian and Antiochene 'Schools'

The conflict is also regularly presented as the confrontation between two 'schools' of thought, contrasting an Alexandrian versus an Antiochene approach to the topic. While the distinction allows the identification of some divergent emphases and important motives and preconceptions of those involved, the idea of stable and established 'schools' is problematic and so is its association with geographic centres. The taxonomy still has some explanatory value for the intellectual formation of our protagonists, but must be used with caution when it comes to identifying party allegiances or types of Christology, let alone types of Christianity. Already during the fourth century, competing concepts cannot be neatly distributed in geographical terms, and a brief glance at the bishops convening in Ephesus and their allegiances already suffices to show that we cannot think of two solid blocks of fixed Christological tenets distributed along geographical lines. The model of a conflict between the Antiochene and Alexandrian schools, furthermore, regularly elides the doctrinal contrast with a different exegetical method purportedly in use on both sides: 'Alexandrian' allegorical reading is contrasted with 'Antiochene' literal interpretation of the Bible. Recent scholarship has amply shown this seeming methodological antithesis to be misconceived. Biblical interpretation on both 'sides' took the literal meaning seriously, employed the conventional philological techniques of their time, and equally found spiritual ('deeper' or 'higher') meaning in the Bible beyond a pure literalism. Specific types and genre of biblical texts (prophecy, poetry, narrative, parable, etc.) motivated different readings, and individual exegetes (unsurprisingly) offered distinct interpretations within what is, despite all the differences, a common exegetical tradition.[100] Crucially, the competing points of doctrine taken from biblical reading are not the result of competing exegetical methods along the lines of literal versus allegorical. When in the controversy the

99 The survey of scholarly interpretation of Cyril's use of the main terms – nature, hypostasis, and person – given in Van Loon (2009) 193–250 illustrates this issue.

100 Commonalities and distinctiveness are brought out, for instance, in Ondrey (2018).

exegetical practice (on the 'Antiochene' side) to ascribe certain sayings and statements about Jesus Christ to either the human or the divine nature is disputed, the conflict cannot be explained by a preference for allegorical or literal interpretations.

There remains, however, a very clear connection of studying and learning from past authors as privileged exponents of orthodox teaching. Especially in the case of Cyril of Alexandria this relationship is abundantly in evidence; he studied the writings of his predecessor Athanasius, who was remembered as the great hero of Trinitarian orthodoxy in the fourth-century conflicts; these shaped his main approach.[101] In the course of his further investigation into the questions raised by Nestorius, he encountered additional 'Athanasian' texts that were in reality written by Apollinarius of Laodicea and preserved under Athanasius' name.[102] This link is what remains of an 'Alexandrian school'. We shall discuss the ideas of Cyril of Alexandria directly and consider, where appropriate, their relationship to Athanasius of Alexandria and Apollinarius of Laodicea.

Equally problematic in this respect is the notion of an Antiochene school. The term conventionally refers to Diodore of Tarsus (d. *c.* 392/4) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (*c.* 350–428) as its main exponents, and is shaped especially by their opposition to the ideas of Apollinarius. The inclusion of other thinkers under this label is controversial and individual fourth-century theologians from Antioch and its environment espouse a range of theological ideas. Extremely reductive interpretations of an Antiochene school have gone so far as to identify it in the end with Theodore's intellectual heritage alone; that may be too narrow. Yet here, too, a distinct relationship forged in a common conversation can be

101 Cyril's determination to learn from Athanasius and his real indebtedness to him must be emphasized despite the recent attempt by Beeley (2012) 256–72 to marginalize Athanasius' influence on Cyril and replace him with Gregory of Nazianzus as the main source and inspiration of Cyril's Christological thinking. Beeley ignores Cyril's earliest writings, which provide clear evidence of his appropriation of Athanasian thinking and misplaces, chronologically, the relative importance of Ps-Athanasian writings in the controversy. See the review by DelCogliano (2013).

102 A classical 'Alexandrian' theologian, Apollinarius' see was situated about 50 miles south of Antioch, which already explodes any notion of a territorial distribution of ideas. What scholarship about fourth-century conflicts has increasingly come to emphasize, and what emerges from the discussions we encounter, is that Apollinarius needs to be integrated into an account of the complex discourses obtaining at Antioch in the late fourth and early fifth centuries – without being in any way an 'Antiochene' theologian in the conventional sense.

described, this time (unlike Cyril, who knew Athanasius only through his writings) even built on personal acquaintance.[103] Nestorius certainly had met and discussed theology with Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428). The main 'Antiochene' theologian at the time of the controversy, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, also indisputably learned from his ideas. At the same time, he was not just narrowly trained in a limited 'Antiochene' tradition, but had read earlier Christian authors widely and was broadly erudite in the theological discussions of the past.

The terms 'Antiochene' and 'Alexandrian' are used sparingly here and only for the purpose of drawing attention to certain communalities of inspiration in a number of texts. We must not conceive of these 'schools' and their geographical designations as anything remotely approaching the kinds of early modern denominational differentiations in distinct territories.[104] The theologians and bishops on all sides considered themselves not as representatives of discrete regional 'Christianities' in contrast to others, but as heirs of a common tradition and members of a single church.

Logos-sarx and *Logos-anthropos*

Along with the distinction of the two 'schools', a further related contrast has become conventional. According especially to the reconstruction offered by Alois Grillmeier (and widely shared in scholarship), a fundamental dichotomy groups the Christological models of the fourth century into two main types: the schema underlying especially the 'Alexandrian school' (but also 'Arian' theories) is characterized by a Word-Flesh (*Logos-sarx*) model, whereas the 'Antiochene school' (but also the Cappadocians) espoused a Word-Man (*Logos-anthropos*) model. The core differentiator in this juxtaposition is the question of whether the incarnate Christ had a rational human soul with its higher faculties of intellect and will (*Logos-anthropos*) or only took on a human body and flesh (*Logos-sarx*). The question is important to the Christology of Apollinarius and his opponents (see below, pp. 69–70),

103 Focusing on Theodoret's central role and position, and analysing the relationships between bishops beyond the Council of Ephesus, Schoor (2007) employs network theory and describes what is traditionally associated with the 'Antiochene school' as a network of contacts instead.

104 The group assembling around John of Antioch at Ephesus is in our annotation of documents – and following the usage observed in their own documents – mostly called the 'Easterners' (see p. 217, n. 1). It must not be identified directly with one 'side' in any of the conventional juxtapositions mentioned here.

and as such echoes in the controversy we are dealing with, but does not provide the key to the conflict between Nestorius and Cyril, both of whom affirmed the presence of a rational soul in the incarnate Christ. Cyril never shared Apollinarius' compositional understanding of Christ and in this respect at least was justified in rejecting accusations of Apollinarianism.

The binary juxtapositions and taxonomies mentioned, then, may help – if employed with the necessary caution and restraint[105] – for a first and very approximate orientation in a complex field of theological opinion and attendant sociocultural formation. They are, however, misleading if they are taken for anything more than signposts that lead into a much more varied landscape.

THEOLOGICAL WRITING DURING THE CONTROVERSY AND THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION AT THE COUNCIL: A SURVEY

With these cautions in mind, the documents most relevant to the theological dimension of the dispute in its early phase may be briefly surveyed before the conceptual points of conflict emerging from them can be discussed. In describing the main conciliar collections (above), it has already been pointed out that over the course of their expansion during several centuries, some were transformed into veritable theological compendia, with the relevant texts of Cyril as their core. The doctrinal interest of the collections inspired by ongoing and renewed disputes in their own times has already been emphasized. The selection of documents made here from these much-expanded collections, and chosen in view principally of the history of the council, does not include those longer thematic expositions and treatises. It thus avoids taking on the character of a theological compendium (inevitably Cyrillian in the circumstances), and this at the price of giving less prominence to the substantive theological discussion of the time than, in a different context, it would deserve. It is all the more important to note that a number of the more strongly discursive theological treatises composed by Cyril (and others) on the Christological problem fall into the same period between 428 and 431 as the documents from and about the

105 A carefully nuanced presentation, employing the terms cautiously, is available in Daley (2015) 121–38. See also, with the same caution in mind, Louth (2004) 342–52. For the 'Antiochene school', see also Hainthaler (2013) 218–36.

council and its origins, and provide their intellectual context. These texts witness to the vigour of the intellectual debates and take the arguments and reflections to a greater depth than is often apparent in the mostly short and generally polemical summaries of doctrinal disagreement contained in many of the documents assembled here. Instead of detailed exegetical and conceptual reflection, critical discussion is in these often indicated merely by certain almost stereotypical watchwords, stock phrases, and the use of heresy labels for opposing ideas that were easily decoded by those involved and sufficed to mark out differences.

Just as the controversy evolves between several actors, groups, and geographical poles, so here we encounter a range of theological positions. The main theological concepts in dispute, however, are at first presented principally by Nestorius and Cyril; other authors offer critical comment on either thinker and write their texts in direct or indirect conversation with their tenets and arguments. Importantly, during the years 428–31 no distinct Roman teaching emerges; when issuing a condemnation in 430, Pope Celestine left it to Cyril to adumbrate the substantive points of 'orthodoxy' he wanted Nestorius to profess. Only from late 430 onwards did theologians in the 'Antiochene' sphere other than Nestorius visibly commence the substantive engagement with the topic through the composition of more extensive and elaborate tracts, and the contours emerge of an 'Antiochene' Christological position not associated directly with Nestorius but firmly anti-Cyrillian in its direction. Theodoret of Cyrrhus can with a high degree of certainty be identified as the main theological thinker behind the relevant statements made in the name of the group. Already in the summer of 431 and in subsequent years, he and theologians like him move to the centre of the theological debate on the non-Cyrillian ('Antiochene') side, and Nestorius' original tenets and idiosyncrasies all but disappear from the discussion.

For those interested in engaging with the theological debates in more depth, a brief survey of the identity of the main Christological texts from the early phase (428–31) may help as a foundation to the treatment that will then follow of the actual theological points under debate.

Texts by Nestorius

Nestorius' position at the start of the controversy in Constantinople, and subsequently expressed up to the Council of Ephesus, can be assessed from a number of sermons he preached over the course of 428/9; to these can

be added a few letters from this period which – with a notable exception (below) – offer only succinct pointers towards his main concerns. Of the sermons, excerpts were presented aiming to convict him of 'heterodoxy', first in a number of Cyril's anti-Nestorian writings of the period and then also in the Cyrillian council's session of 22 June 431 (and again in the record of 22 July). They extract and present Nestorius' thinking with polemical intent. The fullest expression of Nestorius' thinking from this period in the conciliar documents occurs in a letter of summer 430 written in response to Cyril, which the Cyrillian council condemned as heterodox in that same session.

We exclude from the following brief sketch the theological reflections Nestorius lays out in the *Liber Heraclidis*, which survives in Syriac translation. The work combines historical-polemical recollection of events around Ephesus (written in exile before 451) with more strongly thematic Christological discussion in other parts. Much of the text is open to suspicion of later compilation and interpolation; clearly not all of it was written by Nestorius. Attempts to advocate Nestorian authorship for certain (suspect) sections which offer theological reflection and to identify them as parts of a very early work from his pen (called *Theopaschites*) – according to some scholars, written even before the council – are not widely accepted.[106] It seems prudent to treat the theology of the *Liber* (in the sections that seem genuine) as a response to Ephesus; for this reason we exclude it from our discussion here.

Almost as important for understanding the controversy as Nestorius' own early texts, the first denunciations of Nestorius provide a significant insight into the way in which his teaching could be, and was by some, perceived and construed – or misconstrued.

106 The very complex literary form is authoritatively discussed by Abramowski (1963), who has identified long sections that were probably interpolated and compiled (sometimes much) later. In contrast, Scipioni (1974) 304–10 has offered a different analysis, by which the disputed sections of the first part come from Nestorius' (otherwise lost) *Theopaschites*. Chestnut (1978) 392–409 (unconvincingly) dates these particularly early, before the council, and Bevan (2013) recently rejected the interpolation hypothesis and revived the attribution of several passages to Nestorius. For a summary of scholarly discussion and criticisms of Scipioni's hypothesis (which also pertains to scholars building on it), see Grillmeier (1990) 708–10. Even if the precise extent of interpolations is open to debate, and Abramowski's suggestions may overstate them, her principal caution against later additions remains justified and discourages from making such passages the basis for a reconstruction of Nestorius' theology before the council.

Texts by Cyril

Cyril's Christological position is first adumbrated in outline in his *Letter to the Monks* of 429 (omitted from our collection; see our brief sketch above, pp. 40–41). Over the course of 429–30, Cyril's thinking evolved in response to the challenge posed to him by Nestorius' ideas. It was worked out in a number of anti-Nestorian treatises composed over these years – *Contra Nestorium*; and the *Orationes ad Theodosium*, *ad Augustas*, and *ad Dominas*, which are also not included in our collection.[107] The clearest expression of his ideas, however, comes in two letters addressed to Nestorius in the spring and autumn of 430. Notable shifts in emphasis and language can be detected between Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius* (February–March 430) and his *Third Letter* (October–November 430), and the summative Anathemas or Chapters (as they are commonly called) that are appended to it. The Cyrillian council at Ephesus formally approved the *Second Letter* as the correct interpretation of Nicene Christology and included the *Third Letter* in its Acts without passing comment or judgement. Later generations that held up Cyril as an authoritative interpreter of Christological orthodoxy debated which of these expressed his thinking best and what their respective status was in framing the discourses in their own time. The contested readings in later generations show that Cyril's Christology was not a coherent systematic monolith from the start (or perhaps ever), but provided different emphases and different terminological choices in individual texts of the period and so allowed for divergent interpretation then as now.

Texts Written against Cyril

Beginning in December 430, Cyril's *Third Letter*, with the appended Chapters, became the target of fierce opposition and theological rebuttal. Refutations of Cyril's Chapters were composed by Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Andrew of Samosata (winter 430–spring 431); they survive only in fragments preserved by Cyril's response to them. The Third Letter's inclusion in the Acts of Cyril's part-council was criticized by the counter-council as an unlawful attempt to introduce heterodox doctrinal ideas and to sanction them by conciliar approval.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus emerged as the leading theologian on the side of John of Antioch's counter-council. The only clear formulation of the group's

107 They are listed in n. 57 above.

Christological position stated during the council was probably drafted by him and can be found in a document sent to the emperor (doc. 90). It contains a credal-style formula setting out their views in very clear opposition to Cyril's Chapters, but also offering positive teaching that proved influential. This formula was, with some revision, agreed in 433 between Cyril and John of Antioch and is known as the Formula of Reunion; it became one of the main foundations of the Chalcedonian doctrinal decree in 451.

Theology discussed, or not, at the Council

The many theological treatises written during the period underscore the importance of the doctrinal substance of the debates, something that the sheer number of highly polemical and strongly political documents of the conciliar disputes in our collection can sometimes obscure.

At the same time, other than in dealing with the pre-conciliar letters exchanged between Cyril and Nestorius (and a listing of critical extracts), no explicit theological discussion of the conflicting Christological concepts took place at the council, and the council did not produce a theological formula of its own. The formula of the counter-council just mentioned was not intended as an authoritative definition of orthodoxy by this group either, but was penned to answer the emperor's call for a written exposition of their faith.

This paradoxical observation, after the importance of theology has just been claimed, finds its explanation in the splitting of the council into rival part-assemblies that never discussed theology in common, and the resultant focus of much of the documentation on the denunciation of the illegitimacy and various misdemeanours of the opposing camp. Whether, if a joint meeting had taken place, substantive discussion of alternative models and language choices might have taken place or whether the very format and ideology of conciliar decision-making might have obviated it even then, is a moot point. In the event, criticism of opposing theological ideas is couched in clichéd polemical slogans and the ascription of well-known heresy labels. The distinct theological interest of the bishops around John of Antioch is apparent in a routine denunciation of Cyril's Chapters as 'Apollinarian', but under the circumstances that challenge was never pursued in detail, let alone its substance discussed between the sides, however much the eastern bishops claim they tried. The Cyrillians, in turn, maintained that all that needed to be said as regards doctrine had been accomplished in the first session of 22 June, which had put on record

and condemned Nestorius' errors (without specifying in the verdict what exactly they were) and which had also formally approved Cyril's teaching in his *Second Letter to Nestorius*. The Second Letter, in this way, comes closest to giving positive expression to the 'Christology of the council'.

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL POINTS IN DISPUTE

Heretical Associations

The controversy started, as has been repeatedly stated, with Nestorius' rejection of the term Theotokos. Its theological implications, to him, were stark. Taken literally, it amounted to attributing to the Word of God a beginning in time in dependence on a human being and undergoing a whole range of human experiences – a metaphysical absurdity. More acutely, however, he saw in it the revival of two heretical positions already refuted in the fourth century – Arianism and Apollinarianism.

Two points should be noted before reflecting on these heretical associations. Documents from all sides describe and attack opposing theologies in terms of past heresies. The use of heresy labels as a rhetorical strategy is evident. For the substantive theological differences signalled in this way we need to be mindful that what had come to be associated with these '-isms' in collective memory was at least as important as the historical reality of what had actually been championed by their original proponents; this is particularly pertinent in different recollections of Apollinarius at the time of the controversy.[108] The representation, here, of his 'errors' – the revival of which the theologians of the fifth century detected and criticized in their opponents – do not give accurate expression of his own thinking, but are refracted through the lenses of later reading and criticism. In addition, looking back to the fourth century makes a connection with the themes then under discussion. However, with the exception of Apollinarius and his opponents, the primary concern of these discussions was not the understanding of the incarnation and the 'person' of the incarnate Jesus Christ as such, but to establish whether and in what way these provided arguments and allowed inferences about the status of the Logos in relation to God the Father. In other words, theologians before *c.* 370 discussed

108 For Apollinarius' understanding and the 'one-nature' formula in particular, see classically Grillmeier (1990) 480–94 and, in a wider purview, Mühlenberg (1969).

the questions, and the scriptural passages about the birth, life, and death of Jesus Christ on which they build, principally in a Trinitarian, not in a Christological perspective. While the two are frequently conflated, and the term 'Christology' is employed loosely (and unhelpfully) especially in English-language publications, it is necessary to distinguish these two directionalities clearly in order to grasp the core issues in each case.

'Arianism'

In Trinitarian perspective, did the gospels' accounts of Jesus Christ's weakness and suffering set the Son apart from the Father (who was not subject to them) and make him inferior and only second in rank, or more starkly still, place him in a different ontological category altogether? The charge of 'Arianism' against the profession of Theotokos in this way identified a seemingly inescapable logic that led to ascribing a diminished divinity to the Son and Word of God because of the incarnation. If calling Mary 'Mother of God' meant that she gave birth to the Incarnate in his divinity (as Nestorius argued that his Constantinopolitan opponents implied), that divinity was of necessity inferior to that of the transcendent Father who remained completely untouched by, and incapable of, 'change' and 'suffering', that is, of being acted upon by other causes or forces. A divine being capable of incarnation and undergoing change (including experience of human life and ultimately death) had to be of a lesser ontological status and could not be consubstantial with the Father as professed in Nicene Orthodoxy.[109]

While Arianism had become a shorthand stereotype for the subordination and denial of the full divinity of the Son, there was a social reality to Nestorius' worries. The Germanic peoples from whom the Roman military recruited heavily had first come into contact with Christianity at a time when 'Arianism' had been the official orthodoxy of the empire, and continued to espouse it.[110] The 'Arian' church in Constantinople which

109 Nestorius does not discuss whether a human soul of the incarnate Christ might be able to insulate him against this logic – another warning against the uncritical use of the *Logos-sarx* versus *Logos-anthropos* models.

110 In the diversification of many distinct positions and groupings in the course of fourth-century debates, the label 'Arianism' had become specifically associated with the theology of the councils of Rimini/Seleucia and Constantinople in 359/60, with which Constantius II had attempted to bring unity to the warring factions. Modern historians of theology speak of this Trinitarian thinking in a more differentiated manner as 'Homoean' theology. The term

Nestorius tried to seize at the very beginning of this episcopacy, was used mainly by Germanic military personnel. 'Arianism' was a real presence in the city.

'Apollinarianism'

The charge of Apollinarianism, on the other hand, identified a different and at first sight opposed error. Apollinarius had been the first to attempt teaching a conceptual model for an understanding of the incarnate person (he had, in other words, discussed Christology proper rather than implications for Trinitarian thought arising from the incarnation). Crucially, he had done so on the basis of Nicene Trinitarian orthodoxy, that is on the assumption of the undiminished divinity of the Son consubstantial with the Father. Using a tripartite anthropological schema of body, soul (the principle bestowing vitality), and mind (with the faculties of cognition and volition), which can be contracted into a two-part scheme of body and rational soul, in Apollinarius' model the divine Logos replaced the human mind (*nous*). The schema, opponents pointed out, thus denied the full and complete humanity of the person, depriving him of exactly those faculties that accounted for personal moral agency. We have already mentioned the rebuttal of such ideas by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus as well as Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus (irrespective of their different opinions otherwise), who claimed they also implied an incomplete salvation (above pp. 45–46). The result could be seen not just in an incomplete human but in the transformation of the remaining human elements or characteristics by the overpowering potency of the divine, thus creating a mixture or blend of the divine and human that in effect absorbed and 'changed' the human into the divine; transforming feeble human nature into incorruptible divine nature. Although Apollinarius did not literally teach it, his enemies understood this to mean that the divine Logos brought with him a 'flesh from heaven' in the incarnation. Apollinarianism, too, was more than a past theoretical option failing to succeed and requiring rejection, and Nestorius' suspicion was not unfounded. Apollinarius had used the title Theotokos, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the inspiration of much of Nestorius' thinking, had combatted Apollinarius (and his followers) directly on their allegedly

is derived from the Greek word *homoios*, meaning 'similar, and was used in the formulae of these councils to claim that the relationship between God the Father and the Son is best described as one of 'similarity'.

inappropriate usage of the term. Theodoret's *Church History* reports the reunification between Apollinarians and the main Church (of established Theodosian Orthodoxy) taking place in Antioch only in 425 or 427/8,[111] making an Apollinarian (social and intellectual) presence and theology very much a live contemporary concern not just for Theodore (d. 428), but also for Nestorius before he moved from Antioch to Constantinople in 428.[112] Nestorius' senses for Apollinarian sentiment and overtones were heightened.

The stereotypes associated in fifth-century polemic with two archetypal heresies, then, framed Nestorius' criticism: to avoid both the Trinitarian consequence of suggesting a lesser divinity undergoing change and suffering birth from a woman ('Arianism') and the effective extinction of any really meaningful humanity by an all-absorbing transformation into a divinized reality ('Apollinarianism'), Nestorius rejected Theotokos.

Although 'Arianism' and 'Apollinarianism' are fundamentally different notions and could be described as opposing ends of a spectrum of Christological 'error', they were regularly elided in documents of the time. Cyril's Chapters, in particular, were repeatedly charged with allegedly entertaining both errors simultaneously. In addition to the rhetorical effectiveness of this accusation, the reason must be that controversialists saw God's divinity compromised by both these heretical positions (albeit in different ways), and that both furthermore seemed to deny or neglect the human soul of Christ.[113]

111 Theodoret, *H.E.* V. 38,2.

112 Recent scholarly discussion therefore appropriately situates Apollinarius' original Christological thinking within the complex debates in and around an Antiochene milieu in the 370s. In the early fifth century, however, the fact that both anti-Apollinarian and Apollinarian texts were found side by side in collections originating between *c.* 380 and the beginning of the controversy in 428, and transmitted there under the name of Athanasius, added further uncertainty about the precise contours of Apollinarian ideas. For recent scholarship about Apollinarius, see the contributions in Bergjan, Gleede, and Heimgartner (2015). Cf. Beeley (2011) 376–407; ibid. (2012) 176–9; Daley (2002) 469–88. In his chapter 'Apollinarius and the Chalcedonian Definition', Edwards (2009) 137–54 even credits Apollinarius with central concepts later adopted as orthodox.

113 Recent scholarly discussion of Apollinarius' Christology calls into question this purported communality with and dependency from Arian teaching of a soulless Christ (*Christos apsychos*). See previous note.

Theotokos – Anthropotokos – Christotokos

Theologians from Antioch in Nestorius' circle condemned the use of Theotokos openly and advocated the use of 'Anthropotokos' as the more appropriate designation. The term 'Anthropotokos' can be found in Theodore's texts battling Apollinarianism but is hardly attested outside the sphere of his influence; in this sense it may be considered a term of the 'Antiochene school' – or perhaps better, as a term originating in that cauldron of debates that was Antioch in the late fourth century (and to which Apollinarius arguably wanted to contribute as much as his opponents Diodore and Theodore). The Christian intellectual landscape at Antioch was particularly complicated and involved multi-voiced discourses; in the Trinitarian debates on the Nicene end of the theological spectrum – opposed to and by the non-Nicene theories and groups – both old and neo-Nicene interpretations circulated and vied for acceptance. Further complexity was added by the relatively new discussion specifically about the constitution of the person of Christ that Apollinarius and his followers introduced. Crucially, what may seem minor and quite technical terminological distinctions and preferences marked out the differences within the 'Nicene' trajectory accepted and received as foundational orthodoxy in the next generations. It is no coincidence that Acacius of Beroea (*c.* 322–*c.* 437),[114] who had lived through the debates, reminded Cyril in a letter early in the controversy of the problems these intra-Nicene differences had caused (doc. 6). If the careful use of language and the kind of doctrinal 'precision' Nestorius demanded was called for anywhere, it was at Antioch.

If Anthropotokos originally belongs to this background and was promoted by clergy in Nestorius' immediate circle,[115] there can be no

114 A. Jülicher, 'Akakios 6', *RE* I,1 (1893) 1141; F.W. Bautz, 'Acacius von Beröa', *BBKL* 1 (1990) 15.

115 It is not impossible that preference for 'Anthropotokos' could have been voiced in Constantinople before Nestorius' arrival. There was certainly a lively and longstanding connection with Antioch and Antiochene Christianity; if nothing else, the proposals of both Nestorius and earlier of John Chrysostom for the episcopacy of the city demonstrate it and imply that for some influential quarters at least Antioch was considered a source for credible candidates for the episcopal throne. However, if this term and associated views circulated, there is no evidence for them among the relative dearth of sources from the reigns of Nestorius' immediate predecessors. Real conflict appears to have erupted only when clergymen and theologians trained in the thought of Theodore of Mopsuestia entered the city with Nestorius.

suggestion, however, that for him the term on its own provided suitable language (and by extension, concept) for an understanding of the incarnation. Theodore of Mopsuestia allowed the use of Theotokos when combined with Anthropotokos in that the two terms expressed different yet complementary perspectives on the incarnation.[116] Nestorius' claim to have reconciled proponents of both alternative usages by proposing Christotokos instead has recently been doubted (see pp. 31–32 above). However, that Nestorius attempted in his theology to bridge the divide and to express in one term ('Christotokos') essentially what Theodore of Mopsuestia had tried to achieve by demanding the usage of both terms side by side, but using each in their appropriate sense, is credible.[117] Nestorius' open hostility towards Theotokos as inappropriate in and by itself gave the seeming balance of his language a heavy slant. Theodore's reflections, on the other hand, illustrate that the term did not need to be rejected outright in 'Antiochene' theology but could find an 'orthodox' interpretation there; and it is surely in this sense that Theodoret and John of Antioch (the latter after earlier hostility to it; docs 6 and 23) could accept the term and urged Nestorius to do so as well. And already in his early letter to Celestine (of 429; doc. 2) Nestorius affirmed that the title could be 'tolerated' because the 'temple' (cf. John 2:21) taken from Mary was inseparable from the Word and so long as it did not affirm the falsehood of Mary giving birth to the Word. And in one of his rare statements in his months at Ephesus, Nestorius expresses a position very similar to that of Theodore of Mopsuestia and advocates the combined use of both terms while emphasizing the necessary caveats when using Theotokos.[118]

116 See Theodore of Mopsuestia, fr. XLIII (258f. Jansen) and Jansen's discussion of its anti-Apollinarian target at (2009) 167–9; partial English translation as 'fr. 11', in Norris (1980) 12f. Theodore talks of these terms as if they were alternatives as a trap laid by the Apollinarians and part of their artful, deceiving rhetoric; he does not seem to advocate Anthropotokos on its own as a keyword for the incarnation and outside the context of his anti-Apollinarian polemic. For Theodore's Christological thinking, see Grillmeier (1990 = 2004) 614–34; cf. also McLeod (2000).

117 In fr. XLIII, Theodore distinguished between the use of Anthropotokos as appropriate to Mary's role 'in nature' or 'in reality' (*tē physei*) and that of Theotokos 'in relation' or 'by attribution' (*tē anaphora*), because, he argued, God was in the born human not as if circumscribed in his nature, but voluntarily and freely.

118 'The holy Virgin should be called both Theotokos and Anthropotokos – Theotokos, not as if God the Word received the beginning of his existence from her (for how could this be, when he is the creator of the Virgin?), but lest anyone should suppose that the one who was born was a mere man ... [while] to those who do not approve of this term [sc.

Nestorius, then, placed importance on the reality of Christ's humanity first to protect the notion of the divine against inappropriate statements involving passivity and passibility. He equally emphasized its salvific necessity, however, as his first sermon 'Against the Theotokos' in particular clearly outlines.[119] Nestorius' counter-proposal of calling Mary 'Christotokos' is the expression of a different understanding of Christ that needs analysis.

'Christ': Godhead and Manhood

The proposition of Christotokos is founded on Nestorius' understanding of 'Christ' as the doctrinally apposite expression for the specific constitution of the person of the Incarnate: at the heart of it, the appellation 'Christ' always encompassed, for Nestorius, both his Godhead and his humanity that is both natures, or 'two natures' (*duo physeis*). Any interpretation of th incarnation and the person of Christ needed to retain it. When the Nicen Creed confessed, 'We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God', it had, for Nestorius, deliberately used the name Jesus Christ as the (grammatical) subject of its statements about him. It had not put 'the Word [Logos] of God' precisely to fend off the erroneous ascription of incarnation and suffering to the divinity. The Nicene Fathers had deliberately imitated biblical usage in their wording of the creed, especially Paul's use in Phil 2:5–11. Christotokos, then, and the distinction of two natures, was for Nestorius both in line with the creed and rested on sound biblical understanding. 'This expression [sc. Christotokos]', Nestorius wrote in 429 to Celestine of Rome, 'uses a name that signifies both natures'; in the immediate context he speaks of the manhood 'conjoined' to the Word, the Incarnate's divinity being 'consubstantial with the Godhead of the Father, while the manhood was born at a later time from the holy Virgin, and because of its conjunction with the Godhead is worshipped together with it by men and angels' (*Second Letter to Celestine*; doc. 3). These early expressions are formulated before any conflict with Cyril and independent of his ideas. They reveal Nestorius' chief concern for a distinction between the divine and the human, and offer his favoured expression for their coming together in the incarnation: conjunction (*sunapheia*). We shall discuss it shortly.

Christotokos], we have offered the formula "Theotokos and Anthropotokos", as indicative of the two natures, Godhead and manhood' (doc. 85).

119 Loofs, *Nestoriana* 249–64; trans. Norris (1980) 123–31.

Critical Readings: 'a mere man' – 'two sons', 'two Christs'

Nestorius' blunt rejection of crude statements about Mary giving birth to 'God' (and similar statements ascribing human limitations to 'God') drew comparison with Paul of Samosata and was interpreted as the outright denial of the divinity of her son by his critics. The anonymous pamphlet posted in the city (doc. 1) offered a comparison of textual snippets from both authors and detected in Nestorius the revival of the Samosatene's teaching. Just like Paul of Samosata, Nestorius was alleged to understand Christ to have been nothing more than a man (or a 'mere man', *psilos anthropos*, hence 'psilanthropism'). This line of attack also helped to shape (chiefly through distribution of the pamphlet) the perception of Nestorius' alleged errors by John Cassian in the West, who combined it with attributing to Nestorius a 'Pelagian' idea of a gradual ascent to ethical perfection. His flawed assessment in turn fed into the Roman perception of the issues in hand. The elision of 'Nestorianism' with Pelagianism severely damaged Nestorius' reputation in the West; yet the introduction of the Pelagian controversy into the debate confused rather than clarified the issues.[120]

The consistent demand for a distinction between divinity and humanity earned Nestorius the further accusation that he was teaching two sons or two Christs (always firmly and expressly rejected by him). The accusation had already been directed at Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus when they advocated this distinction against Apollinarius.[121] The charge interprets distinction as separation and division – a separation that creates (or presupposes) two persons or individual realities. If Mary's son is fully and emphatically human, then the pre-incarnate divine Son of God is another, and so this logic detects and alleges that this teaching entails a separate existence of two sons or two Christs: the pre-existent, eternal, divine Son of God and the human son born of Mary in time. These 'two' are only brought together in a secondary move – yet to be explained – that falls short of producing a truly unified reality or person; even in the incarnation, the two (his opponents claimed) remain fundamentally separate. As the human Jesus 'became' divinized in the process of incarnation, life, and resurrection, there are still, in their eyes, two sons: a divine Son by nature and a divine Son by adoption or divinization (*theosis-deificatio*).

120 More confident of a connexion is Fairbairn (2003).

121 Exemplary texts and discussion in Jansen (2009) 110–14, 168–78.

The polemical caricature of Nestorius thus focused on his alleged teaching of a 'mere man' and of 'two sons'. Beyond the polemic, however, these slogans point to a range of conceptual challenges. And from Nestorius' point of view, the titles for Mary similarly open up the wider questions of how the incarnation should be understood. How did divinity and humanity come together, by what process and on what metaphysical level? Which categories might usefully describe it and what terminology would suit it? The challenge was to express the singular personal reality of the incarnate Jesus Christ in view of, and constituted by, his humanity and divinity.

Very soon divergent answers to these questions emerged in an at first indirect but soon direct conversation and dispute between Cyril and Nestorius. Both were pushed by their opponent's objections to offer fuller explanations of their tenets, and the two texts with which the council directly engaged when taking up its position were a letter by Cyril to Nestorius and his direct response (docs 10–11).

Cyril's Basic Christological Intuition and his Objections to Nestorius

Cyril's engagement with the topic was from the outset a response to news about Nestorius. His main concerns and basic approach came to the fore already in the *Letter to the Monks* of 429. Drawing on Athanasius, Cyril emphasized the divine Logos as the sole personal subject in all aspects of the incarnation and life of Jesus Christ. In the incarnation the divine Logos added to his nature – being consubstantial to the Father (and without compromising its integrity) – human characteristics (*idiomata*); he took up 'flesh' and became 'enfleshed', incarnate (John 1:18). In the incarnation, birth, life, and suffering, there is no different agent, but the same divine Logos acts in a different 'manner' and constitution – that of his incarnate existence. It also meant there could be no symmetry between the divine and the human elements in the person of Christ. Over the course of 429/30 Cyril studied texts by Nestorius that were circulating and in the process also acquainted himself with further literature that might help his reasoning. Here he encountered a number of Apollinarian texts attributed to Athanasius. He thus continued his 'Athanasian' approach, yet unwittingly built on and appropriated aspects of its Apollinarian interpretation and extrapolation. Apollinarius had ultimately portrayed the incarnation and life of Christ as that of the *Logos ensarkos* ('the Word enfleshed') as opposed to that of an *anthropos entheos* ('an inspired

Man').[122] Cyril shared the emphasis on the divine subject acting, but he did not profess the associated 'crude' Apollinarian schema of an 'incomplete' (mindless) man. Phrases like the Logos took 'flesh animated by a rational soul' (*Second Letter to Nestorius*, doc. 10) are typically repeated to exclude such a misconception. From Apollinarius he also learned the fateful formula 'one incarnate nature of the Word' (*mia physis tou Logou sesarkomene*); but *miaphysite* ('one-nature') language is on the whole rare before the council and is given more prominence only after the Union of 433.[123] The *Third Letter to Nestorius*, written in the autumn of 430, uses a variation of the formula in speaking of 'one incarnate *hypostasis* of the Word'.[124] It is debated whether Cyril uses *hypostasis* and *physis* virtually synonymously at this time, and it depends on this assessment whether the formula in this instance expresses the same concept. In this context there also emerged the notion of a *henosis physike* (a 'natural union', or a 'union' on the level of 'nature') achieved in the incarnation, as is stated for instance in the Third Anathema of that same letter. Cyril's frequent illustration for what is meant by such a 'union/*henosis*' of natures is the anthropological 'union' of body and soul. Differently from Nestorius, he reads the Nicene Creed not so much with attention to the term used as the grammatical subject of the second article ('Christ'), but focuses on the uninterrupted flow of statements about his consubstantial divinity with the Father on the one hand and of those about his activity in the economy and incarnation on the other; no different subject is introduced between them. It is the 'sameness' of the subject about whom consubstantiality with the Father is first predicated and of whom statements concerning incarnation, life, death, and resurrection are subsequently made that interests him and guides his understanding. 'The same [*autos*]' is his

122 See classically Mühlenberg (1969).

123 There are two clear attestations of the formula before the council: *Oratio ad Dominas* 10 (ACO I.1.5, 65,27); *Contra Nestorium* II.33 (ACO I.1.6, 33,6–8) – the latter probably already written in 429. Other instances of one nature/one hypostasis language are collected in Grillmeier (1990 = 2004) 674 n.2. Grillmeier's compilation rests on his understanding of a (near-)synonymous use of both terms by Cyril, which is also firmly advocated, among others, by Meunier (1997) 256–8, but rejected by Van Loon (2009) 487. For a careful analysis of all occurrences of *physis* and *hypostasis* language (and other related conceptual terms) in individual Cyrillian texts of 430, see Van Loon (2009) 419–502; cf. specifically index s.v. 'One nature/*Mia physis* (of Christ)'. Van Loon proposes that even in these contexts a 'dyophysite' framework prevails in Cyril's thought. On the question of 'dyaphysite' thinking in Cyril, see De Halleux (1993b).

124 Cyril, *ep.* 17.8 (ACO I.1.1, 38,22); doc. 20.

constant mantra when talking about the agency and personal reality of the incarnate; he also regularly reads this pronoun into his paraphrastic rendition of the creed (and is criticized by Nestorius for so doing). This 'same' subject can only be the divine Logos/Word, which word he also routinely substitutes – and without offering a reasoned justification – in his explanations and references to the creed for the terms ('Lord Jesus Christ') used there, and is again accused by Nestorius of not reading carefully: it is evident that Cyril considered it a 'natural' reading in no need of justification. The centre of agency, then, could only be the divine nature, and Christ could be spoken of as a 'person' only in reference to it. After the Trinitarian discussions of the fourth century, however, this could not be said of a generic 'nature'. When older Nicene interpretations had used nature (usually *ousia*, more rarely *physis*) and hypostasis almost synonymously, Neo-Nicene theology[125] had reserved the term *hypostasis* for the designation of three individual realities or persons of the divinity and *ousia* for the common divinity. *Mia ousia, treis hypostaseis* ('one essence, three hypostases') became the shorthand formula. Tellingly, in a letter of a Constantinopolitan synod of 382, preserved in Theodoret's *Church History*, the bishops quoted this formula from a document issued the previous year with an important variation: they speak of 'one *ousia*' in 'three perfect *hypostaseis* or three perfect *prosopa*'.[126] This suggests that in this context the terms hypostasis and *prosopon* ('person') serve the same distinction and carry virtually the same meaning.

In transposing this kind of terminology into Christological discourse,[127] Cyril's use of nature (*physis*, equivalent to *ousia*) and hypostasis can at times be very close (as it had been in earlier Nicene discussion) and denote practically the same thing: the concrete, instantiated, individualized nature – in this instance, of the divine Logos as the subject of the incarnation. It explains Cyril's central demand that the way in which divinity and

125 The term designates the terminological distinctions advocated chiefly by the Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa and which inform the understanding of 'Nicene Orthodoxy' at the Council of Constantinople (381).

126 Theodoret, *H.E.* V. 11 (292,15f. Hansen). See already Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos. Ex communibus notionibus* (GNO III.1, 33,3–5 Jaeger): 'We speak of one God, the creator of everything, even though he is also contemplated in three persons [προσώποις] or hypostases – those of the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit'.

127 For the transferal of conceptual terminology between these debates more generally, see Richard (1945) 243–53. Richard identifies Cyril as the first to introduce *hypostasis* into the Christological disputes, specifically as the category for defining Christ's 'person'.

humanity were together in Christ was a 'hypostatic union' (*henosis kat' hypostasin*) that is to say a union on the level of hypostasis, namely the concretely subsisting (non-generic) nature. The alternative phrase of *henosis physike* ('physical/natural union') must surely be understood in the same way but was even more open to suspicion by his opponents of mingling and fusing the natures in a way that destroyed both. In the *Second Letter to Nestorius* (of spring 430) approved by the council, Cyril maintained that his concept does not dissolve the distinctions or wipe out the specific characteristics of the two natures. In a much-lauded phrase Cyril succinctly put it like this:

> we say this, that, in a way that cannot be expressed or understood, the Word united to himself hypostatically flesh animated by a rational soul, became man and was called son of man [...] while the natures which were brought together in true union are different, yet the two make up one Christ and Son. It is not as if the difference between the natures was destroyed by the union: instead, the Godhead and the manhood, in a way that cannot be stated or uttered, came together into unity and made perfect for us the one Lord and Christ and Son.

Nestorius welcomed the statement about two undestroyed natures (but found it invalidated by seeming contradictions in other parts of the letter); at Chalcedon it was held up to demonstrate the harmony between Cyril's and Leo's teaching. Cyril here clearly staked out what could be common ground and a widely accepted consensus.

Prosopon

In the part omitted from this quotation, Cyril rejected his opponent's view of the incarnation (as he read it) as the 'the assumption of a mere *prosopon*'. In fact, Nestorius did not conceive of the *hypostasis* as the proper locus for the unity of the divine and human, because – we may surmise – of the fluidity between the terms *physis* and *hypostasis*, from which the confusion of natures seemed the inevitable consequence. Nor did he accept the idea of a 'union' (*henosis*) because he feared the blending of natures this idea seemed to entail and the destruction of their distinctiveness. For the real humanity of Jesus Christ to be preserved, and his divinity to remain unchanged, he spoke instead (following the terminology of Theodore of Mopsuestia) of the *sunapheia* ('conjunction; clinging together') of both natures, and used biblical vocabulary and metaphors such as the Word

'indwelling' (*enoikēsis*; cf. Col 3:16) or inhabiting the body as a 'temple' (cf. John 2:19–21; esp. 21: 'He [Jesus] was speaking of the temple of his body').[128] In Cyril's critical assessment, these propositions fell short of the fundamental prerequisite he had already set out in the *Letter to the Monks*: the incarnation must not resemble the inspiration of a prophet (even if it were said to be more intense, closer, or in other ways far superior); there had to be a difference of category.

Nestorius, then, insisted on two natures not, as he was accused of doing, in order to express two separate realities ('two sons'). The one individual reality of Jesus Christ, however, could not be defined as nature or hypostasis but instead had to be understood as one *prosopon*. In the texts written before the council Nestorius thus conceived of the joint *prosopon* – joint, that is, of Godhead and humanity – as the 'person' of Christ.[129] Th word does not straightforwardly denote 'person' in a modern sense (nc does any of the alternatives offered at the time). While it often designate. the 'individual', it did not usually evoke notions of personality and substantial integrity.[130] That said, *prosopon* was, to Nestorius, the concrete reality of a person as it could be perceived by, and present itself to, another: it was an 'I' in relation to a 'you', and in this way surely more than just an outward presentation. The properties essential to a 'person' were disclosed to the 'other' through, or at the level of, its *prosopon* (or, in the reverse perspective: allowed the 'other' perception and cognisance of them), just

128 It was important for the 'Antiochene' claim that its Christology was the common legacy of the church that Athanasius had used similar language: 'The bodiless one was in [ἐν] the passible body' (*Letter to Epictetus* 6,3, *Athanasius Werke* I.1.5, 722, 18–19).

129 It seems doubtful, however, that he also thought of the joining of two *prosopa* of the divine and the human natures, respectively, in the incarnation (which might have lent itself further to the criticism of 'two sons') – and which the theory of a joint *prosopon* logically seems to require. This understanding is certainly expressed in Theodore of Mopsuestia and also follows logically from Nestorius' later reflections in the *Liber Heraclidis*. In the *Liber Heraclidis* (after Ephesus) – but only then – Nestorius appears to have developed the understanding of Christ's *prosopon* and its relationship to the two 'natures' and *hypostaseis* into a more systematic presentation of a 'prosopic union' – resembling, structurally at least, Cyril's hypostatic union. We must note, however, that in the surviving texts from the period up to Ephesus the accusation of teaching two *prosopa* is never levelled against him. The language is also completely absent from the excerpts of Nestorian texts selected and presented for the purpose of his conviction as a heretic. Had he used the phrase, such an omission from the criticisms and denunciations of the time would be difficult to explain.

130 For the range of concepts and connotations of this difficult word, see 'πρόσωπον, τό', *PGL* 1186–9; V. H. Drecoll, 'πρόσωπον, ου, τό', *Lexicon Gregorianum* 7 (2009) 801–6.

as had been the case for Theodore of Mopsuestia.[131] In this way, the word seemingly failed to express without ambiguity the substantial reality and personality of a human subject. After all, the term *prosopon* could still be used, as it had been in the world of the theatre, to designate an adopted role. It also carried overtones from its use in biblical exegesis. Since Origen, interpreters had sought to establish which 'person' or 'character' 'spoke', for instance, the verses of the Psalms (exegesis *ek prosopou*). The Psalmist might speak from the *prosopon* of divine Wisdom at one point, and from that of a pious man praying at another; or the prophet could speak directly from the *prosopon* of God. Such usage was at a distance from the use of *prosopon* ('person') in an ontological sense. And so Cyril criticized the idea for its seemingly exclusive external focus. When he criticized the conjunction of the divine and human natures 'merely' in a *prosopon*, he latched on to these connotations that could seem to reduce the 'person' to no more than an appearance, something where unity remained at an outside, surface level, not forming a real individual subject. Yet the use of *prosopon* as synonymous to hypostasis to denote one of the three divine 'persons' in the Trinity shows that this understanding of the term was narrow and tendentious.

Cyril's Anathemas and the Antiochene Reaction

We have already narrated how Rome followed Cyril's assessment and announced Nestorius' conditional deposition in the summer of 430. Celestine invited Cyril to set out the necessary doctrinal propositions Nestorius had to accept to avoid it. Cyril did so in starkly uncompromising terms in his *Third Letter to Nestorius* and the yet more stringent Anathemas affixed to it (the Chapters).

Here Cyril uses language echoing Apollinarius when he speaks of the 'one incarnate *hypostasis* of the Word'[132] and presents 'physical union'

131 For the scholarship on Theodore's understanding of *prosopon* and discussion of the relevant fragments, see Jansen (2009) 187–92, 198–204; McLeod (2000) 461–4. Even if built on one of the contested passages of the *Liber Heraclidis*, McLeod (2000) 462 draws what is nevertheless an apt conclusion for Nestorius' understanding of prosopon even before the council: 'prosōpon connotes, if not denotes, how the external appearance of a person images the internal being of an individual and how this interiority reveals itself in external ways. As such, prosōpon is to be understood as a revelatory and therefore functional term relating the exterior to the interior and the interior to the exterior'.

132 *Ep.* 17,8 (ACO I.1.1, 38,22): ὑποστάσει μιᾶι τῆι τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένηι.

and 'hypostatic union' interchangeably (Anathemas 2 and 3) as the only acceptable model for the incarnation, explicitly ruling out the alternative terms and models used by Nestorius.[133] The Anathemas, moreover, specifically demand (for instance) confession of the Christ as 'God in truth' and 'by nature', and reject the idea of a God-bearing man (Anathemas 1 and 5); they proscribe the exegetical attribution of biblical texts to one or other of two 'persons' or 'hypostases' (προσώποις δυσίν ἢ γοῦν ὑποστάσεσιν) – the Word or the Man. It allowed Cyril starkly paradoxical statements such as 'The Word of God suffered and was crucified in the flesh' (Anathema 12). Such phrases may be read as 'limit-cases'.[134]

When the text became known to them, John of Antioch, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and many more around them were appalled. To them the Apollinarian character of these statements was unmistakable,[135] and they concentrated their attention on the Chapters rather than on Nestorius' ideas from that point on.

There is a notable silence in the eastern bishops' documents of the period about the validity of Nestorius' theological tenets. Only at the collapse of the colloquia which followed his resignation (in October 431) do we find – in all the surviving documents and letters from the summer of 431 – an explicit statement of the eastern bishops affirming Nestorius' orthodoxy (in doc. 123). And even then it was more a matter of a rhetorical comparison between his relegation (despite his orthodoxy and innocence) and Cyril's evasion of punishment (despite his heresy and crimes) than an attempt to set out doctrine. Their reluctance is not easy to interpret. Writings in the period between the council and Chalcedon clearly reveal Theodoret as the chief theoretician of the group, and this was probably so already at Ephesus.[136] It does not appear that Nestorius had anything distinctive to offer in

133 Whether this should be interpreted as indicative of a 'one-nature' Christology is debated; see the recent discussion in Van Loon (2009) 479–94, who rejects a 'miaphysite' reading of the letter and anathemas.

134 Daley (2018) 193.

135 For the Apollinarian echoes in the letter and anathemas, see Galtier (1956) 584–609.

136 For Theodoret's early theological writing relevant to the Christological question, see Vranic (2015) 15–70, 73–128; Clayton (2007) 75–104 and 105–34. Theodoret's first substantial contribution to the debates appears to have been the double treatise *De theologia sanctae Trinitatis et de oeconomia* (CPG 6216; ed. Guinot, SC 574–5), most probably dating to 429/30 (Guinot, Introduction SC 574, 47), and composed before he took up the direct confrontation with Cyril's ideas. In addition to the refutation, subsequently, of Cyril's Chapters from the winter 430/spring 431 (CPG 6214), at around the time of the council he also wrote another treatise, called *Pentalogos* (CPG 6215; edition of the

theological substance or language not otherwise represented by the bishops around John. His specific and fierce repudiation of Theotokos they had come to accept as an idiosyncrasy that was ill-conceived and open to misinterpretation; but Nestorius himself had already withdrawn his rejection of it, while the further caricatures of his teaching, as involving 'two sons' and Christ as a 'mere man', did not merit or require refutation. For the rest, Nestorius' teaching will have seemed wholly conventional to them – not so different from that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whom they had all read and whose language they themselves used. Their silence about his views should not be interpreted as doubt or disagreement among them over his orthodoxy, but is more plausibly explained by the lack in what he had said of anything that his fellow Syrians found unusual or remarkable.

The silence about Nestorius' ideas also fed into, and was a function of, their self-image as mainstream theologians. Labelling their ideas 'Antiochene' may at times be a convenient shorthand to refer to this theological universe and distinguish it from the different emphases that are found elsewhere. Yet the 'Antiochene' theologians who discussed Christology in the summer of 431 hardly saw themselves as exponents of a distinct tradition or theological 'school', but simply as affirming what was the conventional and traditional teaching of the wider church, contested only by the long-condemned heresies of the Arians, Eunomians, and Apollinarians. They saw themselves as orthodox Nicene theologians – nothing else. There was no real cause (and, it seems, little appetite)[137] for declaring Nestorius the champion of the kind of Christology they advocated and associating it specifically with him. Nestorius, then, was no longer a leading voice at Ephesus already, and over the following years his name became more and more reduced to that of yet another archetypal heresiarch against whom to set out one's own ideas.

What for the Syrian bishops was required, and shaped their documents from the spring and summer of 431, was not the defence of an individual and his views but the protection of orthodoxy in general, and this was under attack not by 'Nestorianism' but (in their view) by Cyril's Apollinarianism. The discussion of Cyril's unwitting 'Apollinarianism' has been briefly adumbrated above. Beyond the crude compositional model where Christ's humanity was not complete, of which Cyril was not guilty, their fundamental

surviving fragments by Guinot, SC 575, 167–211), both of which expound 'Antiochene' Christology.

137 One is tempted to surmise misgivings about his comportment and character, of which Socrates, *H.E.* VII. 29 is a contemporary expression.

theological disquiet at the ideas and language of the Chapters related to the ways in which the divine and human came together in a union (*henosis*) on the level of *physis* or *hypostasis*. When as a consequence Cyril insisted on the appropriation of human characteristics and experiences by the divine Word as the acting subject of the incarnate one at all times, and made the divine Word the only subject of attribution, not only of things divine but also of these human experiences and characteristics, including suffering, he had fallen (for the Antiochene controversialists) into the Apollinarian trap of inferring a 'blending' (*synchysis*) of natures, and was erroneously making the divine nature passible, that is, capable of suffering. The literary campaign against the Chapters need not be described here; in the texts from the months at Ephesus, these theologians did not set out their critique in a detailed written exposition. It must suffice, therefore, to compare to the Cyrillian tenets, and as a summary of the 'Antiochene' doctrinal position, the formula which Theodoret drafted and those with him submitted to the emperor in August 431 (doc. 90).

The formula attempts a careful balancing of statements about divinity and humanity and their full and distinctive reality, and the forceful insistence on the oneness, or unity, of Christ. It upholds the distinction of Jesus Christ as 'perfect God' and 'perfect man' and introduces the formula of his double consubstantiality. It professes a union – importantly, unmixed – of two natures and underscores the oneness of the incarnate Jesus Christ and allows the expression Theotokos. At the time of the council Theodoret's formula had no direct impact. A clear adumbration of 'Antiochene' ideas, the formula was nevertheless open to a Cyrillian interpretation, as Cyril demonstrated two years later when he agreed to a modified and expanded version of this text (and not without giving it his own distinct interpretation). This version is what we call the 'Formula of Reunion'. Yet gesturing towards the Union of 433 as if it were the logical conclusion of the doctrinal debates and one that balanced out both 'Antiochene' and 'Alexandrian' sensitivities, would patch over the severe conflicts and hide the real and persisting differences in basic Christological intuition between the leading thinkers, and also wrongly suggest that a solution to the problems highlighted at the council was just around the corner, when in fact the 'Union' was not the 'real conclusion' of the council, but a stepping stone to new disputes.

By neither issuing any definition nor agreeing any points of doctrine in common, the council did not, historically, solve any of the doctrinal differences. From the vantage point of the history of doctrine, its

contribution is therefore limited and rests principally on the reception of a very small selection of texts. The use of both Cyril's Second and Third Letters to Nestorius in the decisive session caused divergent assessment of their conciliar authority and led to differently shaped appropriations of the Cyrillian heritage. Yet the afterlife of these texts, above all others, gave 'Ephesus' a fixed place in the memory and theology of later generations. Reception of 'Antiochene' thinking was more oblique and not associated with the counter-council as such. Only mediated via the Formula of Reunion and because Cyril cited them, 'Antiochene' concepts also became foundational in future discussion. The core insights and some fortuitous formulations in these texts slowly percolated and informed subsequent stages of the doctrinal deliberation about Christ.

Documents and Proceedings

1. BEFORE THE COUNCIL

1. NESTORIUS IN CONSTANTINOPLE: A CRISIS ERUPTS

1. CV 18 Protest Concerning Nestorius

2. NESTORIUS' EARLY CORRESPONDENCE WITH ROME

2. CVer 3 (First) Letter of Nestorius to Celestine
3. CVer 4 (Second) Letter of Nestorius to Celestine

3. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA'S INTERVENTION

4. CV 22 Letter of Cyril to his *apocrisiarii* at Constantinople
5. CV 16 Letter of Cyril to Acacius
6. CV 17 Letter of Acacius to Cyril
7. CV 21 Letter of Cyril to his Critics
8. CV 2 First Letter of Cyril to Nestorius
9. CV 3 First Letter of Nestorius to Cyril
10. CV 4 Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius (February 430)
11. CV 5 Second Letter of Nestorius to Cyril (June 430)

4. THE ROMAN SYNOD OF AUGUST 430 AND ITS AFTERMATH

12. CV 144 Letter of Cyril to Pope Celestine
13. CU 4 Instructions of Cyril to his deacon Posidonius

5. THE ROMAN DISPATCH OF DOCUMENTS

14.	CVer 1	Letter of Celestine to Cyril (10 August 430)
15.	CVer 2	Letter of Celestine to Nestorius (10 August 430)
16.	CVer 5	Letter of Celestine to the Clergy and Laity of Constantinople (10 August 430)
17.	CVer 6	Letter of Celestine to John of Antioch [and Other Bishops] (10 August 430)

6. CYRIL'S ULTIMATUM

18.	CV 15	Letter of Cyril to Juvenal
19.	CV 13	Letter of Cyril to John of Antioch
20.	CV 6	Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius
21.	CV 24	Letter of Cyril to the Clergy and Laity of Constantinople
22.	CV 145	Letter of Cyril to the Monks of Constantinople

7. RESPONSES IN THE EAST

23.	CV 14	Letter of John of Antioch to Nestorius
24.	CC 78	Letter of Nestorius to John of Antioch
25.	CC 79	Letter of John of Antioch to Firmus of Caesarea (Winter 430/31)

8. OTHER DOCUMENTS OF THE TIME

26.	CP 55	(Third) Letter of Nestorius to Pope Celestine
27.	CV 143	Petition from Basil the Deacon and Other Monks

9. PLANS FOR THE COUNCIL

Convocation

28. CV 25 — Imperial Letter of Convocation (19 November 430)
29. CV 8 — Letter of Theodosius II to Cyril (November 430)
30. CV 23 — *Sacra* Sent to Acacius of Beroea and Symeon Stylites (November 430)

Preparations

31. CVer 10 — Letter of Celestine to Cyril of Alexandria (7 May 431)
32. CVer 9 — Letter of Celestine to Theodosius II (8 May 431)
33. CVer 8 — Memorandum of Celestine to his Legates (8 May 431)
34. CV 26 — First Letter of Cyril to the Clergy and Laity of Alexandria
35. CV 27 — Second Letter of Cyril to the Clergy and Laity of Alexandria
36. CV 30 — Letter of John of Antioch to Cyril
37. CC 82 — Protest at the Early Meeting of the Council

Imperial Instructions

38. CV 31 — Theodosius II to the Council

1. NESTORIUS IN CONSTANTINOPLE: A CRISIS ERUPTS

Introduction

After the death of the Constantinopolitan archbishop Sisinnius on 24 December 427, the emperor Theodosius II called on an outsider from Antioch in Syria to take over the episcopal throne, Nestorius (born in Germanicia at an uncertain date). The imperial decision reflected the internal divisions in the Constantinopolitan church and clergy over competing candidates, still very much the legacy of the schism between supporters and opponents of John Chrysostom. Nestorius was enthroned on 10 April 428. For the emperor, bringing in an outsider must have seemed the best way to avoid conflict in the capital. For Nestorius, it meant that while he enjoyed the emperor's full backing, he lacked a natural support base in the capital's church and civil society from the outset. Later hagiographical stories narrate how he met with hostility from Hypatius, a famed ascetic, already on his journey to Constantinople. The archimandrite Dalmatius was reported to have a similar attitude; he was to play a significant role in turning the populace against Nestorius later in 431.[1] The monks and ascetics in the city whom he tried to bring under closer episcopal control would soon be among his main opponents; their influence and networks of patronage reached deep into the populace, included high officials, and was even felt at court. The losing candidates for the episcopacy, too, all remained in the capital and continued to rally their supporters. The imperial elites, apparently, mostly followed the emperor's lead. But Nestorius also seems to have fallen out of favour quite early with the influential women in the

1 Callinicus, *Vita Hypatii*, 32.1–4 (SC 177, 208–10 Bartelink). For monastic hostility to Nestorius even before he arrived, see also the Letter from Cyril's council to the Constantinopolitan archimandrite Dalmatius (doc. 52): 'As we have learnt, even before the arrival of Nestorius in Constantinople, God revealed to you what was in his heart, and you used to say to all who came to your cell, "Take heed of yourselves, brothers, because an evil beast has arrived in this city who has the power to harm many through his teaching."' Behind this must lie evident monastic hostility to the city's bishops going back to the time of John Chrysostom; Nestorius in many ways appeared to be his heir. See Dagron (1970), especially 262–4, for the conflicts during Chrysostom's episcopate, and 266 for perceived similarities with Nestorius. The importance, additionally, of competition over social patronage is pointed out in Caner (2002) 190–223.

imperial household, even if the role especially of the emperor's older sister, the Augusta Pulcheria, in his eventual downfall has been much exaggerated in the literature. In a sermon of December 430 Nestorius still praised both the emperor and the Augustae for their piety; it does not suggest strained relations with her.[2] Another element in this gradual process of alienation of varying groups and interests was Nestorius' confident drive against all forms of heterodoxy as well as against Jewish and pagan groups, if we are allowed to see his inspiration behind relevant imperial legislation of the time. While Nestorius was not helped by the fact that he was an outsider to the complex web of interests in the capital – which left him in a position that was already precarious and became ever more so over the course of his tenure – personal enmities or political machinations alone cannot sufficiently explain the eruption and early development of the crisis associated with his name.

The church historian Socrates preserves part of an address by Nestorius which he must have given very early in his term. It announces a programme of firm anti-heretical activity, eradicating the residual elements of the many groups and schisms that had arisen (not only) from the doctrinal disputes in the fourth century. His confident promise of imperial success in foreign affairs linked to the success of this drive for precise orthodoxy may suggest that his policy was not without imperial backing.[3] His self-confidence will have seemed overbearing and arrogant to some. It would not seem implausible that Nestorius' efforts directed against doctrinal ambiguity and vacillation also brought to his attention notions about the incarnation held in the congregations which he considered problematic. They crystallized in the use of the appellation Theotokos ('Mother of God') for Mary. Nestorius later claimed in the *Liber Heraclidis* – written while in exile (and a remark in one of the earlier documents included here already expounds the same view; see doc. 24) that he encountered in the capital an existing confrontation over the preference for either Theotokos or Anthropotokos as the appropriate title for her. He claims that his suggestion to use Christotokos instead, as well as being doctrinally more apposite, had (for a time) healed the

2 ACO I.5, 40,13–14: 'The emperor is pious and the Augustae love God'. For Pulcheria's role and differing scholarly assessments, see pp. 24–5 above.

3 Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 29.5 (377 Hansen) cites the famous declaration Nestorius made in his first sermon, addressing the emperor: 'Help me against the heretics and I will help you defeat the barbarians'.

confrontation. The theology behind these titles has been briefly sketched in the General Introduction (pp. 71–72). In view of the early history of the crisis, the picture sketched by Nestorius has come under challenge. Since in the surviving texts of the period the use of Anthropotokos is only indisputably associated with Antiochene theologians, Bevan has recently, and not without plausibility, suggested that Nestorius' account should be understood as an attempt to camouflage the fact that one of those sides allegedly encountered in the capital was in reality formed by the clergy brought in his entourage from Antioch,[4] and so the influx of Antiochene thinking first created the division he claims to have healed. While Nestorius, starting from the *First Letter to Celestine* (doc. 2), describes the use of Theotokos (in some cases) as heretical, there is no evidence that he would have been content with the appellation Anthropotokos used on its own either. It is not implausible to accept his preference as somehow mediating between two problematic one-sided emphases even if 'compromise' was presumably not what Nestorius aimed at. Depending on our interpretation, and the confidence we invest in Nestorius' account, then, we see a conflict in which he either tried initially to bring divergent understandings together by a 'more precise' and explicit orthodoxy, or one which was caused by the confrontation of Antiochene thinking, represented chiefly by clergymen in his environment, with the prevalent sentiments held in Constantinople and which he struggled to contain.

The episodes narrated in a number of Church histories, and indirectly documented in reports and letters collected in the conciliar acta, of vocal public protests in services conducted by Nestorius and his associates, and especially the inflammatory 'Anathema' pronounced by one of them during the synaxis (that is, a church service) certainly belong to the earliest phase of the conflict, whether in 428 or 429. Conceivably also belonging to an early phase is a sermon about Mary preached in Nestorius' presence by Proclus. Proclus had been one of the candidates for the Constantinopolitan episcopal throne after the death of Sisinnius but lost out to Nestorius (he would eventually become his successor but one).[5] He delivered a sermon extolling in a vignette of sparkling rhetoric the role of Mary in salvation

4 Bevan (2016) 98–9. Another firm objector to the appellation Theotokos not from this group was Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, see Cyril, *ep.* 11, ACO I.1.5, 12,16–19; doc. 12, p. 131 below.

5 On Proclus' career, see Constas (2003); for a translation and discussion of the famous sermon, ibid. 136–47.

history and culminating in the emphatic demand for her to be called Theotokos. It was an open provocation of Nestorius and fervently applauded by the congregation. Nestorius gave a brief sermon in response – to much less effect. Did Nestorius allow Proclus a platform naively or in an attempt to make peace with a competitor and his followers? If Proclus' sermon belongs to the Christmas period (as is traditionally surmised),[6] probably of 428 (but not later than 429), it is not inconceivable that Nestorius had indeed – as he claims – attempted to arbitrate prior to these events between those in his entourage preferring 'Anthropotokos' and those in Constantinop advocating 'Theotokos'.

Our documents pick up the first clear evidence of a controversy – in such a scenario, probably slightly later – with a denunciation of Nestorius (doc. 1) posted in Constantinople; it already identifies Nestorian teaching with a long-condemned heresy and battle lines are drawn. Independent of it but also very early must be the first of two letters written by Nestorius to Celestine of Rome in which he speaks of his anti-heretical initiatives in general and mentions the Theotokos affair; it does not, at the time, seem to overly concern him. In this way the conciliar documentation of an erupting crisis draws our attention from the start to the approximate synchronicity of independent yet overlapping events and their documentation that we find repeatedly in the conciliar sources. They alert us to two main focal points, the capital Constantinople and Rome. The third, and in many ways most important centre from, and to, which the documents in our collection flowed, was Alexandria. It entered the scene soon after (by 429) in the shape of correspondence between its archbishop, Cyril, and his web of supporters and acquaintances. He would become Nestorius' main antagonist and a principal actor in the council.

(1) PROTEST CONCERNING NESTORIUS

Note

This anonymous pamphlet, posted and distributed throughout the city of Constantinople, is the first discernible ripple (in our collection of documents) of the controversy which Nestorius' teaching was beginning

6 For discussion, see General Introduction, pp. 33–4.

to cause. Its date is uncertain. Recently Bevan has argued for a date in 428, when scholarship has traditionally dated it to 429. Later tradition attributed the *Contestatio* to Eusebius, at the time a layman in the imperial service (*agens in rebus*). He later became bishop of Dorylaeum and came to prominence again as the accuser of Eutyches (in 448), triggering the events that led to the Council of Chalcedon.[7] The document and its likely author reveal the strong public resonance of the controversy in the capital from its very inception, beyond the circles of clergymen and monks.

The *Contestatio*'s polemical strategy is to align Nestorius with the teaching of a well-known and long-condemned heretic: Paul of Samosata (bishop of Antioch 260–68, d. *c.* 275).[8] It places side by side statements of the two authors in order to show the similarity of their tenets.[9] The accusation takes aim principally at an alleged reduction of the one born from Mary to a (mere) man endowed with the Holy Spirit. This understanding, it is alleged, also entails a separation between the divine Word, born from the Father before all ages, and 'Jesus Christ', born of Mary, as being 'not one and the same'. The slogans accusing Nestorius of teaching a 'mere man' and 'two sons' became staples of subsequent polemics.[10] Eusebius also quotes a section of a creed in use in Antioch,[11] Nestorius' home church, and (a pseudepigraphal fragment of) the fourth-century Antiochene bishop Eustathius[12] to demonstrate Nestorius'

7 The ascription of the document can be found in Leontius of Byzantium, *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos* (500,3–4 Daley), where it is given by way of introduction to the relevant extracts (starting from no. 42) in the florilegium appended to this treatise. For Eusebius' career, see 'Eusebius 15' *PLRE* II, 430; A. Jülicher, 'Eusebius 30', *RE* VI.1 (1907), 1444. Loofs, *Nestoriana* 49 and ibid. (1914) 32. See also de Halleux (1993) 54. Early dating, to 428, is proposed by Bevan (2016) 106f. Following the customary dating, Wessel (2004) 219 and McGuckin (1994) 32–3 place the *Contestatio* as well as Anastasius' remarks against *Theotokos* several months later, in 429.

8 See P. de Navascués, 'Paul of Samosata', *EAC* III, 111–12; and, for his theology, Behr (2001) 207–35.

9 Contrast, in a letter from Cyril of Alexandria letter to John of Antioch (CV 13, doc. 19): 'The most religious bishops present in great Rome, after many meetings, denounced him, stating explicitly that he had concocted a most dangerous heresy that no one of an earlier age had devised'. The armoury of anti-heretical polemic included both the charge of novelty and that of reviving old heresy.

10 See our discussion on pp. 74–5.

11 For the creed, see Kinzig (2017) §198, II, 32–3; and a very similar attestation by John Cassian, ibid. §203, II, 56–8.

12 See Th. Fuhrer, 'Eustathius von Antiochien', *LACL* 218–19; M. Simonetti, 'Eustathius of Antioch', *EAC* I, 881.

deviation from his own local orthodox tradition.[13] Confronting Nestorius with testimonies of 'orthodox' tradition became another major feature in the literary fight against Nestorius and contributed to his conciliar conviction.

Text[14]

[101] A solemn protest addressed in public to the clergy of Constantinople and displayed in church, to the effect that Nestorius holds the same beliefs as Paul of Samosata, who was anathematized 160 years ago by the orthodox bishops.

I adjure by the Holy Trinity whoever receives this document to make it known to the bishops, presbyters, deacons, lectors, and laymen living in Constantinople, and in addition to provide them with a copy, in order to convict the heretic Nestorius of holding the same beliefs as Paul of Samosata, who was anathematized 160 years ago by the orthodox fathers the bishops.

What each of them said is as follows:

Paul said: 'Mary did not give birth to the Word.'

Nestorius said in agreement: 'Mary, my good fellow, did not give birth to the Godhead.'

Paul: 'For he was not before the ages.'

Nestorius: 'And they attribute a mother within time to the Godhead that created times and seasons.'

Paul: 'Mary received the Word and was not older than the Word.'

Nestorius: 'How then could Mary have given birth to one older than herself?'

Paul: 'Mary gave birth to a man like us.'

Nestorius: 'The one born from a virgin was a man.'

Paul: 'He was superior in all respects, since, according to both the gospels and the scriptures, the grace he received was from the Holy Spirit.'

Nestorius: '"I saw", scripture says, "the Spirit coming down like a dove and resting upon him"[15] – namely, the Spirit that granted him assumption ("When he had given injunctions", scripture says, "to the apostles he had

13 For detailed discussion of the *Contestatio*, see Tetz (1961) 354–68; Graumann (2002) 309–12.

14 CV 18, ACO I.1.1, 101–2. Latin version in CC 5, ACO I.3, 18–20.

15 John 1:32.

chosen, he was assumed by the Holy Spirit"),[16] the one that granted Christ such glory.'

Paul: 'With the result that the anointed one [descended] from David was not a stranger to wisdom nor did wisdom so dwell in another; for it was in the prophets, especially in Moses, and in many lords, but especially in Christ as in a temple.' And elsewhere he says that Jesus Christ and the Word were not the same [person].[17]

Nestorius: 'How is it possible for the one born before all the ages to be born yet again, and that in his Godhead?'

[102] See how the renegade has been proved to assert plainly that the one born of the Father was not born from Mary. See how he agrees with the heretic Paul, who said that the Word and Jesus Christ are not the same [person] and are not one, as orthodoxy teaches. This is why I have set down for you in writing, you zealot for the holy faith, a part also of the teaching of the church of Antioch, from which we first received the name 'Christians',[18] to the effect that it does not recognize the Son of God to be one and another, but to be single, born of the Father before all the ages as God from God, consubstantial with the Father, and the same born from Mary the Virgin under Augustus Caesar. For it runs verbatim: 'True God from true God, consubstantial with the Father, through whom also the ages were fashioned and all things came into being, who for us came down and was born from Mary the holy Virgin, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate' – and the rest of the creed.[19]

The blessed Eustathius, bishop of the same Antioch, who was one of the 318 bishops at the holy and great council, agrees with this, when he says: 'Who was not only man but also God, as the prophet Jeremiah says, "He is our God; no other will be reckoned beside him. He discovered the whole way of knowledge and gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved. After this he was seen upon the earth and associated with men." When did he associate with men, if it was not when he was born like them, though from a virgin, and became an infant and grew like them, and ate and drank like them, and the rest?'[20]

16 Acts 1:2; 'assumed' in the sense of taken up into heaven.

17 'Person' is implied by the use of ἄλλον in the masculine, as also a few lines down and at the end of the document.

18 Acts 11:26.

19 Kinzig (2017), see n. 11. For the whole creed compare the testimonies in John Chrysostom, ibid., §189, II, 7–12.

20 The quotation is not in fact from Eustathius, but from Marcellus of Ancyra ('Eustathius'

Therefore if anyone dares to say that the only-begotten Son born of the Father before the ages and the one born from the Virgin Mary are different [persons] and not one and the same Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema.

2. NESTORIUS' EARLY CORRESPONDENCE WITH ROME

Note

Relatively early in the dispute, perhaps in 429, Nestorius wrote to Rome. In his introductory narrative at the start of the first council session of 22 June 431, the Alexandrian presbyter Peter emphasized the fact that Nestorius had approached Rome before Cyril (CV 34, doc. 39), and Cyril likewise points out the initiative of his opponent in a number of letters. If this rings true, and Cyril's letter to Celestine of the spring of 430 is in fact his first communication with the Roman bishop (doc. 12), Nestorius could have written any time before this date. However, the letter must be significantly earlier and belongs to the first phase of the controversy. Nestorius reports the representations made in Constantinople by 'Pelagian' clergy and bishops and enquires into the decisions made about them in the West. This enquiry must have irritated its recipients in Rome; it could seem to question their condemnation of Pelagians and Pelagianism. Nestorius' seeming prevarication on this issue may have been a major cause for Rome's decision against him. The elision of Nestorian and Pelagian thinking was alleged, for instance, by John Cassian (see General Introduction, 37–39 and 74). Nestorius further reports his own anti-heretical initiatives and struggles, in particular over the potentially problematic implications of the terminology of 'Theotokos'. These can be avoided, he claims, by using his preferred term 'Christotokos' instead. Importantly, Nestorius was sure that accounts and even texts of his teaching had already reached Rome at the time of writing.

The letter did not receive a response until very much later, after the Roman Synod of August 430 (doc. 15). A second letter (doc. 3), therefore, written after a lengthy interval (late in 429?), once more asks for Celestine's response, and both repeats the enquiries about the Pelagians and offers

fr. 88; CPG 3389.1); for the authorship of Marcellus, see Tetz (1964) 232. The biblical quote of 'Jeremiah' is Bar 3:36–8.

further discussion of the Christological questions in which Nestorius finds himself embroiled.[21]

(2) FIRST LETTER OF NESTORIUS TO CELESTINE[22]

[12] Letter of Nestorius to Pope Celestine of the city of Rome.

(1) We owe each other fraternal dialogue, since, with a common accord obtaining between us in [the spirit of brothers],[23] we are to fight the devil who is the enemy of peace. Why this prelude? A certain Julian and also Florus, Orontius, and Fabius, claiming to be bishops in the regions of the West, have repeatedly approached the most praised and most pious emperor and deplored their situation on the grounds that, although orthodox, they have in these orthodox times suffered persecution. Even though they have repeatedly uttered the same laments to us also and repeatedly been turned away, they have not ceased to do the same, but persist day after day to fill the ears of all with their tearful utterances. We have replied to them in the terms that were appropriate, even though in ignorance of what is true and trustworthy in their affair; but because we need fuller knowledge of their case, lest [13] our most pious and most Christian emperor be repeatedly pestered by them and we, being ignorant of their case, be in two minds over inflicting a penalty, be so good as to provide us with information about these men, lest some people through ignorance upset the justice that accords with the truth by ill-timed compassion or, after the canonical severity of your beatitude, which, presumably, was exercised against them for heresy in religion, may form a judgement different from this one; for heretical novelty deserves repeated punishment by true pastors.

(2) This is the reason why we also, on finding among some people here a serious corruption of orthodoxy, are exercising day after day now anger and now leniency towards the diseased. For it is no minor disease, but akin to the plague of Apollinarius and Arius, and indiscriminately confuses the Lord's appearance in a man by the blending of some kind of mixture, to the extent that even certain of our clergy, some out of inexperience and others out of an heretical cunning long hidden within them, as often happened even in the time of the apostles, are diseased with heresy and

21 A third letter belongs to a later phase, see doc. 26.

22 Extant in a Latin version: CVer 3, ACO I.2, 12–14.

23 This is Schwartz's suggested supplement to fill a brief lacuna.

openly blaspheme against God the Word consubstantial with the Father, asserting that he received his original coming into being from the Virgin Christotokos, and was fashioned together with his temple and buried together with the flesh; and they say that the flesh did not remain flesh after the resurrection but changed into the nature of the Godhead. To speak in summary, they attribute the Godhead of the Only-begotten to the coming into being of the flesh conjoined to it and make it share death with the flesh, while they utter the blasphemy that the flesh conjoined to the Godhead changed into Godhead through their use of the word 'deification', which is nothing other than the destruction of both [natures].[24] They have also dared to treat the Virgin Christotokos as in some way as divine as God.[25] For they are not afraid to call her Theotokos, even though the holy fathers of Nicaea, who surpass all praise, said nothing more about the holy Virgin than that our Lord Jesus Christ was incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary;[26] and I say nothing of the scriptures, which everywhere, speaking through angels and apostles, called the Virgin the mother of Christ but not of God the Word.[27]

I think that previous reports will have informed your beatitude of the extent of the combat we have had to endure on this account, but be aware that we have not combatted in vain, but many of those who had been led astray, departing from us, have by the Lord's grace been set right, because ...[28] properly the nativity was consubstantial with the one giving birth, while his manifestation in a human being resulted from the creation of the Lord's manhood, joined to the Godhead, from the Virgin

24 In response to this criticism Cyril (in *Contra Nestorium* II, 8) insisted on a distinction between 'deification' (becoming God's) and 'apotheosis' (becoming God), but neither term was a favourite of his. See Russell (2004) 192–3.

25 Cf. the very similar statement of Nestorius preserved in Greek in Cyril's letter to his clergy at Constantinople (doc. 4).

26 See Kelly (1972) 309: Nestorius used a version of the Nicene Creed very close to the Constantinopolitan Creed associated with the council of 381, where Nicaea's 'was incarnate' was expanded with the words 'from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary'. For the variations of phrasing found in several creeds considered 'Nicene' at the time, see the examples collected in Kinzig (2017). Confession of the Nicene Creed or Faith did not focus principally on verbatim quotation of the text formulated in 325 in every detail, so long as its overall Nicene character was evident.

27 Cf. Luke 2:11, Acts 1:14. The precise phrase 'mother of Christ' is not to be found in the New Testament.

28 Here Schwartz detects a lacuna. He offers as a supplement, *exempli gratia*, 'we reject applying the term Theotokos to the Virgin Mary, for...'.

through the Spirit. If, however, someone proposes this term Theotokos with reference to the birth of the manhood conjoined to God the Word and not with reference to the one who gave birth, our reply is that this term does not suit her who gave birth (for a true mother should be of the same essence as the one born from her), and yet this term can be tolerated because of the consideration that this word is applied to the Virgin purely because of the inseparable temple of God [born] from her, and not because she is the mother of God the Word; for no one can give birth to what is more ancient than herself.

(3) I presume, indeed, that you know of this from previous reports; yet we too are reporting what has occurred, in order to provide concrete proof that our wish to know about the matter of those we mentioned above is in the spirit of brothers and not motivated by a misplaced inquisitiveness. The two of us are relating our own affairs, brother to brother, communicating to each other the truth about the heresies. My intention is to make [14] the opening of this letter of mine wholly truthful; for as I said at the start of this letter, we owe each other fraternal dialogue.

To all the brotherhood who are with you in Christ, I and those with me send greetings.

(3) SECOND LETTER OF NESTORIUS TO CELESTINE[29]

[14] The second letter of Nestorius to the same.

(1) I have often written to your beatitude about Julian, Orontius, and the others who lay claim to episcopal dignity and make frequent approaches to the most pious and most celebrated emperor, and assail us with constant bewailing on the grounds that they have in these orthodox times been expelled from the West. Up till now we have not received a letter about them from your reverence; if I had one, I would be able to reply to them and give a concise reply to their laments. But at present one would not have anything to turn to in place of their unreliable statements, for while others call them heretics and say that they were for this reason expelled from the regions of the West, they themselves swear that they have been the victims of calumny and have incurred danger on behalf of the orthodox faith as a result of deception. As to which of these is reliable, we are profoundly ignorant. To commiserate with them, if indeed they are heretics, would

29 Extant in a Latin version: CVer 4, ACO I.2, 14–15.

be a crime; but again, not to commiserate with them, if they are the victims of calumny, would be cruel and impious. May therefore your most God-beloved soul deign to send us information, for at each moment up till now we have been pulled in two directions, that is, to both resenting them and pitying them. We wish to learn how we should judge them; for we have been at a loss, putting these men off day after day with the hope and expectation of [hearing from] your beatitude.

(2) For as you know, most venerable man, discussion about pious belief is not a trivial matter, nor is the testing of those who act in this way something unimportant. For we too are working hard in this place, as we try to root out from the church of God a most foul impiety, namely a dire notion of Apollinarius and Arius. I do not understand how some churchmen, accepting some notion of mixture in the Godhead and manhood of the Only-begotten, have fallen victim to the disease of these heretics, as they dare to mingle the sufferings of the body with the Godhead of the Only-begotten, imagine that the immutable Godhead has changed into the nature of a body and, by the change brought about by mixture, fuse the two natures which through supreme and unfused conjunction are worshipped in the one person of the Only-begotten. Blind they are, who do not even remember the teaching of those holy fathers that explicitly declares to them, 'We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary ...[30] For this expression uses a name that signifies both natures, namely Christ, and [it conjoins Godhead and manhood in one adoration, since the Godhead of the Son][31] is consubstantial with the Godhead of the Father, while the manhood was born at a later time from the holy Virgin, and because of its conjunction with the Godhead is worshipped together with it by men and angels.

(3) Therefore, as regards the one who in this case is exhausted by such great labour in defence of pure doctrine, reflect what again he must suffer, if he is ignorant about the matter of the men mentioned above and greatly afraid that through ignorance he may add yet further heretics to those already here. It is for this reason that I entreat your holy soul to be so assiduous as to provide information about the men mentioned above, [15] especially since the courier of this letter, the most faithful *cubicularius*

30 The sentence lost in this lacuna will have introduced the term 'Christotokos'.

31 This is essentially the supplement suggested by Schwartz, *exempli gratia*, to fill a lacuna.

Valerius,[32] will be able to give a lucid account to your beatitude of the trouble they have caused.

To all the brotherhood in Christ who are with you, I and those who are with me send abundant greetings.

3. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA'S INTERVENTION

Introduction

The debates triggered by Nestorius' teaching did not remain confined to Constantinople. Critical for its development into an all-encompassing confrontation was the intervention of Cyril of Alexandria, who would soon say that the affair had caused scandal throughout the East (*First Letter to Nestorius*, doc. 8.3). After as yet quite general remarks about Christology in his *Festive Letter for Easter 429*, probably written at the end of 428,[33] Cyril responded for the first time more specifically to the spread of Nestorius' teaching throughout the East and in particular in Egypt in a letter written in early 429 to the monastic communities in Egypt and their leaders (the *Letter to the Monks*, *ep.* 1).[34] In it Nestorius remained unnamed and no specific allusion to the situation in Constantinople was made. Even so, the target is evident. The main arguments and the importance of the long letter have been sketched above.[35] The following pieces of Cyril's correspondence with his trusted clergy in Constantinople and other addressees all presuppose the *Letter to the Monks* and show some of its early reverberations, not least in the capital. The letter to the *apocrisiarii* (doc. 4),[36] clergymen working on behalf of Cyril in Constantinople, answers their reports of the letter's resonance in the capital. Even though it had been addressed to ascetic communities in Egypt, it had found its way swiftly to Constantinople. It seems probable that Cyril himself had taken care of its distribution there and even drafted it with an eye to an

32 See 'Valerius 5', *PLRE* II, 1144. For his office, see Jones (1964) II, 566–70.

33 Cyril, *Ep. Fest.* 17 (SC 434, 251–95).

34 Cyril, *ep.* 1 (ACO I.1.1, 12,21–4); McEnerney (1987) I, 13–33; McGuckin (1994) 245–61.

35 See pp. 39–41.

36 Only in later centuries does the term denote official representation, akin to 'ambassador'. At the time the clergymen working for Cyril did so in a more informal capacity. See 'apocrisarius', *ODCC* 84.

audience much wider than the Egyptian ascetics. The memorandum shows the complexity of the situation in Constantinople with a dangerous mixture of doctrinal controversy and disciplinary accusations. From the reports of his *apocrisiarii* Cyril had learned that Nestorius' associates quoted from his *Letter to the Monks* contrary to his intentions, as if he were supporting their positions; he also learned of the composition and circulation of documents and pamphlets against his views, which they must have sent him. To help them in discussion, he sketches central theological points as well as identifying Nestorius' implied or open criticism of past bishops as the weakness in his stance. The memorandum also sheds light on the parallel problem of accusations being brought by 'the dung of the city' against Cyril and his determination to defend himself forcefully if necessary. A draft petition accusing Nestorius before the emperor is read but held back for the time being; Cyril is both writing and sending monk and bishops to make representation on his behalf.

Surfacing here for the first time, the spectre of disciplinary accusations raised against Cyril and the threat of their adjudication in Constantinople form a constant subtext to the emerging conflict. Possible legal action is not enough, however, to motivate Cyril's attacks on Nestorius on its own or even as their primary intention. The accusations are associated in particular with a monk by the name of Victor (see the names given at §6). In his *Apology to Theodosius* written after the closure of the council in the autumn of 431, Cyril emphasized his reconciliation with Victor, who had completely renounced any criticism and accusation of him.[37]

Cyril's intervention in the controversy did not go down well everywhere. In his approach to Acacius of Beroea (doc. 5), an aged and a much-respected bishop who represented the living connection to the fourth-century theological controversies, Cyril pointed out his distress over Nestorius' rejection of the term 'Theotokos' and the misunderstandings about Christ's divinity now spreading amongst the laity because of his teaching. He narrates the story of a public condemnation of the term in church by Bishop Dorotheus of Marcianopolis (Moesia), an associate of Nestorius, even though revered past authors had used it. Unfortunately his own *Letter to the Monks* correcting those errors had aroused Nestorius' hostility. Yet he found himself rebuked by Acacius for stirring up controversy (doc. 6). Acacius

37 CV 118; CPG 5224. On Victor's role, and for a resultant predominantly political assessment of Cyril's motives, see Schwartz (1928) and, in general, ibid. (1914b) 240–1, 259 and *passim*.

reminded him of the examples of Apollinarius, who in his zeal for doctrinal clarity had ventured into error, and Paulinus of Antioch, who had caused offence by obstinately clinging to narrow terminological preferences, even though his belief was orthodox. Their examples should have warned Cyril to drop his allegations and maintain the peace. Contrary to Cyril's denunciations, Acacius points out, the language preferred in Constantinople could be defended as sound and in agreement with the Nicene Creed. On reading Cyril's letter, John of Antioch had expressed the same caution.

A further letter by Cyril (doc. 7) responds to similar criticisms of his *Letter to the Monks* and repeats the story of how one of Nestorius' associates had been allowed to anathematize the use of 'Theotokos' in his presence in the church. The letter belongs to the same period but cannot be dated precisely.

The subsequent direct exchange between Cyril and Nestorius (docs 8–11) will require specific annotation.

(4) LETTER OF CYRIL TO HIS *APOCRISIARII* AT CONSTANTINOPLE[38]

A letter from Cyril bishop of Alexandria to his *apocrisiarii* at Constantinople.[39]

(1) [110] I have read the memorandum sent by you, from which I have learnt that, when Anastasius the priest met you, he pretended to be in quest of friendship and peace, and said, 'Our beliefs accord with what he wrote to the monks.' Then, with an eye to his own objective, he said about me, 'Even he has admitted that the holy council did not use the expression – I mean "Theotokos".'[40] But what I wrote is that, even if the council did not use the expression, it acted rightly, for no such question had been raised at the time. There was therefore no need to bring forward matters that were

38 Cyril, *ep.* 10, CV 22, ACO I.1.1, 110–12. A variant version of the text, omitting the more particular details and intended for a wider readership, is preserved in a Latin version, CP 28, ACO I.5, 52–5. See our note on §5 for the date of the letter.

39 The heading varies from manuscript to manuscript. One of the oldest manuscripts (Codex Oxoniensis Baroccianus: 'O' in ACO) has 'The holy Cyril bishop of Alexandria, from the book of the Third Council, a letter to his own *apocrisiarii*'. 'In Constantinople' occurs in several MSS. Others (including all the major codices constituting the *Collectio Vaticana*) simply identify Cyril as the author.

40 See Cyril, *ep.* 1 (ACO I.1.1, 12,21–4); trans. McEnerney (1987) I, 16–17.

not under debate, especially since, through the meaning of the ideas, the council recognized that the Holy Virgin is Theotokos. For it said that the one begotten from the Father, through whom all things came into being, was incarnate, was made man, suffered, rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and will come as the judge of the living and the dead. It did not say in any way that the Word himself, begotten from God by nature, died or was pierced in the side by a lance (for what side does the incorporeal have, or how could Life die?), but that, being united to the flesh, he then, when the latter was suffering, appropriated the suffering to himself, since it was his own body that was suffering. Consequently, in saying these things they are quibbling and deceiving themselves. And that they are mistaken and have their own venom in their hearts can be seen from the following as well.

(2) Two papers were sent to Buphas Martyrios, the deacon who attends to ecclesiastical affairs. One of them had been composed by Photius, or someone else, against the *Tome to the Monks*, while the other, in the form of a pamphlet, has a bizarre heading which reads as follows: 'To those who, because of the conjunction, either subject to death the Godhead of the Only-begotten or divinize the manhood'.[41] The preface is directed 'against the utterly futile calumnies of the heretics',[42] and then expands into an attempt to show that it is the body that suffered and not God the Word, as if some people say that the impassible Word of God is passible. But no one is so insane. As we have often said, the holy council affirmed that the Word, through whom all things came into being, himself suffered, but suffered in the flesh, according to the scriptures; for because his body suffered, he himself is said to have suffered, since likewise the soul of man, though suffering nothing in its own nature, is said to suffer when its body suffers. But since it is their aim to assert two Christs and two Sons, the man on his own and the God on his own, they therefore make the union one of *prosopa*[43] only, and accordingly they engage in sophistry and concoct 'pretexts for sins',[44] to use the scriptural phrase.

41 This pamphlet survives in a Latin version by Marius Mercator, who ascribes it to Nestorius himself. The text is in ACO I.5, 31–7. To the title as given here (which Mercator omits) cf. Nestorius' *Letter to Celestine* (ACO I.2, 13,15–17).

42 See the note in ACO ad loc.: the Greek is ἐπι σκηρῶν (*durissime* in the Latin), but that the original word was λήρων was deduced by Loofs from the Latin version of the text by Nestorius that is being cited here, which has *apinas* ('trifles'), ACO I.5, 31,2.

43 In the sense of a sharing of roles or coming together outwardly, as contrasted to a real inner union.

44 Ps 140:4.

(3) Therefore, when you meet them, [111] speak as follows: 'You are acting wrongly in inciting some to talk nonsense against our bishop, inflaming and applauding them, and making them the tools of your own wickedness. However, this is not grounds for grievance, nor is our bishop at all hostile to the bishop here, but what distresses all the bishops in both East and West is the fact that the teaching about Christ is not orthodox but distorted.' Sufficient to expose and refute them is the fact that never in the churches has anyone ever uttered things like the words in his sermons that run: (4) 'I judge your attachment to me not by shouts, but by your eagerness for the doctrines and your attention to both the Godhead and the manhood of the Lord.' And a little further on [he writes], 'And I notice that our congregations have great devotion and most fervent piety, but are misled by their ignorance of the doctrine about God. This is not a criticism of the laity, but (how can I say it tactfully?) arises from the fact that the teachers do not have the opportunity to present to you any of the more precise doctrines.'

(5) But how can it be that his predecessors did not do any teaching? Is he more eloquent than John? Is he the equal of the blessed Atticus, or more intelligent? What arrogance is this! Or rather, has he not openly confessed that he has introduced a strange and novel teaching, unknown because of its perversity to those before him, whether in the assembly of the faithful or in the holy churches? To date, I have not addressed a single discourse to him on these matters.[45] Let this rather be an occasion for him to repent and profess the orthodox faith. He will answer to God for his behaviour towards me in inciting and stirring up enemies against me.

(6) There is nothing surprising if the dung of the city, Chaeremon, Victor, Sophronas, and the minion of the fraudulent Flavian, speak ill of us, for they have always been a bad influence on themselves and on everyone else. But let he who has stirred them up know that we are afraid neither of making a journey nor of defending ourselves against them. And if the opportunity for this arises (for it can happen that the dispensation of the Saviour uses trivial and paltry matters to secure the convening of a council for the purpose of purifying his church, even when it is keeping the noble faith pure and unstained), let not the wretch expect, even if those ready to accuse us as a result of his zeal were many and reputable, to be the judge of

45 This implies that this letter predates his letters to Nestorius; and note how Cyril's tract under discussion is still his *Letter to the Monks* (*ep.* 1), which attacked Nestorius' doctrine, but without mentioning him personally.

our case. And even if this is decreed as a result of intrigue, we shall reject it when we go there, and (with the help of God) he will have to answer for his blasphemies.

(7) Consequently, we are not spurning peace but rather grasping it, if the orthodox faith be professed and they cease making outlandish statements that call down death; for the pamphlet containing his blasphemies that has been sent contains such perversity as to defile the reader. And since it advances the charge that calling the holy Virgin 'Theotokos' is a novel expression,[46] let them be asked where in scripture can be found 'Christotokos' [Christ-bearing] or 'Theodokhos' [God-receiving]? [112] On top of this, he has also inserted the following, in these very words: 'Let us not make out the Virgin, as God-receiving, to be as divine as God.' He does not know what he is saying. For if she did not give birth to God and did not have in her womb Christ who is God, how can she still be 'God-receiving'? And he himself has called God the Father Theotokos. Where he read these expressions, I do not know. There are many other accusations that his statements invite, but I am passing them over; they will be kept for an opportune time, unless he changes his mind.

(8) I have received and read the draft[47] of the petition that you sent as suitable for presentation to the emperor if we give our approval. Since it contains much invective against the one there – 'brother', or what should I call him? – I have for the time being held it back, lest he attack us, saying, 'You have accused me before the emperor as a heretic.' I have written in a different vein, including both a refusal to be judged by him (detailing his hostility) and also a request for a transfer of the case (if those people utterly insist on it) to other officials.[48] Therefore, having read the draft, present it, should the need arise; and if you see that he persists in his plotting and does indeed set in motion schemes of all kinds directed against us, write in haste. I have chosen devout men and wise bishops and monks, and shall send them at the first opportunity. For I shall not 'give sleep to my eyes and slumber to my eyelids and rest to my temples',[49] to cite the scripture,

46 This is Schwartz's emendation of the unsatisfactory Greek text on the basis of the Latin version, 'it brings the charge that scripture, or at least the holy council, has used a novel expression in calling the holy Virgin "Theotokos"'. No one could, or did, claim that this expression came in either scripture or the Nicene Creed.

47 σχεδάριον here signifies a draft or short document; cf. LSJ 1743.

48 Here 'him' is Nestorius, while 'those people' are the plaintiffs bringing charges against Cyril.

49 Ps 131:4.

until I fight the good fight for the salvation of all. Now that you have been informed of our thinking, play the man, for we shall soon produce the letter that is needed, addressed to those in need of it.[50] For my intention is to labour for the Christian faith and undergo everything whatever that is thought terrible in the way of ordeals, until this brings upon me a fate that will be sweet for me – even death.

(5) LETTER OF CYRIL TO ACACIUS OF BEROEA[51]

[98] To my beloved lord brother and fellow minister Acacius, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.

Those who are greatly distressed, with hearts torn by anxiety, are considerably consoled when they reveal the cause of their distress to some of those who share their concern. This is my situation. I have therefore thought it necessary to write to your perfection about what, for a good reason in my opinion, has caused me distress, or rather what still causes me distress. The most devout Bishop Nestorius has not been satisfied with saying in church what has been a stumbling block for the church and undermined faith in Christ the Saviour of us all, but he has also given free rein to a certain Bishop Dorotheus,[52] who has had the temerity to assert openly in church and at the synaxis, 'If anyone calls Mary Theotokos, let him be anathema.' What then are we in the church of the orthodox to do, now that we have been anathematized together with the holy fathers? For I find in writings that Bishop Athanasius of celebrated memory often gave her the name of Theotokos, as did also our blessed father Theophilus and many others of the saints and bishops in their time – this is true of Basil, this is true of Gregory, and of the blessed Atticus himself.[53] None of the

50 This probably refers to the writing of Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius*.

51 Cyril, *ep.* 14, CV 16, ACO I.1.1, 98–9; Latin version in CC 14, ACO I.3, 38–9. The writing of Cyril under attack is still his *Letter to the Monks*, which suggests a date prior to his letters to Nestorius. At this stage Cyril was still collecting allies, before embarking on a direct attack on Nestorius.

52 Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, who attended the Council of Ephesus.

53 The Theotokos title can be found sporadically in extant texts of a number of fourth-century writers, including Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen; see *PGL* 639. When appending florilegia of the fathers to his treatises, Cyril offers no more than a handful of quotations which include the term; see Du Manoir (1935) 441–61, 531–9; Graumann (2002) 280–342.

orthodox, I think, were afraid to call her Theotokos, since it is true that Emmanuel is God. As a result, the holy fathers who are with God and all who, following the correct doctrines of the truth, acknowledge that Christ is God have been made anathema.

The damage resulting from this affair does not stop here, but the minds of the laity have also been perverted. For I have been deeply distressed to hear that some have now fallen into such a pit of disbelief and ignorance as not to acknowledge that Christ is God, and that others, even if they would choose to acknowledge him fully to be God, have no sound opinion about him, but say that he received this name by favour and grace, as is the case with us. This merits groans and lamentation. For what need was there at all to bring such subtle and obscure matters into the public domain? Should we not rather benefit the laity by ethical discourses, if we are less than wholly competent in doctrinal precision? Ever since we expounded the correc account of the faith to the monks of Egypt and Alexandria who had bee: thrown into confusion by these writings or sermons,[54] he has been at wa: with us and become hostile, and gathered vagabonds and desperados to circulate lies about me to many people, and perhaps deservedly: for if we had [99] godly zeal and emulated the piety of the fathers, we would long ago have issued a sacred decree against those who have dared to spout nonsense against Christ and who have anathematized both ourselves who are alive and the holy fathers who are already with God. Such a decree would in all likelihood have healed those of the laity who have been harmed in their faith.

Convey greetings to the brotherhood with you. That with us sends you greetings in the Lord.

(6) LETTER FROM ACACIUS TO CYRIL[55]

[99] To my master, the in all respects most holy and most God-beloved bishop Cyril, Acacius sends greetings in the Lord.

I have read the doleful letter of your religiousness that was recently delivered to us, full of tears and lamentation because of the common talk in Constantinople. The depth of faith in Christ prevails, as it ought, in a letter containing the statement that right from the start there was

54 The reference is to Cyril, *ep.* 1, CV 1, ACO I.1.1, 10–12.

55 Cyril, *ep.* 15, CV 17, ACO I.1.1, 99–100; Latin version in CC 15, ACO I.3, 39–40.

no need for this to be brought into the public domain. What benefit was it that Apollinarius of Laodicea – one who had earlier fought manfully as a great champion against the enemy on behalf of the orthodox faith – was overconfident in his own wisdom and chose certain solutions out of the insoluble for intrusion into the pure and guileless faith of Christ? Did he not make himself numbered among schismatics by the catholic church? Did not one of the bishops before us, who wished to stop the well-intentioned from concerning themselves with what is beyond a human being, speak with vigorous mind and perfect understanding, when he uttered this remark, 'As for how the Father begot the Son, let it be honoured by silence'? And in the rest of his address he calculated how this question eludes virtually all the powers of heaven, let alone human beings and human minds. Is not the exhortation in the divine scriptures needful and apt that teaches, 'Seek not what is too deep for you, nor concern yourself with what is beyond your power; reflect on what has been enjoined on you, for you have no need of what is hidden'?[56] But those who try to act as apologists for those who have attempted to grasp and express these things say that they have experienced something similar to the trials of the late Bishop Paulinus,[57] who refused to affirm three hypostases in so many words. In effect he truly believed this and adhered to this, but he followed the God-beloved western bishops in the restrictions of the Latin language and its inability to talk of three hypostases according to the expression of us Greeks.

Nevertheless, it is incumbent on all of us who are able to share the pain and [100] distress of the church of God to put a high value on placing a restriction on the reported expression, lest a pretext be provided for those who are ready to split and divide the church of God. It is therefore necessary, if originally something of the kind was uttered that can cause distress and dismay to many of the devout and Christ-loving, for your perfect and trained understanding to place a restriction on what has been put in motion, even if, assuredly, as I said before, many visitors to Antioch and even to ourselves from Constantinople – and this is true of both clerics and laymen – are minded to defend the said expression as not contrary in meaning to the apostolic faith, nor to the creed about the *homoousion* proclaimed and transmitted to the whole universal church by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea. Therefore deign to display, as the occasion requires, the wisdom,

56 Sir 3:21–2.

57 M. Simonetti, 'Paulinus of Antioch', *EAC* III, 116–17.

sympathy, and perfection of your priesthood, by your holiness acting as arbiter over the said expression for those who have heard it and are shocked by it, in such a way that your holiness may plan and carry out what is feasible in the storm that is at present shaking the universal church, and even be exalted higher and higher by applying an utterance of the Lord, with thought for the spiritual sea that seems at present to be storm-tossed, and citing the words 'Peace! Be still!'[58]

I had the letter of your religiousness read to one who is most holy and most God-beloved in all respects, John bishop of Antioch. And after he had listened to it with great sympathy and fellow feeling, like us who are of advanced age, even though he has only recently entered the episcopate (by the grace of God he abounds in the attainments that should go with episcopacy, with the result that he is held in high respect and esteem by all the most God-beloved bishops of the diocese of the East), he was found to urge your religiousness that your holiness, applying the understanding you possess, should modify the adventitious and unacceptable expression,[59] so that, through what you say and what you do, you may exhibit, as the occasion requires, the apostolic saying, 'If I wish to use the authority that God has given us for edification and not for destruction, I shall not be ashamed.'[60]

Deign to treat with your innate and inherent love of goodness the most beloved bearer of our letter, since he is a faithful Christian, as were his forebears, and in whatever is necessary to give him the assistance that you owe him.

To all the brotherhood with you, I and those with me send abundant greetings.

58 Mark 4:39.

59 Theodore of Mopsuestia had allowed use of the term in combination with Anthropotokos; see *De Incarnatione*, fr. XLIII (258 Jansen); cf. Jansen (2009) 311, index *s.v.* Theotokos. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *De Incarnatione Domini*, 37[35] (SC 575, 160,6–10 Guinot) also uses it in this way. See our discussion at p. 72 above. At this stage in the controversy John of Antioch was thus unaware that the term Theotokos had a respectable history even in Antiochene thinking behind it. He had changed his view when he wrote to Nestorius after Cyril's letters to him and the synod at Rome: 'This term has been rejected by none of the teachers of the church; they who have used it are many and distinguished, while those who have not used it have not criticized those who have' (CV 14; doc. 23, at §4).

60 Cf. 2 Cor 10:8.

(7) LETTER OF CYRIL TO HIS CRITICS[61]

[109] Cyril to those who criticized him in writing because he had not kept silence on learning by report that the impious teaching of Nestorius was getting worse and worse.

Since your devoutness has written to me that the most religious Nestorius was aggrieved at my writing a letter to the monks,[62] in my desire to rescue those who had been led into error as a result of the rumour, I am obliged to say that responsibility for this lies not so much with us as with his religiousness. For while I set out the doctrine of the orthodox faith for those men who had been led into error by his sermons, he allowed that fine bishop Dorotheus to proclaim openly in the catholic church, even that of the orthodox, 'Anathema if anyone says that Mary is Theotokos!' Not only did he remain silent when he heard the man say this, but he even received him at once into sacramental fellowship as a fellow communicant.[63] Observe, therefore, that we were anathematized in his presence – I shall not yet say *by* him – for Dorotheus would not have uttered this in church without his approval. As a result, both we bishops throughout the world who are alive and our fathers who have departed to God have been anathematized. What then was hindering us from writing in our turn to contradict what the man had said, and declaring, 'Anathema if anyone denies that Mary is Theotokos'? However, for his sake I have for the time being not done so, to avoid some people saying that the bishop of Alexandria or the Egyptian council had anathematized him. But if the most religious bishops in East and West learn that they have all been anathematized (for they all assert and profess that holy Mary is Theotokos), how will they react? Will they not all feel aggrieved, even if not on their own account, yet on account of the holy fathers, in whose writings the holy Virgin Mary is always called Theotokos? If I did not think that this would be wearisome, I would have sent many books by many holy fathers, in which one can find not just once but frequently statements in which they profess that the holy Virgin Mary is Theotokos.[64]

61 Cyril, *ep.* 8, CV 21, ACO I.1.1, 109; Latin version in CC 4, ACO I.3, 17–18. The letter cannot be dated exactly, but clearly belongs to this stage in the controversy.

62 This is Cyril, *ep.* 1, CV 1, ACO I.1.1, 10–23.

63 Dorotheus must have been on a visit to Constantinople.

64 See n. 53 above.

(8) FIRST LETTER OF CYRIL TO NESTORIUS

Note

In the summer of 429, we find the first direct epistolary exchange between Cyril and Nestorius. Cyril's first letter (doc. 8) pushes off from reports about the animosity with which Nestorius had met his *Letter to the Monks*. Turning the tables, he condemns Nestorius' statements as the real cause of the controversy and criticizes treatises that were circulating and had allegedly been authored by him – Cyril leaves the possibility for Nestorius to disown them. These amounted to an assault on Christ's divinity and led many astray, requiring Cyril to forcefully defend the faith, fully determined to suffer any adversity for it. Nestorian 'papers' circulating had also caused scandal in Rome, and Cyril's opinion on them had been sought. It was Nestorius' duty, then, to correct his errors, foremost by accepting the title Theotokos, rather than levelling accusations.

Nestorius' response (doc. 9) that follows is a terse note, extracted from him by the letter carrier's insistence. It offers Cyril no more than 'forbearance' and a minimum of required epistolary politeness.

Text[65]

[23] (1) To the most devout and most religious fellow minister Nestorius, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.[66]

Respectable men, worthy of trust, have come to Alexandria and informed us that your religiousness is extremely aggrieved and doing all he can [24] to cause me distress. When I expressed a wish to be informed about the distress of your religiousness, they said that certain persons from Alexandria have been circulating the letter sent to the holy monks and that this letter has aroused animosity and resentment.

(2) I am amazed that your religiousness did not instead take thought for the matter yourself, for the original cause of the furore over the faith was not the letter I wrote but some statements made, or perhaps not made, by your religiousness. Yet by the circulation of papers or discourses we are

65 Cyril, *ep.* 2, CV 2, ACO I.1.1, 23–5, dating to June 429 (according to Kidd (1922) III, 211). Latin versions in CVer 13, ACO I.2, 36–7; CC 2, ACO I.3, 16–17; CP 27, ACO I.5, 51–2.

66 This is the wording of the heading in CC 2. ACO I.1.1 gives the same in Greek, though without any manuscript support for this wording.

endeavouring to fulfil our wish to set right those who have been led astray; for some people are near to replacing acknowledgement that Christ is God with saying that he is simply the instrument and tool of the Godhead and an inspired man, and what could be more extreme than this? What has made us indignant are things that your religiousness has said, or not said; for I do not put great trust in the papers that are circulating. How, then, can one remain silent, when the faith is under attack and so many people have been led astray? Shall we not have to stand before the judgement seat of Christ and account for our untimely silence, even though we were appointed by him to say what needs to be said?

(3) What am I to do now (for I must confer with your religiousness), when the most devout and the most religious Celestine bishop of Rome and the most religious bishops with him are discussing the papers delivered there (I know not how), asking whether at all they are your religiousness's or not? For they write that they are utterly scandalized.[67] How are we to reassure those coming from all the churches of the East who are complaining about the papers? Or does your religiousness perhaps suppose that the furore that has arisen in the churches because of these sermons is unimportant? We are all making every effort to convert to the truth those who have been seduced (I know not how) into contrary beliefs. At a time, therefore, when it is your religiousness who has given everyone a cause for complaint, how can you justify bringing an accusation? Why do you groundlessly inveigh against me, instead of correcting your own language and putting an end to what is a universal stumbling block? For even if your words came out by accident and so circulated among the people, they should all the same be corrected by reflection. Have the grace, by calling the holy Virgin 'Theotokos', to make a gift of the expression to those scandalized, so that we may comfort the aggrieved, share sound doctrine with all, and celebrate the eucharist with congregations at peace and in unanimity. Your religiousness should be in no doubt that for the faith in Christ we are ready to suffer everything – to undergo imprisonment and even death itself.

(4) I tell you truly that, when Atticus of blessed memory was still alive, I composed a book on the holy and consubstantial [25] Trinity,[68] in which

67 Following Schwartz (1914a) 3f., Bevan (2010) 348 derives from this remark the notion of a Roman Synod, convened in 429 to condemn Nestorius. While the text supports the meeting of a synod, its suggested purpose of condemning Nestorius at this early stage is implausible.

68 Cyril, *Dialogues on the Trinity* (CPG 5216).

the account of the incarnation of the Only-begotten agreed with what I have written now; we read it out to bishops and clergy and those of the laity fond of listening, but distributed it at that time to no one. When, therefore, it is distributed, the fact that I composed this little work even before the consecration of your religiousness will doubtless be made into another ground for accusing me![69]

(9) FIRST LETTER OF NESTORIUS TO CYRIL[70]

[25] To my Lord the most God-beloved and most holy fellow minister Cyril, Nestorius sends greetings in the Lord.

Nothing has more power than Christian forbearance. At least, this makes us send the present letter via the most devout priest Lampo, who on the subject of your devoutness has spoken much to us and also heard much, and who finally did not let us go until he had extracted this letter from us. We have been conquered by the man's insistence, for I confess that I have great respect for all Christian forbearance, on the part of anyone, since God is enthroned within it. Even though much that your religiousness has done does not accord with brotherly love (for I must put this mildly), our response is made with patience and the affection appropriate in an epistolary address. What will be the fruit for us of the most devout priest Lampo's insistence[71] is something that experience will show.

To all the brotherhood with you, I and those with me send greetings.

(10) SECOND LETTER OF CYRIL TO NESTORIUS

Note

Cyril's second letter to Nestorius is, historically, his first substantial elaboration of the theological questions surrounding the understanding of the incarnation directly addressed to Nestorius. It was most probably

69 An ironic way of saying that, since the work was written before Nestorius' consecration, he (Cyril) cannot be accused of having written it as a personal attack on his colleague.

70 Cyril, *ep.* 3, CV 3, ACO I.1.1, 25; Latin version in CC 3, ACO I.3, 17.

71 The words translated here as 'power', 'compelled', 'insistence' are all βία or its derivatives.

written in February 430.[72] The letter's theological significance cannot be overstated. It was formally approved by the Ephesine Council as the authoritative and authentic interpretation of Nicene Christology (CV 45, doc. 39). When Cyril came to be held up as a standard-bearer of orthodoxy for later generations, this letter's status was undisputed on all sides of the debate. It was one of the documents against which Eutyches' heterodoxy was measured in the Constantinopolitan Synod of 448. At Chalcedon, Leo's *Tomus ad Flavianum* was accepted not least on the grounds of its 'congruence' with Cyril's letters (quoting a section of this letter as proof), and Cyril's 'synodical letters' (of which this one is the first) were listed as authoritative texts guiding that council's own definition. Much of the later, post-Chalcedonian Christological discussion was concerned with the relative weight of certain elements in Cyril's thinking (and the validity of documents which best expressed them), yet the fundamental importance of what Cyril set out in this letter was never challenged.

At the start of the letter and before engaging in the theological questions, Cyril brushes aside what he had heard about accusations voiced against him by certain disreputable persons in Constantinople. Much has been made of these remarks by those wishing to interpret the controversy principally as a power-political struggle between the two hierarchs. According to this view, Cyril only entered into theological controversy as a diversionary tactic when he feared judicial action might be brought against him in the capital; this Nestorius also alleges (doc. 26).

Cyril's subsequent theological exposition takes as its starting point the Nicene Creed, which he paraphrases with an added emphasis that pointedly identifies 'the same' subject whose consubstantial divinity with the father had first been confessed as being active also in the incarnation. This, Cyril affirms in explanation, implies no change or transformation into flesh (by which term he wishes to indicate a complete man, with body and rational soul). It is, however, not sufficient or indeed in accord with scripture to speak of the assumption of a single *prosopon* or a unity of *prosopa* – Nestorius' favoured terminology. For Cyril, such a single *prosopon* denotes little more than a unity in appearance and relationship to others, while for Nestorius the joint *prosopon* of Christ arguably expressed something closer to a real person.[73] Cyril acknowledges that the

72 In the Acts of Chalcedon (ACO II.1, 4), the letter is dated to the Egyptian month of Mechir 430 (26 January–24 February).

73 See our discussion in the General Introduction, pp. 79–80.

difference of the natures brought together remains undestroyed, but insists on the oneness of the incarnate Christ. He underwent no second generation for his own sake or (absurdly) had the beginning of his existence in the birth from his mother – being coeternal with the Father. Instead, the Word 'hypostatically united' to himself manhood, that is human characteristics and reality, making them 'his own'. Similarly, his suffering and resurrection happened not because of his own nature but for our sakes, and in the flesh he had made his own. His immortality and incorruptibility are not affected. Rejection of the idea of hypostatic union inevitably results in the division into two sons, and the worship of one alongside the other. Since, then, one must not divide the one Lord Jesus Christ, and he remained in the incarnation what he always was, namely God, Mary is justifiably called Theotokos – a title which, Cyril claims, the fathers had frequently used. In reality, what Cyril quotes in a number of treatises and letters before the council in evidence of its traditional usage only reveal a rather small number of instances.[74]

Text[75]

[25] To the most devout and most God-beloved fellow minister Nestorius, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.[76]

(1) Certain persons, as I am informed, are prattling to the detriment of my character in the presence of your [26] religiousness, and this constantly, looking out in particular for gatherings of officials. Thinking perhaps to tickle your ears, they make ill-considered statements, when in fact they have in no way been wronged, but were convicted, and quite rightly too – one for having wronged the blind and the poor, another for having drawn a sword against his mother, and the third for having been the accomplice of a maidservant in a theft of money, quite apart from having a permanent

74 The citations are collected in Du Manoir (1935) 441–61, 531–59. Of these only a few include the word, most importantly for Cyril: Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* III, 29 (cited in Cyril, *ep.* 1.4); cf. for discussion Graumann (2002) 280–91, 328–30. Of the sixteen 'patristic' quotations offered in the first session of the council (CV 54.1–16; doc. 39), only two include the term.

75 Cyril, *ep.* 4, CV 4, ACO I.1.1, 25–8. Dated to February 430 in the Acts of Chalcedon (Price and Gaddis I, 173). Latin versions in CVer 14, ACO I.2, 37–9; CC 6, ACO I. 3, 20–2; CP 26, ACO I.5, 49–51; CQ 66, ACO I.5, 337–40.

76 Again this form of heading (adopted by Schwartz) is preserved only in a Latin version, CC 6.

reputation of a kind that one would not wish even on one's worst enemies.[77] But what such people say is not a matter of much moment to me; I should not seek in my littleness to avoid the lot of my Master and Teacher, or indeed the fathers. For it is not possible to escape the perversity of the wicked, however one chooses to live.

(2) But those men, 'whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness',[78] will be answerable to the Judge of all. I, however, will turn to what is most fitting for me, and urge you even now as a brother in Christ to make the character of your teaching and your opinions about the faith harmless for the laity, and to remember that to lead into sin even one of the little ones who believe in Christ[79] incurs unendurable wrath. But since the number of those aggrieved is very great, we surely stand in need of every skill that is available, since it is essential to remove with prudence the occasions of sin and to extend the wholesome doctrine of the faith to those who seek the truth. This will be done, and most rightly, if when reading the discourses of the holy fathers we show them the highest respect, and if, checking whether we 'are in the faith', to use the scriptural phrase,[80] we make our own conceptions accord with their orthodox and unassailable convictions.

(3) Now the holy and great council [of Nicaea] said that the only-begotten Son born by nature from God the Father, true God from true God, light from light, through whom the Father made all things, came down, was incarnate, became man, suffered, rose on the third day, and ascended into heaven. These words and doctrines we are obliged to follow, understanding what is meant by the Word from God being incarnate and becoming man; for we do not say that the nature of the Word became flesh as the result of change, nor that he was completely transformed into a human being, made up of soul and body, but instead we say this, that, in a way that cannot be expressed or understood, the Word hypostatically united to himself flesh animated by a rational soul, became man, and was called son of man, neither by mere will [27] or good pleasure, nor by the assumption of a mere appearance (*prosopon*), but that, while the natures which were brought together in true union are different, yet the two make up one Christ and

77 Four complainants, who had been disciplined by Cyril, are named in CV 22 (doc. 4). In 429 they went to Constantinople and appealed to the emperor, who entrusted the case to Nestorius, who rejected Cyril's demand that he dismiss the case.

78 Rom 3:14.

79 Matt 18:6.

80 2 Cor 13:5.

Son. It is not as if the difference between the natures was destroyed by the union: instead, the Godhead and the manhood, in a way that cannot be stated or uttered, came together into unity and made perfect for us the one Lord and Christ and Son.

(4) Accordingly, although he existed and was begotten from the Father before the ages, he is spoken of as begotten also in the flesh from a woman, not as though his divine nature began to exist only in the holy Virgin, nor as though he needed on his own account a second birth after that from the Father, for it is both senseless and ignorant to say that he who existed before every aeon and is coeternal with the Father needed to come into existence a second time. But since for us and for our salvation he united manhood to himself hypostatically and came forth from a woman, he is for this reason said to have been born in the flesh. For he was not born first from the holy Virgin as an ordinary man upon whom the Word descended subsequently, but, united from the womb itself, he is said to have undergone fleshly birth, by making his own the birth of his own flesh.

(5) So too we say that he both suffered and rose again, not as though God the Word suffered in his own nature either blows or the piercing of the nails or the other wounds, for the divine, being incorporeal, is also impassible. But since it was the body that had become his own that suffered, he himself is said again to have suffered these things for us, for the impassible one was in the suffering body. It is in the same way that we understand his dying. The Word of God is by nature immortal and incorruptible and is life and life-giving; but since again his own body 'by the grace of God tasted death on behalf of everyone', as Paul says,[81] he himself is said to have suffered death on our behalf – not as though he experienced death in his own nature (for to say or think that would be lunacy), but because, as I have just said, his own flesh tasted death. [28] So again, when his flesh was raised, the resurrection is attributed to him, not as though he fell into corruption (God forbid!), but because again his own body was raised.

(6) This is how we shall acknowledge one Christ and Lord. We do not worship a man together with the Word, lest a semblance of division might creep in through the use of the word 'with', but we worship him as one and the same, because the body with which he is enthroned with the Father is not alien to the Word. Again it is not the case that two sons are enthroned with the Father: rather one is, in virtue of his union with the flesh. But if we were to reject the hypostatic union as incomprehensible or unseemly, we

81 Heb 2:9.

would fall into speaking of two sons, for we would be compelled to draw a distinction and to speak of the one as individually a man, honoured with the title of 'Son', and again of the other as individually the Word from God, possessing the name and reality of sonship by nature. We must therefore avoid dividing into two sons the one Lord Jesus Christ.

(7) For doing so will in no way assist the correct expression of the faith, even if some allege a union of persons (*prosopa*); for scripture did not say that the Word united to himself the person (*prosopon*) of a man, but that he became flesh.[82] The Word becoming flesh simply means that he partook of blood and flesh like us,[83] and made our body his own, and came forth from a woman as a human being, not laying aside his Godhead and his birth from God the Father, but remaining what he was even when taking flesh. This is what is taught everywhere by the doctrine of the pure faith; this we shall find to be the belief of the holy fathers. Consequently they confidently called the holy Virgin 'Theotokos', not as though the nature of the Word or his Godhead came into being from the holy Virgin, but because the holy body with its rational soul was born from her; it is because he was hypostatically united to this body that the Word is said to have been born according to the flesh. I am writing this to you now out of love in Christ, as I beseech you as a brother and 'charge you before Christ and the elect angels'[84] to join us in believing and teaching all this, so that the peace of the churches may be preserved and the bond of unanimity and charity may remain unbroken among the priests of God.

Give greetings to the brotherhood with you. The brotherhood with us send you greetings in Christ.

(11) SECOND LETTER OF NESTORIUS TO CYRIL

Note

Nestorius' response first expresses irritation over Cyril's letter before it goes on to refute his teaching point by point. Nestorius, too, takes the Nicene Creed as his starting point. He accuses Cyril of superficial reading and analyses its grammatical structure, identifying the (grammatical

82 John 1:14.
83 Heb 2:14.
84 1 Tim 5:21.

as well as real) subject of the statements about the incarnation and life as 'Christ', not the divine Word as Cyril had claimed. The creed's terminology ('Lord', 'Jesus', 'Christ', 'only-begotten', and 'Son', all being terms 'common' to Godhead and manhood) and grammatical structure, then, clearly expressed the decisive duality or differentiation of both divinity and humanity in the person of the incarnate one. With this language, furthermore, the Nicene fathers in fact followed, he claims, Paul's example who similarly made 'Christ', and not the divine Word, the subject of the incarnational statements in Philippians 2. Nestorius applauds Cyril's rejection of the idea of a recent birth to the Godhead, and for accepting a 'division' between Godhead and manhood and their 'conjunction' in one *prosopon*; if not an outright misreading of Cyril's statements, this is at least a highly tendentious reading that substitutes Nestorius' own personal terminological preferences for those of Cyril Nevertheless, he claims, contrary to this earlier (proper) affirmation, Cyril subsequently slipped into upholding the exact opposite and suggested (heterodox) notions that did entail a new birth, divine passibility, and the seeming destruction of the distinct characteristics in the conjunction. Failing to attribute elements such as hunger, thirst, and the suffering to the manhood results in repeating the Arian or Apollinarian heresy. Nestorius recalls a series of scriptural passages which attribute such activities and experiences not to the Word of God but to the humanity of the Incarnate (by speaking of the Son of David, the body, Jesus, or 'Christ') and therefore need to be interpreted employing this crucial distinction; failing to heed it would result in absurdly ascribing (in Arianizing fashion) to the Godhead what are human characteristics. As a result and in harmony with scriptural usage, speaking 'more exactly' of Mary as Christotokos rather than Theotokos must clearly be preferred. Nestorius concludes by reporting the 'joy' at court over his elucidation of orthodoxy and the flourishing of church affairs in Constantinople.

The dispute between Cyril and Nestorius over the correct understanding of the Nicene Creed is significant. On the linguistic level, Nestorius is correct to insist that the creed does not use the term Logos or Word as the grammatical subject of the statements in the second article. That the use instead of the term 'Christ' should entail the notion of two natures and uphold their distinction (as he surmises), however, was hardly on the mind of the drafters of the creed; the question was simply not raised at the time. It presupposes Nestorius' understanding of 'Christ' and retrojects it. At the same time, Cyril is equally correct in insisting that the creed does

not introduce a different subject when it moves from the confession of his eternal relationship with the Father (as consubstantial) to his activity in the economy and incarnation; in that sense it conceives indeed of 'the same' (as Cyril repeatedly emphasizes) subject or agent or person. Since the statements about what later terminology calls the eternal inner-trinitarian relations (including consubstantiality) can only be expressed of the (eternal) divine Logos/Word, for Cyril a 'natural' reading of the creed would require ascribing the statements about the incarnation, the life and death of the incarnate to this very same Logos/Word. Continually and without drawing attention to the linguistic shift, he substitutes Logos/Word for the terms used in the creed as a consequence. Both authors, then, provide an 'interpretative' reading of the creed, and both can point to features of the text that work in their favour and are insufficiently accounted for in their opponent's reading; both go on to draw far-reaching consequences of these competing readings of the creed.

Text[85]

[29] To the most devout and most religious fellow minister Cyril, Nestorius sends greetings in the Lord.

(1) As for the insults against us in your astounding letter, I forgive them, since they merit a remedial patience and a response to them in due season by means of the facts themselves. But silence is not permissible, since, if it were to be observed, grave danger would result. I shall not expatiate at length, but shall try to provide a concise account of the matter to the best of my ability, while maintaining my distaste for obscure and dyspeptic verbosity. I shall begin with your charity's most wise statements, citing them verbatim. So what are the statements of the amazing teaching of your letter? 'The holy and great council said that the only-begotten Son born by nature from God the Father, true God from true God, light from light, through whom the Father made all things, came down, was incarnate, became man, suffered, and rose'.

(2) These are the words of your religiousness, and presumably you recognize your own words. Listen then to ours, a piece of fraternal advice on behalf of piety and one that the great Paul gave in testimony to his beloved Timothy: 'Attend to reading, exhortation, teaching, for by so doing

85 Cyril, *ep.* 5, CV 5, ACO I.1.1, 29–32. Latin versions in CVer 15, ACO I.2, 41–3; CC 7, ACO I.3, 23–6; CP 25, ACO I.5, 46–9. CC 7 (ACO I.3, 26,22) dates the letter to June 430.

you will save both yourself and your hearers.'[86] What does 'attend' signify to me? That, because you read the tradition of those holy men superficially, you were unaware of your own ignorance (which is indeed pardonable) in supposing that they said that the Word, coeternal with the Father, is passible. But look more closely, if you like, at what they said, and you will find that this divine choir of fathers did not say that the consubstantial Godhead is passible or that the Godhead coeternal with the Father was recently born, or itself rose up when it raised up the destroyed temple.[87] And if you direct your hearing to the healing skills of a brother, I shall quote to you the statements of the holy fathers and relieve you of calumny against them and thereby against the divine scriptures.

(3) 'I believe,' they said, 'in our Lord Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son.' Note how they place first as foundation stones 'Lord', 'Jesus', 'Christ' 'only-begotten', and 'Son', the terms common to Godhead and manhood [30] and then build on top of them the tradition of the incarnation, the resurrection, and the passion, so that, with certain common terms indicative of both natures coming first, sonship and lordship are not divided and the natures do not run the risk, in the uniqueness of sonship, of annihilation through merger.

(4) Paul was their teacher in this, who, when speaking of the divine incarnation and about to introduce the passion, first puts 'Christ', a term common to the natures, as I said above, and then gives an appropriate account of both natures. For what is it he says? 'Have in you the mind that was indeed in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, did not think it robbery to be equal with God, but' – not to quote everything – 'became obedient unto death, death on a cross.'[88] For since he was about to mention the death, lest anyone might suppose from this that God the Word is passible, he puts 'Christ' [first], a name that indicates both the impassible and passible essences in the unique person, with the result that Christ is without danger called both impassible and passible, impassible in Godhead, passible in the nature of the body.

(5) On this topic there is plenty I could say, and first that in the context of the dispensation those holy fathers spoke not of 'birth' but of 'incarnation', but I am aware that the promise of brevity I made at the beginning curbs my

86 1 Tim 4:13, 16.

87 Nestorius' prime concern in insisting on the distinction between the natures was to preserve uncompromised the immutability of the Godhead. See O'Keefe (1997a, 1997b).

88 Phil 2:5–8.

speech and directs me to your charity's second section, (6) in which I would praise the distinction of the natures according to the concepts of manhood and Godhead, the conjunction of these in one person (*prosopon*),[89] the denial that God the Word needed a second birth from a woman, and the acknowledgement that the Godhead is incapable of suffering. These tenets are truly orthodox and contrary to the errors of all the heresies about the Lord's natures.[90] But whether what followed introduced some hidden wisdom incomprehensible to the hearing of its readers is a matter for your subtlety to determine; but to me it seemed to contradict what had come before.[91] For I do not understand how it could introduce the one declared earlier to be impassible and incapable of a second birth as again passible and newly created, as if the natural properties of God the Word are destroyed by conjunction with the temple, or as if it is thought a trivial thing by men that the sinless temple, inseparable from the divine nature, should undergo birth and death on behalf of sinners, or as if the saying of the Lord is not worthy of belief when he exclaimed to the Jews, 'Destroy this temple and in three days I shall raise it up'[92] – not 'Destroy my Godhead and in three days it will be raised.'

(7) Wishing here also to speak at length, I am checked by remembering the promise I made; all the same, I must speak, albeit briefly. Everywhere in sacred scripture, whenever [31] it mentions the Lord's dispensation, what it transmits to us is the birth and suffering not of the Godhead but of the manhood of Christ, which implies that according to the more precise nomenclature the holy Virgin should be called Christotokos rather than Theotokos. Listen to the gospels as they proclaim this: 'The book of the birth of Jesus Christ, son of David and son of Abraham.'[93] It is manifest that God the Word was not the son of David. Take, if you like, another testimony as well: 'Jacob begat Joseph the spouse of Mary, from whom was born Jesus who is called Christ.'[94] Consider also another saying that

89 Literally, 'the [union] of them into a conjunction of one person [*propopon*]'.

90 Nestorius chooses to give a benign interpretation to Cyril, *ep.* 4.4–5, doc. 10, p. 119, a passage that develops *communicatio idiomatum*, that is, the ascription of the distinctive attributes of one nature to the other as a mode of expressing their union. He ignores Cyril's argument that the human experiences are to be attributed to the divine Word as their subject.

91 This refers to the development of the notion of 'hypostatic union' in Cyril, *ep.* 4, 6–7 (doc. 10).

92 John 2:19.

93 Matt 1:1.

94 Matt 1:16.

testifies to us: 'The birth of Jesus Christ was in this manner. For when his mother Mary was betrothed to Joseph, she was found to have [a child] in her womb from the Holy Spirit.'[95] But who would suppose that the Godhead of the Only-Begotten was a creation of the Spirit? What is the meaning of 'The mother of Jesus was there',[96] and again 'with Mary the mother of Jesus',[97] and 'That which is born in her is from the Holy Spirit',[98] and 'Take the child and his mother and flee to Egypt',[99] and 'concerning his Son who was born from the seed of David in respect of the flesh',[100] and again, concerning the passion, 'God, who sent his own Son in the likeness of the flesh of sin and because of sin, condemned sin in the flesh',[101] and again 'Christ died for our sins',[102] and 'Christ suffered in the flesh',[103] and 'This is' – not my Godhead but – 'my body which is broken for you'?[104] And myriads of other sayings testify that the human race should not think that it is the Son's Godhead that is recent or capable of bodily suffering but rather the flesh united to the nature of the Godhead. This is why Christ calls himself both lord and son of David; for 'what,' he said, 'do you think about the Christ? Whose son is he?' They said, 'That of David.' In reply Jesus said to them, 'How then does David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying, "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand"?'[105] because he is totally the son of David in respect of the flesh but his lord in respect of the Godhead. The sayings testify that the body is the temple of the Son's Godhead, a temple united [to it] by a supreme and divine conjunction, with the result that it is appropriated by the nature of the Godhead and is acknowledged to be good and worthy of what is transmitted in the gospels. But to attribute [to the Godhead] by the term 'appropriation' the distinguishing characteristics of the conjoined flesh, I mean birth, suffering, and death, is the mark, brother, of a mind as lost as the pagans or riddled with the insanity of Apollinarius and Arius and the other heresies, or

95 Matt 1:18.
96 John 2:1.
97 Acts 1:14.
98 Matt 1:20.
99 Matt 2:13.
100 Rom 1:3.
101 Rom 8:3.
102 1 Cor 15:3.
103 1 Pet 4:1.
104 1 Cor 11:24.
105 Matt 22:42–4.

rather something even worse than them.[106] For those who are swept off their feet by the term 'appropriation' are bound to make God the Word, in virtue of appropriation, share in being fed with milk, and experience gradual growth, as well as being afraid at the time of the passion, [32] and needing angelic help.[107] I shall remain silent about circumcision and self-offering and sweat and hunger, things that, as having happened for our sake, belong to the flesh as objects of veneration, but which if applied to the Godhead are understood wrongly and bring down merited condemnation on us as guilty of misrepresentation.

(8) This is the tradition of the holy fathers, this is the message of the divine scriptures; this is how one theologizes about both God's love of mankind and his authority. 'Meditate upon these things, abide in them, so that your progress may be manifest to all,'[108] says Paul to everyone. You do well to maintain your concern for those who are scandalized; and thanks be to your soul, anxious about the things of God and taking thought for our affairs. Be aware, however, that you have been misled by those who were deposed by the holy synod here for holding the tenets of the Manichees[109] or perhaps by clerics of your own persuasion. For the church advances daily, and through the grace of Christ the laity are so increasing that those who behold the great numbers cry out in the words of the prophet, 'The earth will be filled with the knowledge of the Lord just as water in plenty has covered the seas.'[110] The emperors are overwhelmed with joy at the teaching of the doctrine.[111] To conclude this letter, as regards all the heresies that war against God and as regards the church's orthodoxy may we find fulfilled for us day after day the saying, 'The house of Saul went from weakness to weakness, while the house of David went from strength to strength.'[112]

106 Nestorius is arguing that embodiment may be ascribed to God the Word but not the individual experiences of the human body: we may say that the Word became flesh, but not that the Word was born of Mary or suffered on the cross.

107 Cf. Luke 22:41–3.

108 1 Tim 4:15.

109 These are the layman Marius Mercator and his allies who, residing at Constantinople, had brought charges against some leading Pelagians who had arrived in the capital, including Caelestius and Julian, only to find themselves condemned by a home synod for Manichaeism, that is, for so negative a view of the fallen human state as to be akin to radical dualism. See Kidd (1922) III, 212–15.

110 Isa 11:9.

111 Nestorius is referring to the success of his campaign to bring heretics into the mainstream church, for which see Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 29.

112 2 Sam 3:1.

(9) This is our advice to you, as brother to brother. 'But if anyone is contentious', Paul will exclaim through us to such a one, 'we have no such custom nor do the churches of God.'[113] To all the brethren with you in Christ, both I and those with me send copious greetings. May you continue in good health and pray for us, most honoured and most religious lord.

4. THE ROMAN SYNOD OF AUGUST 430 AND ITS AFTERMATH

Introduction

A decisive step in the evolving conflict is marked by Cyril's approach of Rome in the spring or early summer of 430 and the synod convened there by Pope Celestine at the beginning of August.[114] In his letter to Celestine (doc. 12), Cyril sketched his previous efforts and correspondence with Nestorius thus far (including the Second Letter), and sent the relevant documents along with it. He had also prepared a dossier of incriminating texts by Nestorius (but probably not a concomitant dossier of patristic excerpts),[115] translated into Latin for convenient use in Rome. His trusted deacon Posidonius undertook the important journey; the instructions he received from Cyril have survived and are included in our collection (doc. 13). Cyril's letter and the compilation of attendant materials, and the case made by Posidonius on this basis, decisively shaped the Roman perception of the case. Celestine convened a synod at the beginning of August. Letters summarizing its decision are dated 10 August. Other than these, little evidence of the synod remains; what might be an extract from an address by the pope on the occasion is transmitted in a treatise by Arnobius Junior.[116] There we sense the flavour of at least one main element determining his approach: an explicit recourse to tradition in the evocation of well-known texts such as Ambrose's hymns. It chimes with Cyril's evaluation of Nestorius as an anti-traditionalist and his own contrasting self-presentation as faithful follower of the fathers.

113 1 Cor 11:16.

114 Celestine's letters informing of its decisions are dated 10 August, so the synod must have taken place either on or, perhaps more probably, shortly before that date.

115 See Graumann (2002a) 317–23.

116 Arnobius Iunior, *Conflictus Arnobii et Serapionis* (CPL 239), ed. Gori (1993); cf. discussion in Graumann (2002b) 489–501.

The letters sent by Celestine in the name of the synod (docs 14–16) announce the deposition of Nestorius to a range of addressees in Constantinople and the East as well as to him personally. It comes into effect, they stipulate, should he fail to recant his views within a certain timespan from receiving the verdict. The letters are replete with anti-heretical rhetoric and stereotypes, but lack any substantive exposition of either Nestorius' alleged heterodoxies or an 'orthodox' Christology. Importantly, the Alexandrian deacon Posidonius was tasked with taking the dispatch back with him on the return journey to Alexandria, and Celestine authorized Cyril to execute Rome's verdict and specify the details. The chosen route explains why Nestorius only received the letters at the end of November 430, along with a letter by Cyril (the important *Third Letter to Nestorius*, doc. 20), which filled in the requirements for demonstrating 'orthodoxy' about which Celestine had been completely silent. Further letters written by Cyril to important hierarchs of the East at the same time show his attempt not just to 'inform' them about the Roman verdict but also to isolate Nestorius (docs 18, 19, 21, 22). The ripples of the verdict and of Cyril's dissemination and theological elaboration can in turn be discerned in the correspondence between these bishops of the East and Nestorius directly, reacting to both (docs 23–25). Around this time, the emperor's decision to convene a council to settle the matter must have been finalized; the *sacra* of invitation (doc. 28) is dated 19 November.

(12) LETTER OF CYRIL TO POPE CELESTINE[117]

(1) [10] To the most holy and most God-beloved father Celestine, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.

If it was possible to remain silent, to escape criticism, and to avoid appearing troublesome by not writing to your religiousness about everything set in turmoil, although it involves matters of such importance, where some are undermining the orthodox faith, I would have said to myself, 'Silence is good and without risk, and calm is better than a storm.' But since in these matters God demands sober good sense from us and the long-standing custom of the churches leads us to communicate with your sacredness,

117 Cyril, *ep.* 11, CV 144, ACO I.1.5, 10–12. It is curious that there is no Latin version. The approximate date of this letter is established by the reference to his *Second Letter to Nestorius* at §4.

I need to write again in order to inform you of the fact that Satan is even now throwing everything into confusion, raging against the churches of God, and attempting to pervert the laity everywhere who are following the faith correctly; for that utterly iniquitous beast, the fomenter of impiety, never rests. Up till now I have kept silent and written nothing at all to your religiousness about the one who is now in Constantinople and directs the church there, nor to any other of my fellow ministers, out of a belief that haste in these matters invites criticism. But since we have reached the crest of the evil, as it were, I have thought it absolutely necessary for me to loosen my tongue at this juncture and relate the whole uproar.

(2) For as soon as the one I have mentioned was consecrated – although it was his duty, by exhorting to the good, to benefit both the laity there and the foreigners in residence (for they are very many and from virtuall every city and region) – he hastened to make some outrageous statement: contrary to reason and far from the faith of the apostles and the gospels, which the fathers preserved for all time and handed down to us as 'a pearl of great price'.[118] The sermons that he has delivered in church, and this very often, and which he continues to deliver, I am sending to your religiousness, to provide precise information. Although I wanted to inform him by a synodical letter that we cannot be in communion with one who asserts and holds these things, I myself, I confess, have not done this; but because I thought it necessary to extend a hand to those who have slipped and to raise up those who have fallen, as brethren do, I urged him by letter to desist [11] from such heresy; but we achieved nothing. But when he learnt that, so far from holding the same beliefs, we have actually charged him to abandon his own concoctions (for I would not call them doctrines), he set about every kind of machination and has still not ceased to be disruptive. While we were expecting him to mend his ways and withdraw his teaching about Christ, we learnt that we have been disappointed in our hopes, from the following occurrence.

(3) There was in Constantinople a bishop named Dorotheus who shares his opinions, a man wheedling and 'reckless with his lips',[119] to use the scriptural phrase. At the eucharist, while the most devout Nestorius was sitting on the throne of the church of Constantinople, he stood up and had the effrontery to say in a loud voice, 'If anyone says that Mary is Theotokos, let him be anathema.' There was a great shout by all the congregation and

118 Matt 13:46.
119 Prov 13:3.

a stampede; for they did not want to remain in communion with those who hold this, with the result that the laity of Constantinople are barred from the eucharist, even now, apart from a few of the more fickle and those who flatter him [Nestorius], while almost all the monasteries, their archimandrites, and many of the senate have ceased attending, in fear of being harmed in their faith, while he and the supporters he brought with him from Antioch make all kinds of perverse statements.

(4) After his sermons were brought to Egypt, I learnt that some of the more fickle had been seduced and were now saying to one another in doubt, 'Is what he says orthodox, or has he fallen into error?' Out of anxiety that the disease might become deeply rooted in the souls of the more simple, I wrote a general letter to the monasteries of Egypt,[120] confirming them in the orthodox faith. Then some people brought copies to Constantinople and a great number read them and benefited from them, with the result that very many in government service wrote letters of thanks. But in him this fostered resentment against me, and he is warring against me as if I were his enemy, although he has no charge to bring other than that I cannot bear to share his beliefs. In addition I have set many right, exhorting them to hold on to the faith we received from the fathers and to what divine scripture has taught us, and urging them to think these beliefs unacceptable. Nevertheless, not worrying about his actions against me, but trusting in God who knows and can do all, I have written him another letter, containing in summary an exposition of the orthodox faith, urging and exhorting him to believe and speak accordingly. But again I have achieved nothing, since even now he holds to his original position and continues to say perverse things.

(5) May your religiousness learn this too, that what I am saying has the agreement of all the bishops of the East; all are distressed and aggrieved, especially the most devout bishops of Macedonia. Even though aware of this, he thinks that he is wiser than all, and that he alone understands the meaning of inspired scripture and the mystery of Christ. But since all the orthodox bishops and laymen throughout the whole world profess that Christ is God and that the Virgin who bore him is Theotokos, surely he should realize that, in denying this, he alone is in error? But he has put on airs and supposes that, by using the authority of his see to scheme against all, he will induce us and everyone else to adopt his beliefs. What then are we to do, since we have neither persuaded him nor succeeded in putting an end to

120 Cyril, *Letter to the Monks* (*ep.* 1).

such sermons, and since day after day [12] the laity in Constantinople have been corrupted, [while others] cannot bear it and expect help from orthodox teachers? We are not speaking about matters of only minor importance, nor is silence without danger. For if Christ is being blasphemed, how can we remain silent, especially when Paul writes, 'For if I do this willingly, I have a reward, and if unwillingly, I have been entrusted with a commission'?[121] We have been entrusted with a commission to speak in defence of the faith: what then shall we have to say on the day of judgement, if on these matters we remain silent?

(6) We shall not publicly withdraw from communion with him until we have shared this matter with your religiousness. Therefore be so good as to decree what you think right, and whether one ought to be in communion with him or rather issue a public refusal on the grounds that no one can be in communion with one who holds and teaches such things. The policy of your perfection should be published in letters to the most devout and most God-beloved bishops of Macedonia and to all those in the East; for we shall prompt them, as they desire, to make a joint stand with one soul and one mind and to contend for the orthodox faith now under attack. For his view of the situation is that our great, wonderful, and respected fathers stand anathematized for saying that the holy Virgin is Theotokos, and also, together with them, we who are still alive. And since he chose not to do this with his own voice, he set up someone else, the above-mentioned Dorotheus, and got him to say this, while he himself was seated and listening. Then, coming down from his throne, he immediately took communion with him, on completing the divine mysteries. To provide your sacredness with clear information about what he and what our blessed and great fathers say and believe, I have sent rolls containing passages in chapters, and I have had them translated by men in Alexandria, as far as was possible; and the letters written by myself[122] I have given to the beloved Posidonius,[123] charging him to deliver them to your perfection as well.

121 1 Cor 9:17.

122 ἐπιστολαί, like γράμματα, could be used of a single letter (LSJ, 660), but it is clear from Celestine's reply (CVer 1.3; doc. 14) that Cyril sent copies of several contributions to the controversy so far. For the reconstruction of which letters and documents Cyril sent, see Graumann (2002a) 314–23 and ibid. (2004) 227–38.

123 Posidonius was a deacon of Alexandria. In 444 he was to visit Rome again, as the envoy of Cyril's successor Dioscorus. Bevan (2016) 131, erroneously and without offering justification, makes him Celestine's deacon, which feeds into a different interpretation of the relationship between Rome and Alexandria.

(13) INSTRUCTIONS OF CYRIL TO HIS DEACON POSIDONIUS[124]

Memorandum of the most holy bishop Cyril to Posidonius, sent by him to Rome, concerning Nestorius

[171] The faith, or rather the heresy of Nestorius, consists of the following. He says that God the Word, because he knew beforehand that the one to be born of the holy Virgin would be holy and great, chose him for this and brought it about that he was born of the Virgin without a husband, and bestowed on him the favour of being called by his names, so as to be called Son and Lord and Christ; he also brought it about that he died for us and again raised him. The consequence is that, even if the only-begotten Word of God is said to have become man, he is said to have become man in that he was always with the holy man [who was born] from the Virgin; he says that he was with this man in the same way as he was with the prophets, though in a greater conjunction.[125] For this reason he invariably avoids speaking of union, and calls it conjunction, which means as if from outside, and as if he were to say to Jesus, 'As I was with Moses, so shall I be with you.'[126] To conceal his impiety, he says he was with him from the womb. For this reason he does not say that he *is* true God, but that he received this name through God's good favour, and even if he was called Lord, so again he wishes him to be Lord in the sense that God the Word granted him the favour of being so called. And he says that, when we say that the Son of God died for us and rose again, it is the man who died and the man who rose again, and nothing of this relates to the Word of God.

We too acknowledge that the Word of God is both immortal and life itself, but we believe that he became flesh: that is that, after uniting to himself flesh with a rational soul, he suffered in the flesh according to the scriptures,[127] and when his body suffered, he himself is said to have suffered, even though he is impassible in his nature, and when his body rose again (for 'his flesh did not know corruption'),[128] we say that he himself rose on our behalf. But that man [Nestorius] does not agree with this, but

124 Cyril, *ep.* 11a, *Collectio U* 4 (ACO I.1.7, 171–2).
125 'Conjunction' translates συνάφεια.
126 Josh 3:7.
127 Cf. 1 Pet 4:1.
128 Acts 2:31.

says that the sufferings were a man's and the resurrection a man's, and that in the [eucharistic] mysteries the body that is offered up is that of a man, while we believe it is the flesh of the Word, which has the power to give life, because it has become the flesh and blood of the Word, who bestows life on all things.

This he refuses to say. He made Caelestius issue a plaint against Philip the presbyter, who has brought an accusation against him and broken off communion with him because of his heresy. The plaint contains the accusation that he is a Manichee. [172] He then summoned the man to a council, and he came, acting in accordance with the canons and ready to defend himself. But Caelestius, since he had nothing to produce, made himself scarce and did not come to the council.

When this attempt failed, he had recourse to something else. Fc he said, 'Why did you hold an unauthorized eucharist and perform th offering in a house?' And although virtually all the clergy said, 'Each of u does this when the occasion and necessity require it,' he issued a decree oi deposition against the man.

See, you have the rolls containing the articles of Nestorius' blasphemies.

5. THE ROMAN DISPATCH OF DOCUMENTS

Note

After the synod, Celestine wrote a number of letters to addressees in the East to inform them of the decision reached.

In a letter to Cyril (doc. 14), Celestine transfers to him the authority to act on his behalf and execute the synod's sentence: to convey to Nestorius the need for a written recantation of his views within ten days (in contrast to the following letters the starting point of the period is not specified), failing which he would be held excommunicate.

In a letter to Nestorius (doc. 15) he deploys an arsenal of biblical imagery and anti-heretical tropes to set out Nestorius' position and errors endangering his congregation, and the necessity to act against him, however reluctantly, before announcing the sentence of excommunication, should Nestorius fail to reform. Celestine explicitly endorses that Nestorius must fully accept Cyril's faith, while condemning by a public and written profession his own contrary teaching, if he wishes to avoid excommunication. He is given ten days to recant, starting from the receipt of the

verdict, or else is excommunicated. Celestine also explains that the letter and attendant documentations are to be carried by Posidonius to Cyril of Alexandria, who will inform the bishops and act on Celestine's behalf.

A further long letter (doc. 16) informs the various clergy and lay groups in Constantinople of the verdict against their bishops, reminding them of the teaching of their previous, orthodox bishops, to which they must hold on. Excommunications imposed by Nestorius are formally nullified. Like the others, it is replete with anti-heretical tropes and general warnings; it also more specifically recalls the orthodox bishops before Nestorius, and the overthrow of past heresies (Paul of Samosata is again mentioned). At the same time, it is the only letter in this group that points out, at least in summary, Nestorius' theological errors. The arrangements for the transmission of the letters and documents are briefly set out, and Celestine informs his addressees that, in view of the distances involved, he has empowered Cyril to act on his behalf.

A letter to John of Antioch (doc. 17) serves the same purpose and again presents the most relevant information. The rubric indicates that equivalent letters to other bishops were sent; they have not been preserved separately.

(14) LETTER OF CELESTINE TO CYRIL[129]

(1) [5] Bishop Celestine to Cyril bishop of Alexandria.

To our sadness the letter of your holiness delivered by our son the deacon Posidonius has restored cheerfulness, and we have alternated between sorrow and joy. For when we observe and examine what had been said by the one who is attempting to disrupt the church of Constantinople by perverse sermons, our spirit was struck with no little sorrow and was troubled by much pressing reflection as to how it would be possible to help the congregations to persevere in the faith. But when we turn our mind to what your brotherliness has written, we find a remedy already prepared by which the pestilent disease may be averted by a health-giving remedy – the pure spring water flowing from the words of your love, which may cleanse all the mire of the sluggish stream and reveal to all what should be held about our faith. Accordingly, while we censure and brand him, we

129 Celestine, *ep.* 11, CVer 1, ACO I.2, 5–6. The Greek version, which is scrupulously faithful, is Cyril, *ep.* 12, CV 9, ACO I.1.1, 75–7. This and the following three letters were all signed by Celestine on 10 August 430.

have also embraced your holiness (as if present in your letter) out of love for the Lord, since we see that we have one and the same belief about the Lord.

(2) It is not surprising that a most wise priest of the Lord fights on behalf of the love and power of the faith, so that he may withstand the criminal audacity of its opponents and strengthen by this exhortation those entrusted to him. Just as those things were bitter to us, so these are sweet; just as those were polluted, so these are pure. We are delighted that your holiness is so vigilant that you have now surpassed the example set by your predecessors, who themselves were always defenders of orthodox doctrine. Truly the gospel testimony suits you well which says, 'The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep.'[130] But while you are the good shepherd, he cannot be accused of being the bad hireling,[131] because he is not so much censured for abandoning the sheep as found himself to be tearing them in pieces.

(3) We would provide some supplement, most dear brother, if we did not observe that you hold all the same beliefs that we do, and if we had not approved you in your statement of the faith as a most valiant defender of it. Everything that your holiness has written on this matter has been communicated to us in proper sequence by our son the deacon Posidonius. You have exposed all the snares of wily preaching [6] and strengthened the faith in such a way that it will not be possible for the hearts of those who believe in Christ our God to be seduced to the other side.

(4) It is a great triumph of our faith to have asserted our position so strongly and to have overcome the opposition by citations from the holy scriptures. What can he now do, where can he turn, he who as a lover of impious novelty, while preferring to serve his own bent rather than Christ, chose to infect the congregation entrusted to him with the poison of his preaching, although he ought to have read and to hold that perverse inquiries do not contribute to salvation but work to destroy souls and should therefore be shunned rather than pursued?[132]

(5) Nevertheless, we ought to rescue, if we can, one who is rushing to the precipice or rather is already at the precipice from where he may fall, lest we hasten his falling by not going to help him. Christ our God, whose birth is the subject of the debate, taught us to exert ourselves over a single

130 John 10:11.
131 Cf. John 10:12.
132 Cf. Titus 3:9, 'Avoid foolish inquiries ...'.

sheep, wishing us to rescue it even on our own shoulders,[133] lest it become the prey of a ravenous wolf. How much, then, will he who taught us to hasten to save a single sheep wish us to exert ourselves on behalf of the shepherd of these same sheep! For he, forgetting his office and title, has turned himself into a rapacious wolf, desiring to destroy the flock which it was his duty to guard.

(6) We ought to remove him from the sheepfold, if we cannot correct him as we wish. Let one who corrects himself be given hope of pardon, for we prefer that he turn back and live, if he does not himself destroy the lives of those committed to him. But let one who persists receive an unambiguous sentence; for one must excise a wound that harms not just a single limb but the whole body of the church. For the one who, wise all on his own, dissents from our belief – what will he do with those who assent to it? So let those whom he has excommunicated for opposing him be restored to communion, and may he be informed that he cannot enjoy our communion if, in opposition to the apostolic doctrine, he persists on his own perverse path.

(7) We assign the authority of our see to you. May you therefore, acting in our stead, execute this sentence with strict rigour: *either* within ten days, counting from the day of this indictment,[134] he is to condemn by a written profession his own depraved sermons and confirm that he holds the same faith about the birth of Christ our God as is held by both the Roman church and that of your holiness and by the piety of all; *or*, if he does not do this, your holiness, making immediate provision for that church, is to know that there is to be a prompt and total expulsion from our body of one who has refused to accept treatment by physicians and has hastened, as an evil bearer of pestilence, to both his own destruction and that of all those entrusted to him. We have written to the same effect to our holy brothers and fellow bishops John, Rufus, Juvenal, and Flavian,[135] to inform them of our verdict on him, or rather the divine verdict of our Christ.

133 Luke 15:4–5.

134 For this meaning of the word *conventio* (used here and in the parallel passages in the other letters of Celestine) see Souter (1949) 78. Note the more careful formulation in Celestine's letter to Nestorius of the same day: 'by the tenth day, counting from the first day of this indictment becoming known to you' (§18). The Greek version has 'from the day of this notification' (ὑπομνήσεως), ACO I.1.1, 77,2; the same Greek word (or its verbal derivative) is used for the translation of *conventio* in the other letters.

135 Bishops John of Antioch, Rufus of Thessalonica, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Flavian of Philippi; the letter is doc. 17.

Issued on the fourth day before the Ides of August in the thirteenth consulship of Theodosius and the third of Valentinian, both Augusti.[136]

(15) LETTER OF CELESTINE TO NESTORIUS[137]

[7] Bishop Celestine to Bishop Nestorius of Constantinople.

(1) For some days of our life, after the wicked and oft-condemned doctrine of Pelagius and Caelestius, the catholic faith enjoyed peace, when both the West and the East had struck them down, together with the followers of their teaching, with the weapon of a unanimous sentence.[138] Finally Atticus of holy memory, a teacher of the catholic faith and in this respect as well truly a successor to the blessed John,[139] so harried them on behalf of our common king that the opportunity to stand immobile there was not even granted them. After his death the most intense anxiety awaited us, when we were wondering whether his successor would also succeed to his faith, because it is difficult to maintain what is good; for often there is an alternation of contraries. After him, however, we had one from whom we were immediately to part, the holy Sisinnius,[140] a colleague celebrated for his simplicity and holiness and who preached that faith which he found. In his simple holiness and holy simplicity he had doubtless read that it is better to be timid than arrogant in one's opinions,[141] that higher matters are not to be sought elsewhere,[142] and again, 'If anyone preaches another gospel than what we preach, let him be anathema'.[143]

(2) On his departure from this life, however, when our solicitude reached out as far as the Lord permitted, our spirit was gladdened by the report of the messengers who came, which was soon confirmed by the

136 10 August 430.

137 Celestine, *ep.* 13, CVer 2, ACO I.2, 7–12. The Greek version is CV 10, ACO I.1.1, 77–83. The full heading will have referred to the council assembled at Rome with Celestine, for which see Cyril, *Third Letter to Nestorius*, 2 (doc. 20).

138 Cf. V. Grossi, 'Pelagius (ca. 354–ca. 427) – Pelagians – Pelagianism', *EAC* III, 125–9. After 426, a number of 'Pelagians' such as Julian of Eclanum were sent into exile and sojourned in the East; Julian first at Mopsuestia and later in Constantinople, where the question of his and his colleagues' status became virulent for Nestorius.

139 John Chrysostom.

140 Atticus died on 10 October 425. Sisinnius succeeded him on 28 February 426.

141 Cf. Rom 11:20.

142 Cf. Sir 3:22 (Latin).

143 Gal 1:9. The correct text is 'than what you received'.

account of those colleagues who attended your ordination.[144] They bore as great testimony to you as is required in the case of someone chosen from another place. Up till then your reputation had been so great that a foreign city envied your own people[145] for having you; but now you are shunned with such revulsion that your own countrymen perceive in others how they themselves had been freed.

(3) We received your letter some time ago, but could not reply immediately, because the text had to be translated into Latin.[146] While, belatedly, we were doing this, we received through my son the deacon Posidonius such a letter about you from our holy brother and my fellow bishop Cyril,[147] a priest tried and tested, as made us lament that the testimony of those who had reported on your ordination has proved quite false. For, as we witness, your good beginning has been followed by a bad outcome – a good beginning, I say, which had been so praised in our presence that, responding to the report of our brethren, we shared in their joy; but examining now the complaint [8] about you from the brother just mentioned and also your letter, now at last translated and containing explicit blasphemies, we realize the applicability of the apostolic saying, 'I would wish to change my tone, for I am bewildered at you.'[148] Indeed I have now changed it, unless the impious disputant steps back from the precipice; for it is our duty, as we are directed to,[149] to remove the evil one from among us.

144 Sisinnius died on 24 December 427, Nestorius' consecration following on 10 April 428.

145 The people of Antioch, where Nestorius had been a priest.

146 The singular 'letter' ostensibly refers to Nestorius' first letter to Celestine only (doc. 2, pp. 98–100 above), dating, at the latest, to spring 429. It was a short letter accusing his opponents of Apollinarianism and criticizing the Theotokos title. Nestorius had subsequently written for a second time (doc. 3, after a considerable interval, but of uncertain date), repeating his enquiries about the Pelagians and sketching his anti-heretical efforts again. The mention of his queries (in §§15–16) fits both letters. A third letter (CP 55; ACO I.5, 182; doc. 26) complaining about Cyril finds no echo here; it had evidently not yet reached Rome. Celestine's excuse for his slow reply does not ring true; note how the legates he sent to Ephesus took with them a highly competent Greek translation of his letter to the council (CV 106.10, doc. 68). The real reason for his delay was doubtless his wish to hear from other bishops before committing himself to one side or the other.

147 Cyril, *ep.* 11, ACO I.1.5, 10–12, of spring 430. Cyril appended his writings against Nestorius, including his second letter, to which Celestine refers (§9).

148 Gal 4:20.

149 1 Cor 5:13.

(4) We have therefore read the content of the letter and also those books that we received through delivery by that illustrious man my son Antiochus.[150] In them you were tracked, caught, and apprehended by us; but you attempted to escape through a certain loquacity, wrapping the true in the obscure, conflating both, and either professing what you had denied or trying to deny what you had professed. In your letter, however, you have delivered a clear sentence not as much on our faith as on yourself, in your wish to argue about God the Word in a way contrary to the faith of all.

(5) Mark what sentence we are called to pronounce on you! Mark the fruit of your novelties! You were elected when unknown, and now that you are known stand accused. One must now say with the teacher of the Gentiles, 'We do not know how to pray as we ought.'[151] Do not these words fit that church which, guided not by knowledge of you but by report, rejected the men it had itself tested? The opinion of those who thought well of you ha been betrayed, for who would have thought that within the hide of a sheep w hidden a ravenous wolf? There is a saying of the same apostle, 'There have be heresies so that those who have been tried and tested may be revealed.'[1 Open your ears and hear the words he spoke to Timothy and Titus: what other precept did he give them than the need to avoid profane novelties in speech?[153] The reason was that these things have always produced thorns and briars and lead to impiety. He says, of course, that he asked Timothy to stay at Ephesus and charge certain persons not to preach alien doctrine.[154] I have before my eyes the words of the prophet Jeremiah, 'Terrible things have happened in the land: prophets prophesy wickedness.'[155]

(6) I would like you to tell me: are these unknown to you and so pass you by, or do you know them and yet despise them? If the former is the case, do not be ashamed to learn what is right, when you were not afraid to

150 This Antiochus could be either the former praetorian prefect of Illyricum ('Antiochus 6', *PLRE* II, 102–3) or the current praetorian prefect of the East ('Antiochus 7', ibid., 103–4). Nestorian treatises and sermons, then, had been sent to Rome independent of, and earlier than, the collection Cyril had prepared to indict him and sent through the deacon Posidonius. Nestorius' third letter to Celestine speaks of texts sent by the bishop himself. The various additional allusions to Nestorian texts sent to Rome suggest several more dispatches. Which texts had been sent on each occasion, and on whose initiative, is not always ascertainable.

151 Rom 8:26.

152 1 Cor 11:19.

153 Cf. 1 Tim 6:20 and Titus 3:19.

154 Cf. 1 Tim 1:3.

155 Jer 5:30–1.

teach what is wrong; or if you know and despise them, know that you will be without excuse when he asks for an account of the talent entrusted to you, since he always expects profit through us from his holy deposit. Mark what penalty awaits the one who hides the sum received, even if he restores what he received in its entirety.[156] Learn from this the nature and degree of the danger in not even having delivered what you received.

(7) Or are you going to say to our Lord, 'I have guarded what you gave me,' when we hear that his church is split in this way into factions? What conscience do you live on, when almost all in this city have deserted you? I would have wished that they had then[157] been on their guard as much as they are now, when they long [9] to be rescued. How could you apply words to questions that it is blasphemous even to have conceived? How could a bishop teach to congregations things that undermine reverence towards the virgin birth? The purity of the ancient faith ought not to be sullied by blasphemous words against God. Who at any time escaped anathema if he had added to the faith or subtracted from it? For what has been handed down to us fully and clearly by the apostles needs neither addition nor diminution. We have read in our books that one should neither add nor subtract; great indeed is the penalty that descends on the one who adds or subtracts.[158]

(8) Consequently we are preparing cautery and knife, because wounds that deserve to be cut out should no longer be treated; we know for certain that greater defects are always cured by greater pain. Among the many things you have preached impiously and the universal church rejects, we particularly deplore the excision from the creed handed down by the apostles of those words that give us hope of a fullness of life and salvation.[159] How this could come about is revealed by your letter, which leaves no room for doubt, since you yourself sent it; we could have wished that it had not come into our hands, in order not to be compelled to condemn so great a crime. The paths of all your disputation have concluded with a summary of them; you expatiated broadly and followed many twisting paths, but belatedly and by a different route you have reached an impious goal.[160] We know the warning given by the one who taught that 'dissensions and quarrels over

156 Cf. Matt 25:14–30.

157 That is, when they elected Nestorius bishop.

158 Cf. Rev 22:18–19.

159 That is, the profession of the true incarnation and redemptive death of our divine Lord.

160 In other words, Nestorius' brief letter to Celestine is both the summary and the climax of his blasphemies.

the law are to be avoided, for they are' (he said) 'useless and futile'.[161] Let no one doubt that what is judged to be futile and useless brings no benefit at all.

(9) Our brother Cyril assures us that you have already been convicted by his second letter. After his first and second letters and this our rebuke, which is clearly now the third, I want you to understand that you have been totally expelled from the universal fellowship [of bishops] and the assembly of Christians, unless what was wrongly said is promptly corrected, and unless you return to that way which Christ professes himself to be.[162] Against the one who allowed you earlier to be set over his household as a faithful and prudent servant you have desperately and wickedly taken up arms; you have lost the blessing promised to that office.[163] Not only do yo not give food in due season, but you even kill with poison those whom sought through his blood and his death; for there is poison on your li which we see to be full of cursing and bitterness,[164] when you strive dispute against the one who is mild.[165]

(10) Where is pastoral diligence? The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep, but he is a hireling who lets them loose and betrays them to wolves.[166] What are you going to do here as shepherd, when you adopt the wolf's role and rend the Lord's flock? To what pen can the holy flock now flee, if it comes to harm within the very sheepfold of the church? How will it be protected, when it finds in you a predator rather than a guardian? 'And I have other sheep,' says the Lord, 'that are not of this [10] sheepfold; and these too I must lead.'[167] While he promises to lead others, you let perish the ones you had, although it is certain, whenever this happens, that it is not the sheep that perish because of the shepherds but the shepherds that perish for the sake of the sheep. 'And they,' he says, 'will listen to my voice.' For what purpose? 'So that there may be one flock.'[168] At his voice it becomes one flock, but at yours it is butchered or put to flight.

(11) It is a grim fact that the words of the blessed Paul in the Acts of the Apostles apply to you: 'I know' (he says) 'that after my departure grievous

161 Titus 3:9.
162 Cf. John 14:6.
163 Cf. Matt 24:45–7.
164 Cf. Ps 13:3.
165 Cf. Ps 33:9.
166 Cf. John 10:11–12.
167 John 10:16.
168 John 10:16.

wolves will enter among you, not sparing the flock, and from yourselves will arise men speaking perversely, to seduce disciples after them.'[169] We would wish that this had been said by you about others and not by others about you; for what we are saying is something that should have been for you to teach and not for you to learn. For who can bear a bishop being taught how to be a Christian? Look carefully at the role for which you are summoned: you are arraigned, you are reproved, you are accused. Which of these suits a priest? Harshness calls for a harsh response, if indeed punishing blasphemy counts as retaliation. Or do you think that we should spare you, although you yourself are so far from sparing your own soul that you wish everyone in the past, present, and future to be deprived of the gift of salvation?

(12) As the faithful servant of my good master I must openly pursue his foes, since the prophet affirms that he hated them with a perfect hatred.[170] I am again advised by another speaker not to spare.[171] Who here should command my respect, to whom should I show some honour, when what is at issue is the removal of the ground of all my hope? The gospel contains the Lord's own words in which he says that neither father nor mother nor children nor any need should be preferred to him.[172] For there is often piety[173] of such a kind that it gives birth to impiety, when through an overwhelming fleshly attachment a bodily love is given preference over the love that God is.[174] Out of consideration for the former we often defer to others; but when the one who is love itself is the target, even the former must be renounced when their originator is the one on trial.

(13) Rouse yourself at last, because these should not be called vigils which you devote not to guarding but to rapine. We would wish you to doze over what you preach and be awake for what you impugn. {But what am I saying?}[175] We would find it more bearable if you dozed over both. For then no one would have been undone by you, no one seduced by you, there would be no loss of souls for the church to grieve over and no gain of souls for her to rejoice over; it would be enough for her if you returned her to

169 Acts 20:29–30.

170 Ps 138:22.

171 Cf. Deut 13:8.

172 Cf. Matt 10:37.

173 The Latin word *pietas* was used of dutifulness towards one's family as well as towards God.

174 Cf. 1 John 4:8, 16, 'God is love'.

175 Supplied from the Greek version.

her spouse in the condition in which you received her.[176] But why should I dally with many words? As was said by the architect Paul, I look in vain for something built by you on top, for in you I find no foundation.[177]

(14) I hear that the clergy, catholic in their beliefs, with whom we are in communion, suffer extreme violence in that the city itself is forbidden to them.[178] We rejoice that they [11] are winning the reward for confessors, but lament that it is as a result of persecution by a bishop. The blessed apostle Paul changed from a persecutor to a preacher; it is utterly abominable that a preacher has become a persecutor.

(15) Go and count up the heretics who brought disputes of this kind on the churches: who at any time returned as victor from this contest? You have indeed an example in your own city: Paul, a citizen of Samosata, when he got possession of the church of Antioch, preached certain things and reaped the harvest of his sowing.[179] Other concocters of evil who got possession of churches were invariably expelled by verdicts that were equally severe; those heretics also, whom you wished to consult us about, as if you were ignorant of the proceedings in their case, were rightly condemned and deposed from their sees for saying what was not right. That they found rest there does not surprise us in the least; for there they found preaching so impious that by comparison they could consider themselves innocent.[180]

(16) In this context, because the opportunity for speech requires it, we cannot pass over in silence something that astonishes us. We read that you have a sound belief in original sin, in that you have asserted that nature itself is a debtor and that anyone descended from the stock of the debtor deservedly pays the debt. But what are those who were condemned for denying this doing in your company? Contraries can never come together without raising suspicion; these men would certainly have been expelled if

176 What Nestorius had 'impugned' were the heresies he had attacked, forcing many heretics into the church. This is the gain of souls that Celestine says he would, on balance, have been happy without.

177 Cf. 1 Cor 3:10.

178 Cf. the petition addressed to Theodosius II by the deacon and archimandrite Basil and other Constantinopolitan monks on Nestorius' use of force to silence his critics (ACO 1.1.5, 7–10; doc. 27). When Basil and others went in a deputation to Nestorius, he had them arrested and beaten up.

179 Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, was deposed by the Council of Antioch of 268 for treating Christ as a mere man and other offences; see p. 94, n. 8.

180 The reference is to the Pelagian heretics who took refuge in Constantinople. See docs 2–3 above.

they had been equally objectionable to you. Why do you now ask about the proceedings against them at that time, when it is certain that documentation was sent to us from there by the catholic Atticus, at that time bishop?[181] Why did Sisinnius of holy memory not request it? Doubtless because he had found proof that they had been justly condemned under his predecessor. May the wretches lament that they have lost all hope in men, and that now to recover communion only penance can help them. So you begin now to know about them, if you were to some extent ignorant before. But it is your own case rather than that of others that you should attend to with catholic and speedy deliberation, since it is appropriate for us to say, 'Physician, heal yourself, you who desire to help others.' Your illness is such as not to allow or permit delay.

(17) We have approved and approve the faith of the bishop of the church of Alexandria; and you who have been admonished by him must again share our beliefs if you wish to share our fellowship. If you are to demonstrate agreement with this brother, condemning everything you have held hitherto, we require you to preach at once what you see him to preach. We ourselves, even though the law does not permit it,[182] wish even priests to amend; but just as we take thought for them by sending an indictment in advance, so, if they fail to profit from our salutary guidance, we have to confirm a sentence of condemnation against them. This, however, after you condemn your wicked doctrine, will be full proof of amendment: restore to the church all those who have been excluded from it on account of Christ its head. Let all those ejected by the one worthy of ejection (unless he does what we say) be restored, even though those whose treatment merits his ejection are [already] in our communion.[183]

(18) [12] To the clergy also of the church of Constantinople, and all who bear the name of Christian, we have sent such a letter as was needed,[184] so that, if you obstinately persist in perverse opposition and do not preach what our brother Cyril preaches along with us, they may know that you

181 Atticus bishop of Constantinople. Celestine perceives that Nestorius, notorious for his haste in suppressing heresy (Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 29 and 31), was dragging his feet over the Pelagians.

182 Clergy were excluded from doing penance (because of the scandal of having clerics standing among the penitents); if their offence was sufficiently serious, no penalty was available short of deposition.

183 'He' is Nestorius, required here to accept the rebellious clergy he had disciplined (cf. §14) back into his communion, their exclusion having been already quashed by Celestine.

184 See the following text.

have been excluded from our fellowship and are out of communion with us; they will be informed, and put on their guard by example, how they need to attend to their souls with a ripe and mature judgement. Therefore be fully aware of this our sentence: unless you preach about Christ our God that which is held by both the Roman and the Alexandrian and the universal catholic church, and what was also most firmly held by the holy church of the city of Constantinople until you, and by a public and written profession condemn the perfidious novelty that tries to divide what venerable scripture unites, by the tenth day, counting from the first day of this indictment becoming known to you,[185] you are to be aware that you are expelled from the communion of the universal catholic church.

I have sent this documentation of our judgement on you, together with all the papers, through my son the aforementioned Deacon Posidonius to my holy fellow priest and bishop of the aforementioned city of Alexandria, who sent us a full report of the matter, so that he may act on our behalf to ensure that our decree is communicated to you and to all our brothers, because all ought to be informed of the action being taken when the matter in hand is of equal concern to all.

[*And in another hand:*] May God keep you safe, most dear brother.

Issued on the fourth day before the Ides of August in the thirteenth consulship of Theodosius and the third of Valentinian, both Augusti.[186]

(16) LETTER OF CELESTINE TO THE PRESBYTERS, DEACONS, CLERGY, AND LAITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE[187]

[15] Bishop Celestine sends greetings in the Lord to his most beloved brothers the presbyters, deacons, clergy,[188] and laity at Constantinople.

(1) May the words of the apostle provide a prelude to what I am going to say to those who make up the church, so that as holy disciples they may first hear the words of the teacher who preached to the Gentiles: 'Besides

185 The Greek, which Nestorius will have read, runs 'counting from the day of this notification' (ACO I.1.1, 83, 7–8).

186 10 August 430.

187 Celestine, *ep.* 14, CVer 5, ACO I.2, 15–20; Greek version in CV 11, ACO I.1.1, 83–90.

188 Here several of the MSS add 'and servants of God' (i.e. monks). Schwartz includes this phrase in his edition of the Greek version, on the basis of these Latin MSS. Celestine addresses monks specifically at §12. It would have been undiplomatic to make no mention of them, considering their influence in Constantinople.

the things that are without' (he says) 'there is the daily pressure on me, solicitude for all the churches'; and again, 'Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to fall, and I do not burn?'[189] In this way we also, although placed at a distance, when we learnt that our members[190] were being were torn by perverse doctrine, paternal anxiety 'burnt' us on your behalf, and we were kindled by a fire not our own, although between the churches of God, which are everywhere ascribed to the one wedding chamber of Christ, nothing is distant and nothing is deemed foreign.

(2) Since therefore you are our inward parts, we were justifiably afraid that the influence of a bad teacher might draw your faith, which is everywhere celebrated, away from the path of the truth. For on the subject of the virgin birth and the Godhead of Christ our God and Saviour, Bishop Nestorius,[191] as if forgetting his venerable rank and the common salvation of all, preaches what is detestable and urges what should be shunned, as has been revealed by his very own writings, sent to us by himself with his own signature, as also by the account by my holy brother and fellow bishop Cyril, brought to me by my son the deacon Posidonius. On examining all of these, we discovered a great perversity (one to be shunned) of impious teaching. For he separates the human nature of our Christ from his divine one, now treating him as a mere man, and now attributing fellowship with God to him, on those occasions when he deigns to do so.

(3) But we, as Jeremiah says, cannot listen to the vacuous words of such prophets.[192] May he listen to Ezekiel and [16] realize what hangs over him: 'I shall extend my hand' (he says) 'over the prophets who see what is false and utter vain things. They shall have no role in the teaching of my people, nor shall they be recorded in the records of the house of Israel, nor enter the land of Israel, because they have misled my people.'[193] Where is the care that the shepherd owes to the holy flock? Where is solicitude for the folds of the Lord? What hope can the flock have when the shepherd himself proves to be a wolf and attacks the sheep, proceeding against them one by one? For they are torn by the mouth that spouts blasphemies. The food they are given does not nourish but harm; yet blessed is the flock that the Lord has entrusted judgement over its own pastures.

189 2 Cor 11:28–9.
190 That is, other members of the body of Christ, the church.
191 The absence of any honorific is pointed.
192 Cf. Jer 23:16.
193 Ezek 13:9–10.

(4) Consequently, as we do not doubt you are doing, your faith ought to reject impious teaching. In your vigilance in Christ there should be a clear distinction between food and poison, and you should abide by what you learnt from the teaching of your previous pastors; for, as you know, up till now you have had priests powerful in teaching and holiness, who never departed from the traditions of the fathers and directed the church of God in utter tranquillity.

(5) For, to begin with the more recent of them, what was not poured into your minds by the teaching of Bishop John of holy memory?[194] His words, affirming the catholic faith, have circulated throughout the world; his teaching has never been lacking, since he has preached wherever he has been read. His diligent wisdom was succeeded by celebrated constancy; for Bishop Atticus[195] of holy memory ruled the Christian people according to the example of his predecessor, and took action against the sacrilegious madness of the heretics.[196] On his decease we had as a colleague Sisinnius[197] of blessed memory, who knew he would win lasting glory if he preserved entire and inviolate the riches of the catholic faith that had come down to him; as we witnessed, he lacked neither the innocence of the dove nor the wisdom of the serpent.[198] As if foreknowing the future, we wept, most dear brothers, when you were so rapidly deprived of his protection.

(6) As for this one, whose teaching about our God differs from what he [our God] taught about himself and from what the apostles handed down about him, I do not know what hopes we can have for him. So far from binding up the afflicted, he afflicts those who are bound; so far from raising up those who have been felled, he tries to fell those who are still standing; so far from gathering what has been scattered, he scatters what has been gathered – and this even though the mind dedicated to the Lord cannot be broken, nor he who stands firm with heavenly strength be felled, nor the holy assembly be scattered. We therefore make a public declaration to your love of what we cannot mention without tears: your teacher has launched a war against the truth, he has laid hands on the ancient faith, he impugns the apostles, he rejects the prophets, and fails to follow the words that our Lord himself used when speaking about himself.

194 John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople 397–404.

195 Bishop of Constantinople 406–25.

196 For Atticus' harsh treatment of Pelagian heretics see Celestine's letter to Nestorius (doc. 15).

197 Bishop of Constantinople 426–27 and Nestorius' immediate predecessor.

198 Cf. Matt 10:16.

(7) In which religion and by what laws does he call himself a bishop, when he misuses both the Old and the New Testament? For he rejects both the meaning of the *figure* and the *truth* familiar to us.[199] Finally he treats the mystery of Christ our God in a way that is different from what the sacrament of our faith allows and which every catholic teacher has followed with reverence. For no one truly dedicated to religion has believed about Christ something different from what he himself wished us to believe about him.

(8) [17] Paul of Samosata once raised a sacrilegious debate, when he was presiding over the holy church of Antioch; but he was ejected from the see over which he fatally presided, by the joint sentence of catholic priests.[200] For people of this kind are always to be cut off: by unsettling the minds of the Christian people and twisting the gospels according to their own judgement, they cannot bear fruit for God. That vineyard is to be tended that recognizes the rights of the landowner.[201]

(9) It is clear that such novelty of speech is produced by a vain love of glory: when some people want to think themselves sharp-witted, perceptive, and wise, they look for something novel to offer, through which they can gain a fleeting reputation for intelligence among ignorant minds. But who ever gained true glory through thinking himself wise? For God chose what is weak in the world against what is strong, and through what is foolish in the world confounds the wise.[202] For who glories in the wisdom of the world save one who confesses that he is of the world, and save one who denies that he is the disciple of him who said he is not of the world?[203] But there is but one glory, for, as the apostle says, 'Who glories, let him glory in the Lord.'[204]

(10) Surely we see that this saying fits this bishop of yours, but yours only up till now, unless he believes what we believe. He became a fool when he called himself wise.[205] It is indeed a confession of folly to be ignorant

199 For Christian typology, the Old Testament is the 'figure' (or pre-adumbration) and the New the 'truth'.

200 At the Council of Antioch of 268; see Eusebius, *H.E.* VII. 29–30, and cf. p. 94, n. 8 and p. 143, n. 179.

201 In contrast to the wicked husbandmen of the parable (Matt 21:33–44), who rebelled against 'the lord of the vineyard'.

202 Cf. 1 Cor 1:27.

203 Cf. John 17:16.

204 1 Cor 1:31.

205 Cf. Rom 1:22.

of the one whom we know to be the wisdom and power of God,[206] for he confesses his ignorance of what he preaches about. Nor should your love be surprised that he has wandered from the way of truth, when you see that he has lost Christ, who is our way.[207] We catch him sometimes betraying himself by false teaching, and sometimes hiding his venom away in secret places. And even though, if we follow the saying of the most wise Solomon, we 'ought to make no reply to his folly lest we become like him',[208] we urge him nevertheless to join us in following the apostles and prophets, lest, by encountering all on his own, he be repelled by all on his own.

(11) You, however, must be diligent in resisting the teaching of the enemy. For you have a still greater cause for anxiety, when within the church itself things are said to you that oppose the church. Those attacked by an enemy located without can allow themselves respite from their labours, for even when dispersed they are protected by the ramparts of the walls; but there are no days of rest for those whose enemy is within. But in this intestine war, in this domestic battle, let faith be your wall, and let it defend itself against infidelity with the weapons of the spirit. Let us preserve it, since, when preserved, it protects us; thanks to it, God is our foundation and refuge.[209] We are rescued from the hand of the sinner by the one to whom, pounded as you are by waves, you would be right to say, 'Lord, rescue us, we are perishing.'[210]

(12) Our words will now be addressed to you, clergy and all those dedicated to the Lord. [18] Someone, perhaps, may say that the proper sequence has not been observed. We indeed wanted, as reason required, to speak with you earlier, but we were more anxious over those whom we wish also to protect; and we have no reason to entertain doubts about you, to whose lead, undoubtedly, we should credit the fact that they are standing firmly for the faith. The report from my holy and God-beloved brother and fellow bishop Cyril, which has been delivered to me by my son the deacon Posidonius, speaks of things being done to you such as would be done to members of the church only by one who has not spared its Head.[211]

206 Cf. 1 Cor 1:24.
207 Cf. John 14:6.
208 Prov 26:4.
209 Ps 70:3.
210 Cf. Matt 8:25.
211 Nestorius' persecution of his opponents in Constantinople (for which see the appeal from Basil the Deacon, doc. 27, pp. 189–94 below) is not actually mentioned in Cyril's letter to Celestine. The information must have been given by Posidonius orally.

May this not trouble you: greater labour earns greater glory, because the nature of the struggle determines the nature of the reward. For like us you will have read that the one who is crowned is the one who has competed according to the rules.[212]

(13) We owe you the exhortation that is needed by both the cowardly and those resisting manfully, so that those who cannot may be able to endure trials and those who are contending may stand yet more firmly. The weapons of our king are never defeated. Every trial is a test for a Christian, because, as we have read, it works patience, and this gives birth to a hope which, as scripture pledges, disappoints nobody.[213] Therefore, most dear brothers, because your consolation is from God, to whom you offer your bodies (that is, yourselves) as living sacrifices, as the apostle says,[214] do not fail in the fight. Strength is given by the one who, exhorting us through the apostle,[215] wishes our members to be the weapons of his righteousness.

(14) You have the example of the saints who, 'once sowing in tears, will reap in joy'[216] in the future. Our Lord does not love a servant unless he has been tried and tested. The wrestling school of reality always gives exercise to Christian minds. So race that you may overtake one another on the paths of the Lord; I do not want you to be overtaken by your adversaries.[217] The apostle says that what we are witnessing has to be;[218] only the field proves strength and faith. It is difficult for leisure to be crowned; prizes are reserved for exertion. I do not want your heads to doff the 'helmet of salvation'; I do not want one who professes to be a worthy soldier of Christ to take off the 'breastplate' of faith.[219] Our own men have started a war against us, if indeed those who have broken faith and gone over to the enemy can be called 'ours'. It is for you to have your feet standing in the courts of Jerusalem.[220] We wish your steps to be perfect, lest ever the steps of anyone go astray and provide a similar

212 2 Tim 2:5.
213 Cf. Rom 5:3–4.
214 Rom 12:1.
215 2 Cor 6:7.
216 Ps 125:5.
217 To *Currite ... comprehendi* cf. 1 Cor 9:24, *Currite ut comprehendatis* ('So run that you capture [the prize]').
218 1 Cor 11:19.
219 Eph 6:14, 17.
220 Cf. Ps 121:2.

example; may those follow the devil in evil who know themselves to be from him.[221]

(15) But you who are shown by your works to be the sons of God, because he wishes everyone to be known by his fruits,[222] should comfort in turn the minds of the weak; support all who are infirm, and give them strength. Do not be seduced by impiety, but maintain your judgement of the good and the bad according to their qualities, shunning what is perverse and praising what is right. For, as Solomon says, 'Whoever takes a righteous man to be unrighteous or an unrighteous man to be righteous is an abomination to God.'[223] Temporal trials are nothing, if you keep before your eyes the everlasting prize, to which nothing is to be preferred.

(16) Our psalmist exclaims [19] that even if they set up camps against him, he would have no fear at all, out of hope for that illumination.[224] If you were to have a battle with the Gentiles, it would of course be a great victory to have conquered those whom you always have as enemies: how great should that victory be called where a priest, through changing his preaching, has become the persecutor of catholics – being in all his beliefs the diametrical opposite of Paul, who, having earlier persecuted the gospel of the Lord, afterwards became its preacher! The impious teacher has been abandoned by the Holy Spirit, after he adopted opinions contrary to the Spirit.

(17) If he persists, he will deservedly hear from us the words of Samuel that were spoken to Saul at that time by the priest himself: 'May the Lord reject you from reigning in Israel.'[225] This was merited by the one who spurned the precepts of God only as regards what needed to be done; what penalty will be due to one who has risen up against the Lord of Majesty himself? It is now your task to heal whatever wounds he has inflicted, and to cure those who have been harmed by his words. Take your stand with firm footing against the one whom, as his words show, we see to have already fallen. Whatever he has done to you, bear it patiently. He has inflicted injuries; he has inflicted exile. But the one whose assumption of manhood he denies suffered this[226] in his own trials. No one, therefore, should be distressed by the actions he has taken against some of you.

221 Cf. John 8:44.

222 Cf. Matt 7:20.

223 Prov 17:15.

224 Cf. Ps 26:3.

225 1 Sam 15:23. Saul's offence was to fail to slaughter all the Amalekites and their animals.

226 The masculine gender of *hunc* is puzzling. It would suggest translation from the Greek

(18) Take as your model in patience and constancy Stephen, the first witness of Christ. The crowd of infidels gnashed their teeth at his preaching, and yet the worthy companion of Christ did not remain silent about what he beheld: in the midst of those raging, in the midst of the enemies of religion, he cried out that he saw the heavens opened and the Son of Man, for whom he was suffering, standing at the right hand of God.[227]

(19) It would be a lengthy task to go through all those who bought life with death or confession. You who have been expelled from the church have an example in what are almost our times in Athanasius of blessed memory, the very wise priest of the church of Alexandria. Who would not be comforted by that man's endurance? {Who would not find an example in his firmness?}[228] Who would not be inspired with hope by his longed-for return? He was expelled by Arius' persecution, to be recalled by the Lord's execution.[229] He suffered imprisonment, he suffered want; it is no matter of surprise if this apostolic man suffered those things which the apostle himself boasts he had to endure.[230] Yet in all these things he followed the one who testified that he delighted in trials. Driven out from there, he was revived in our region.[231] It was finally here that his rank was restored to him, and he found the consolation of communion in this see, which has always come to the help of catholics. He did not feel exhausted by his trials, because persecution made him a confessor.

(20) Therefore no Christian ought to lament subjection to mere temporal exile, because no Christian is exiled from God. What we should fear [20] is being exiled from the land of the living, that is, from the land that we desire for our homeland. That is ours, that is everlasting, that is eternal. For ours is not that from which we pass: truly ours are the things promised by a most certain hope. These are the things, as the apostle says, 'that the eye has not

(αὐτόν, which is normally masculine but was occasionally used for the neuter αὐτό), were it not for the fact that the Latin version is certainly the original, as is shown by the quotations from the New Testament, where the Greek translates the Latin and does not keep to the vocabulary of the original Greek text – a fact which itself suggests that the Greek translators were bilingual western scribes rather than Greek clerics.

227 Acts 7:54–6.

228 Supplied from the Greek version.

229 'Persecution ... execution' imitates a wordplay in the Latin: *persequente ... prosequente.*

230 Cf. 2 Cor 11:23–30.

231 On having to leave Alexandria in 339, Athanasius went to Rome, where in 341 a synod quashed his conviction and deposition at the Council of Tyre (335).

seen nor the ear heard, nor do they rise into the heart of man; these God has prepared for those who love him.'[232]

(21) Lest, however, the sentence by the one who has already called down upon himself a divine sentence may appear to be valid even for a time, the authority of our see has publicly decreed that no one, whether a bishop or cleric or a Christian of any profession, who has been deprived of either rank or communion by Nestorius or those like him from the time when they began to preach these things, is to considered either deprived or excommunicated. But all these persons both were and remain even now in our communion, because no one can be deprived or ejected by one who in preaching these things was himself stumbling. Therefore the present declaration embraces you all in common, so that, strengthened and confident more and more in the Lord, you may not be moved, but instead heal the infirmities of others. For we now commend to you the infirm, since the physician himself is seen to be sick whom, indeed, we wish to help, if that is still possible.

(22) When we sent a similar reply to our holy brother and fellow bishop Cyril, we dispatched these letters to you through his deacon the most dear Posidonius and to the one who they treat, to be delivered by this same brother of mine. Because in a matter of such importance our virtual presence seemed necessary, we have, in view of the distances by land and sea, appointed my holy brother Cyril himself to represent us, lest these distances allow the disease to progress. You should keep before your eyes simply the apostolic words, 'Be perfect in the same mind and the same judgement',[233] so that, as we read, you may 'be saved through persevering till the end'.[234] And so that you may know what decree the letters we have sent relate to, we have had the sentence itself appended to this letter.

May God keep you safe, most dear brothers.

Issued on the fourth day before the Ides of August in the thirteenth consulship of Theodosius and the third of Valentinian.[235]

Therefore be fully aware of this our sentence: unless you preach about Christ our God that which is held by both the Roman and the Alexandrian and the universal catholic church, and what was also most firmly held

232 1 Cor 2:9.
233 1 Cor 1:10.
234 Matt 10:22.
235 10 August 430.

by the holy church of the city of Constantinople until you, and by a public and written profession condemn the perfidious novelty that tries to divide what venerable scripture unites, from the tenth day, counting from the first day of this indictment becoming known to you, you are to be aware that you are expelled from the communion of the universal catholic church.[236]

(17) LETTER OF CELESTINE TO JOHN OF ANTIOCH, JUVENAL OF JERUSALEM, RUFUS OF THESSALONICA, AND FLAVIAN OF PHILIPPI[237]

[21] Bishop Celestine to John, Juvenal, Rufus, and Flavian, bishops in the East, equally.

(1) It would be our wish that, just as the essence of the Godhead is one, so the one truth of the correct faith would be preserved among the whole human race everywhere. It is, however, a matter for less regret if those who separate themselves from the Lord's flock and lurk in corners and coverts urge something other in secret error on themselves or the few who agree with them. (2) But when in the holy church of God someone put in charge with the title of priest turns the very people of Christ from the path of the truth to the precipice of a deviant conviction – and this in a huge city frequented as the seat of imperial rule by a multitude from the whole world – then clearly there is reason for redoubled lament and greater anxiety, lest the rapacity of the wolf prevail to any extent. For there is less concern over an enemy who lays siege than over one who rages within the walls, and less anxiety is caused by a wolf who prowls outside the sheepfold than by one who usurps the shepherd's place among the flock; for it is more than a civil war when within the church, that is, within the very wedding chamber of Christ, an impious sect hurls its javelins.

236 The MSS either omit this verdict or give it in the form of a retroversion from the Greek. We give the original wording, contained in Celestine's letter to Nestorius (doc. 15, §18) as translated above.

237 Celestine, *ep.* 12, CVer 6, ACO I.2, 21–2; Greek version in CV 11, ACO I.1.1, 90–1, presented as a letter to John of Antioch on his own. Cyril's letters CV 13 and CV 15 (docs 19 and 18) to John and Juvenal, respectively, fit in, as cover letters, with the courier arrangements described; Cyril sends Celestine's letters on to these two bishops. For the addressees in Macedonia, Rufus of Thessalonica and Flavian of Philippi, a route via Alexandria does not suggest itself. Celestine will have organized a direct dispatch to them.

(3) This is why our heart is greatly saddened at the fact that the one who occupies the church of Constantinople is bombarding the congregations devoted to Christ with a perverse attack on reverence for the virgin birth and on our hope of salvation. This reached us through the pressing indignation of the faithful, it was published in books that he himself has sent, and (what is a still stronger proof) it was communicated to us by the dispatch of letters authenticated by their author's very signature in such a way that there is no further room for doubt.

(4) In such cases there is no safety in prolonged connivance, because conniving in such a case is scarcely a lesser offence than teaching such blasphemy is a crime. We have therefore severed from our communion both Bishop Nestorius and anyone else who copies him in teaching these things, until in a written profession he condemns the perverse teaching he initiated, and declares that he holds the same faith about the virgin birth, that is, about the salvation of the human race, as that which, [22] in accordance with apostolic doctrine, is held, revered, and taught by the Roman and the Alexandrian and the universal catholic church. And if anyone has been excommunicated or stripped of episcopal or clerical rank either by Bishop Nestorius or his followers, from the time when they initiated this teaching, it is obvious that he has remained and remains in our communion, nor do we consider him deposed, since no one can be deposed by a sentence delivered by one who has shown that he himself ought to be deposed.

(5) This, most dear brother, we have thought necessary to write to your holiness, so that, strengthened in the Lord and wearing on your chest the familiar breastplate of Christ with the shield of catholic teaching,[238] you may protect from the perversity of the most dire doctrine the flocks of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was born and suffered for us, and who, after unlocking hell and conquering death, rose for us on the third day. As we have also written to our holy brother and fellow bishop Cyril, a sound defender of the catholic faith, may your holiness know that the following verdict on the same Nestorius has been delivered by us, or rather by Christ God: within ten days, counting from today's indictment, he is *either* to condemn by a written profession his sacrilegious sermons on the birth of Christ and profess that he follows the faith that is preserved by the Roman and the Alexandrian and the universal church, *or* he is to be aware that he has been deposed from the episcopal college and that ruin has come upon

238 Cf. Eph 6:15–16.

him. In order that this decree of ours may be executed more effectively, we have decided that this letter is to be faithfully delivered to your love by our son Posidonius, deacon of the church of Alexandria.[239]

Issued four days before the Ides of August in the thirteenth consulship of Theodosius and the third of Valentinian, both Augusti.[240]

6. CYRIL'S ULTIMATUM

Note

Directly authorized by Celestine's letter, Cyril undertook to convene a synod in Alexandria (of uncertain date in the autumn of 430), at which he defined the conditions for Nestorius' recantation. The following letters are all part of his correspondence around this time in which the findings of the synod and the Roman verdict were disseminated in the East. The letter to Juvenal of Jerusalem (doc. 18) includes a copy of Celestine's letter and invites the bishop to join in a common epistolary campaign, including writing to the court and appropriate officials. The parallel letter to John of Antioch (doc. 19) speaks of the events in Rome and the correspondence sent by Celestine to various bishops (including John). It invites John to draw the appropriate conclusions. Both letters may be understood as cover letters to Celestine's and the Roman Synod's missive initially carried to the East by Posidonius.

Written in the name of the synod, Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* (doc. 20) stands out. It directly spells out to him what Cyril considered the only acceptably orthodox teaching on the incarnation and the person of Christ. Twelve Anathemas appended to it (usually called the Twelve Chapters) set out in the most uncompromising terms which views Nestorius had to formally anathematize in order to meet the conditions for preventing Celestine's verdict of deposition from coming into effect. The letter amounted to an ultimatum and aimed at nothing less than Nestorius' complete surrender and humiliation, should he assent. Along with it, letters to other constituencies in the capital – clergy, laity, and monks – (docs 21–22) warn of Nestorius' heterodoxies, inform of Rome's verdict,

239 The Greek version adds, 'May God keep you in good health, most honoured brother' (ACO I.1.1, 91,33).

240 10 August 430.

commend their valiant struggles against him, and exhort them to remain steadfast in opposition to their disgraced bishop until he repents.

(18) LETTER OF CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA TO JUVENAL OF JERUSALEM[241]

[96] To my most dear lord brother and fellow minister Juvenal, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.

It was my wish [97] that the most devout bishop Nestorius would follow in the footsteps of those who had earned a good reputation and follow the orthodox faith, for who of the right-minded would not wish an excellent reputation on those who have been chosen to lead the flocks of the Saviour? But because the affair has turned out contrary to our hopes, since we have found the one we expected to be a true shepherd to be a persecutor of the orthodox faith, it is now necessary to cite the saying of Christ the Saviour of us all, 'I did not come to cast peace on the earth but a sword, for I came to set a man against his own father.'[242] For if war against even our parents is not subjected to criticism and blame but receives unqualified praise instead, when we know that we are joining in the contest for the glory of Christ, clearly we have no choice at all (however we regret destroying a brother) but to gird ourselves with godly zeal and to declare to the inhabitants of virtually the whole world, 'If anyone is with the Lord, let him come to me.'[243]

I myself exhorted him as a brother in a first and a second letter to follow not his own notions but the orthodox and apostolic faith handed down to the churches, thinking to rescue him from the perversity of his writings. But the remedy I proposed achieved nothing, and my advice proved ineffective: he was so far from being ready to follow the doctrines of the truth that he even sent me a letter with his own signature in which he even rebukes me, as if he were the injured party, and professed unambiguously that the holy Virgin is not Theotokos – which is an unambiguous assertion that Emmanuel, in whom are our hopes for salvation, is not truly God. Thinking that he would be able to seduce the church of Rome, he wrote to my lord the most devout and most religious brother and fellow

241 Cyril, *ep.* 16, CV 15, ACO I.1.1, 96–8; Latin version in CC 17, ACO I.3, 41–2.
242 Matt 10:34–5.
243 Exod 32:26.

minister Celestine, bishop of the church of Rome, inserting in the letter his perverse doctrines. He also sent many sermons, which proved him guilty of holding perverted views and revealed beyond doubt that he is a heretic.

So now that the above-mentioned most devout and most religious Celestine, bishop of the church of Rome, has written certain things about him and sent me a letter, I judge it necessary to send it [on to you], and by a letter to spur your religiousness, who have already been provoked, to pious zeal, so that in unanimity and shared eagerness we may gird ourselves with the love of Christ, rescue the endangered congregations, and achieve the restoration of so illustrious a church – and this (of course) through all of us coming to a common mind with each other and writing to him and the congregations in line with the judgement that has been delivered. If we do him good by converting him from his opinions to the truth, we shall have gained a brother and saved a shepherd, while if our advice proves ineffectual, then he himself will have brought everything upon himself and will eat the fruit of his own labours. We must of necessity write to the Christ-loving and most pious emperor and to all those in office, and urge them not to give preference to a human being over piety towards Christ, but to confirm the world [98] in the orthodox faith and rescue the sheep from their evil shepherd if he spurns the advice of all.

Convey greetings to the brotherhood with you. That with us sends you greetings in the Lord.

(19) LETTER OF CYRIL TO JOHN OF ANTIOCH[244]

[92] To my beloved lord, brother, and fellow minister John, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.

Assuredly and through many people your religiousness is aware of the present state of the holy church of Constantinople, that it is in turmoil, and that many among the most earnest and upright have remained excommunicate, and have to endure exceptional turmoil over the faith itself, as a result of the things said even in church by the most devout bishop Nestorius. I advised him in letters to refrain from such foolish and perverse speculation and to follow the faith of the fathers.[245] But he supposed that I wrote this

244 Cyril, *ep.* 13, CV 13, ACO I.1.1, 92–3; Latin version in CC 16, ACO I.3, 40–1.
245 Cyril's *First* and *Second Letters to Nestorius* (docs 8 and 10).

out of malice and was so far from heeding me, although I had written these things out of love towards his devoutness, that he even supposed, while holding and uttering these beliefs, that he could seduce the ears of Rome. For he wrote to my lord Celestine the most religious bishop of the church of Rome, saying quite extraordinary things in a long letter; he even inserted in his letter, with reference to those with convictions contrary to his own, the statement, 'They are not afraid to call the holy Virgin Theotokos.'[246] Then he sent pamphlets containing his sermons. When they had read them, the most religious bishops present in great Rome, after many meetings, denounced him, stating explicitly that he had invented a most dangerous heresy that no one of an earlier age had devised. When his devoutness wrote to Rome, I was obliged to relate everything that had happened and to send copies of the letters I had written to him, making it necessary for a cleric of Alexandria, the beloved deacon Posidonius, to make the journey. When Nestorius' sermons and letters were read out in the assembly, especially those in which there is no question of false accusation since they bear his signature, the holy council of Rome issued a decree and indeed wrote to your piety the instructions that must be followed by those who wish to remain in communion with all the West. They have also sent copies to Rufus the most religious bishop of Thessalonica and to some of the other most religious bishops in Macedonia, who always concur with his [the pope's] decrees;[247] they have also sent the same letter to Juvenal the most religious bishop of Aelia [Jerusalem]. It is therefore the duty of your religiousness to ponder what is beneficial; for we ourselves shall follow his judgement, fearing to lose the communion of so many, who have not been aggrieved by trivial matters nor [93] taken their initiative on slight grounds, but acted in defence of the faith itself, the churches everywhere, and the edification of the laity.

Greet the brotherhood with you; that with us sends you greetings in the Lord.

246 Nestorius, *First Letter to Celestine*, (doc. 2) p. 99 above.

247 This we would expect, since Illyricum was under Roman jurisdiction (exercised via the vicariate of Thessalonica). Yet at Ephesus the bishops of Thessaly attended the eastern council, even after the Roman delegates arrived and joined Cyril. And at Chalcedon the Illyrian bishops were vocal among the critics of the Tome of Pope Leo; see Price and Gaddis II, 25–6.

(20) THIRD LETTER OF CYRIL TO NESTORIUS

Note

In this letter Cyril announces the Roman verdict to Nestorius and sets out the conditions for his required recantation. Confessing the Nicene Creed is not sufficient, since Nestorius is charged with misinterpreting it. Rather, he has to accept Cyril's previous letters and anathematize his errors in writings (a list of heretical doctrines he must reject, in the form of twelve anathemas, comes at the end of the letter). Cyril then goes on to expound the 'correct' Christological teaching. Quoting the Nicene Creed as the basis, he explains his understanding of it as someone whose intention it is to follow the fathers in all respects. His interpretative paraphrase of the creed underlines the identity of the eternal Word with the one who came down and took flesh from his mother, making it his own. Incarnation must be understood as a 'hypostatic union' or 'union according to nature'. Concepts like indwelling; conjunction; juxtaposition; unity of honour, dignity, and authority; and similar interpretations must be rejected. All separation, division, and distinction between Christ the Word and Christ born of a woman must be spurned: he is emphatically one, the Son of God with his flesh. In this his own flesh he suffered for our sake, while remaining impassible in his own nature. Veneration of one 'alongside' the other is blasphemous. Exegetically, too, a division of scriptural passages between two subjects (hypostases or *prosopa*), as if Christ were speaking sometimes as God and sometimes as man, is ruled out. A number of scriptural passages are interpreted in light of these principles. The correct understanding, then, of the incarnation also entails confession of the title 'Theotokos'.

The anathemas condense this teaching into twelve brief formulae. They pronounce the anathema over anyone not holding and teaching the distinct linguistic and conceptual terms spelled out by Cyril or daring to entertain different notions and using different terminology. These Nestorius would have to formally profess to retain his episcopal office and communion with Rome and Alexandria.

This *Third Letter to Nestorius* also forms part of the record of the council's session of 22 June. Its use in the meeting or its editorial insertion in its records will be discussed below.[248] The Syrian bishops and their allies strongly objected to these Anathemas over the course of the entire conciliar

248 See pp. 220–1.

period and beyond. Whether they should be considered integral to Cyril's heritage and guide future doctrinal definition was hotly disputed both in the run-up to the Council of Chalcedon (451) and, even more fervently, thereafter. At Chalcedon, this letter was not read out or mentioned among those documents which the council endorsed as authoritative commentary on the creed and which it used as foundations for its own decree. By the time of the Second Council of Constantinople (553), however, the letter and anathemas were considered an undisputed part of Cyril's authoritative legacy and were thought to be among his 'synodical letters' that Chalcedon had treated as specially authoritative.[249]

Text[250]

[33] To the most devout and most God-beloved fellow minister Nestorius, Cyril and the council that met at Alexandria from the Egyptian diocese send greetings in the Lord.[251]

(1) Since our Saviour expressly says, 'He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he who loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me,'[252] what penalty would we incur if we were required by your devoutness to love you more than Christ the Saviour of us all? Who will be able to assist us on the day of judgement, or what excuse shall we find for having in this way long kept silence over the blasphemies that you have uttered against him? If you were only harming yourself by teaching these tenets, our anxiety would be less; but since you have been a stumbling block to the whole church and have injected the leaven of strange and bizarre heresy into the laity, not only those there but also those everywhere (since the volumes of your teaching have been circulated), what defence will still excuse our silence, or how could we fail to remember Christ's saying, 'Do not think that I came to cast peace upon earth but a sword, for I came to set a man against his father and a daughter against her mother'?[253] For when the faith is being harmed, away

249 See Price (2009a) I, 66–71.

250 Cyril, *ep.* 17, CV 6, ACO I.1.1, 33–42. Latin versions in CVer 17, ACO I.2, 45–51; CC 8, ACO I.3, 26–35; by Dionysius Exiguus, ACO I.5, 236–44.

251 The letter was delivered to Nestorius on Sunday 30 November, together with the preceding letter from Celestine (ACO I.5, 39,21; cf. I.2, 51,33).

252 Matt 10:37. This echoes the citation of this text in Celestine's letter to Nestorius (doc. 15).

253 Matt 10:34–5.

with stale and perilous respect towards parents, and an end to the rule of affection towards children and brothers, and may the pious now prefer death to life, 'so that they may obtain a better resurrection', according to the scripture.[254]

(2) Mark therefore that, together with the holy council that convened in great Rome under the presidency of our most sacred and most religious brother and fellow minister Bishop Celestine, we adjure you in this third letter also, warning you to disavow the crooked and perverted doctrines that you hold and teach, [34] and to adopt instead the orthodox faith handed down to the churches from the beginning by the holy apostles and evangelists, who were 'eyewitnesses and ministers of the word'.[255] If your devoutness does not do this by the deadline set in his letter by our most holy and most religious bishop and fellow minister aforementioned, Celestine of Rome,[256] know that you have no lot with us nor place or role among the priests and bishops of God. For it is not possible for us to overlook churches so disrupted, laymen led into error, the orthodox faith denied, and flocks scattered by you; for you ought to be protecting them, if like us you were a lover of orthodox belief, following in the footsteps of the piety of the holy fathers. With all those who have been excommunicated or deposed by your devoutness on account of the faith, both laymen and clergy, all of us are in communion, for it is not right that those committed to orthodox tenets should be wronged by your verdicts, because they acted admirably in opposing you; this fact you mentioned in the letter you wrote to our colleague the most holy Celestine bishop of great Rome.[257] It will not be sufficient for your devoutness simply to profess with us the symbol of the faith issued at that time through the Holy Spirit by the holy and great council convoked in its time at Nicaea, for you have understood and interpreted it incorrectly and indeed perversely, even if you profess the text with your voice;[258] but the situation requires that you acknowledge in writing and on oath that you anathematize your own foul and profane doctrines and that in future you will hold and teach the same as all of us do, bishops and teachers and leaders of congregations in both

254 Heb 11:35.

255 Luke 1:2.

256 Namely, the tenth day after receipt (see p. 145 above), i.e. not later than 9 December 430.

257 Nestorius, *Letter to Celestine* (doc. 2, p. 98, 2.2), where Nestorius says he has employed 'both anger and leniency' in dealing with 'heretics' who called Mary 'Theotokos'.

258 For Nestorius' interpretation of the creed, see doc. 11, esp. p. 123 (3) above.

East and West. The holy council at Rome and all of us are agreed on the unimpeachable orthodoxy of the letters written to your devoutness by the church of Alexandria. We have appended to this our letter what you must hold and teach and what you are required to disavow. For the faith of the catholic and apostolic church to which all the orthodox bishops in both East and West assent is as follows:[259]

(3) [35] We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as Only-begotten, that is, from the essence of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, and through whom all things came into being, both those on heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was incarnate and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. As for those who say, 'There was when he was not,' and 'Before being begotten he was not,' and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or essence or is changeable or mutable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.

Following in all respects the profession of the holy fathers which they composed through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, tracing the meaning of their ideas, and taking, as it were, the royal road, we affirm that the very Word of God, Only-begotten and born from the very essence of the Father, true God from true God, light from light, through whom all things came into being, both those in heaven and those on earth, for our salvation came down and submitted to self-emptying, and was incarnate and became man; that is, taking flesh from the holy Virgin and making it his own from the womb, he underwent our birth and came forth 'from woman'[260] as a human being, not rejecting what he was before, but even after the assumption of flesh and blood remaining what he was before, namely God in nature and truth. We affirm that the flesh was not changed into the nature of the Godhead, nor was the ineffable nature of God the Word transformed into the nature of flesh. For he is utterly changeless and immutable, ever remaining the same according to the scriptures; even when seen as an infant in swaddling clothes in the bosom of the Virgin who bore him, he filled the whole of creation as God and was enthroned with the one who had

259 There follows the Nicene Creed.
260 Gal 4:4.

begotten him. For the divine is without quantity or magnitude and does not admit bounds.

(4) Professing that the Word has been hypostatically united to flesh, we worship one Son and Lord Jesus Christ; we neither place apart and separate [36] man and God as if they were conjoined to each other by oneness of dignity and authority (for this is nothing other than empty speech), nor do we call the Word from God Christ on his own and likewise the one from woman another Christ on his own, but we recognize the Word from God the Father together with his own flesh as the one and only Christ. For he was at that time anointed in a human fashion together with us,[261] although he himself gives the Spirit to those worthy to receive it and not according to measure, as the blessed John the Evangelist says.[262] Nor do we say this, that the Word from God dwelt as in an ordinary man born of the holy Virgin, lest Christ be thought of as a God-bearing man. For even though the Word 'dwelt among us' and 'the whole fullness of the Godhead' is said to have dwelt in Christ 'bodily',[263] nevertheless we conceive that, when he became flesh, we are not to define his indwelling in Christ as being of the same kind as when he is said to indwell in the saints; but united according to nature and not changed into flesh, he brought about an indwelling comparable to that of the human soul in its own body.

(5) There is then one Christ and Son and Lord. It is not a case of a man enjoying a mere conjunction with God in oneness of dignity or authority, for equality of honour does not unite natures. Indeed Peter and John are equal in honour to each other, as apostles and holy disciples, but the two are not one. Nor do we conceive the mode of conjunction as one of juxtaposition (for this would be inadequate for natural union),[264] nor as one of relational participation, in the way that we by cleaving to the Lord are one spirit with him, according to the scripture;[265] on the contrary, we reject the term 'conjunction' as unable to signify the union adequately. Neither do we call the Word from God the Father Christ's God or master, lest again we be seen to divide into two the one Christ and Son and Lord, and incur a charge of blasphemy by making him his own God and master. For, as we

261 Christ was in his manhood (at the very moment of its creation and union with the Godhead) anointed with the Spirit, and this anointing he transmits to us as well. Cf. Cyril, *Scholia on the Incarnation* 1; trans. McGuckin (1994) 294–5.

262 John 3:34.

263 John 1:14, Col 2:9.

264 *Henosis physikē*; cf. Anathema 3.

265 Cf. 1 Cor 6:17.

have already said, the Word of God, united to flesh hypostatically, is the God of the universe and lord over the whole, and is neither the servant nor the master of himself; it would be absurd, or indeed actually blasphemous, to think or speak in this way. It is true that he said that the Father was his God,[266] although he himself is God by nature and from his essence; nevertheless, we are well aware that as well as being God he also became man under God according to the law appropriate to human nature. But how could he be his own God or master? Therefore as man and [37] in accordance with the limitations of self-emptying, he describes himself as being, like us, under God. In the same way he also came 'under the law',[267] although he himself uttered the law and as God was the lawgiver.

(6) We refuse to say of Christ, 'I venerate the one who is borne for the sake of the bearer, and I worship the one who is seen for the sake of the one who is unseen.'[268] It is appalling to say in addition this also, 'The one assumed is reckoned as God together with the one who assumed him.'[269] For he who says this divides him again into two Christs and sets apart the man on his own and God likewise. He expressly denies the union; for in virtue of it someone is not jointly worshipped or jointly called God, as one with another, but we are to think of one Christ Jesus, only-begotten Son, honoured with a single worship together with his own flesh. We profess that the very one born from God the Father as Son and only-begotten God, despite being impassible in his own nature, suffered in the flesh for us according to the scriptures and was in the crucified body, making his own the sufferings of his own flesh, though impassibly. 'By the grace of God he tasted death on behalf of all',[270] giving his own body to it, even though by nature he is life and is himself the resurrection.[271] In order that, after trampling death with ineffable power, he might become in his own flesh first of all 'the first-born from the dead'[272] and 'the first fruits of those who

266 Matt 27:46, John 20:17.

267 Gal 4:4.

268 For the same quotation in its context see *Acts of Chalcedon* I. 944.8 (Price and Gaddis I, 328). The correct wording is: 'I venerate the one who is borne for the sake of the bearer; I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who is hidden'.

269 For the full quotation see *Acts of Chalcedon* I. 944.15: 'But since God is in the one assumed, so the one assumed, as conjoined to the one who assumed him, is also reckoned as God because of the one who assumed him'.

270 Heb 2:9.

271 Cf. John 11:25.

272 Col 1:18.

have fallen asleep'[273] and might prepare the way for human nature's return to incorruptibility, 'by the grace of God', as we have just said, 'he tasted death of behalf of all' and returned to life on the third day, after harrying hell, with the result that, even though the resurrection of the dead is said to have been brought about 'through man',[274] we nevertheless understand 'man' to be the Word begotten from God, and the power of death to have been abolished through him. And he will come in due time as the one Son and Lord in the glory of the Father, 'to judge the world in righteousness', as scripture says.[275]

(7) This too we must add. Proclaiming the death in respect of the flesh of the only-begotten Son of God, that is, Jesus Christ, and acknowledging his return to life from the dead and ascension into heaven, we perform in the churches the bloodless cult, approach the sacramental gifts, and are sanctified by our participation in the holy flesh and the precious blood of Christ the Saviour of us all, not by receiving common flesh (God forbid!) nor that of a man sanctified and conjoined to the Word in oneness of dignity or by enjoying divine indwelling, but as the truly life-giving flesh belonging to the Word himself. For being life by nature as God, when he became one with his own flesh, he made it life-giving, with the result that, although he says to us, 'Truly I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the son of man and [38] drink his blood ...,'[276] we shall not attribute even this to a human individual like us (for how could human flesh be life-giving of its own nature?) but shall count it as having truly become the very own flesh of the one who became for us, and was accounted, son of man.

(8) As for the sayings of our Saviour in the gospels, we do not distribute them between two hypostases or persons; for the one and only Christ is not twofold, even if he is thought of as having come together into inseparable union from two different realities, just as for instance man is thought of as coming together from soul and body and yet is not twofold but one from both. But if we are orthodox, we shall be convinced that both the human and divine sayings were uttered by one speaker. For when he says of himself as God, 'He who has seen me has seen the Father,'[277] and 'I and the

273 1 Cor 15:20.
274 1 Cor 15:21.
275 Acts 17:31.
276 John 6:53.
277 John 14:9.

Father are one,'[278] we think of his divine and ineffable nature, in respect of which he is one with his Father because of identity of essence and is the image, stamp, and radiance of his glory.[279] But when, not dishonouring the limitations of manhood, he says to the Jews, 'Now you are seeking to kill me, a man who has told you the truth,'[280] no less again do we recognize him as God the Word, in equality and likeness with the Father, despite the limitations of his manhood. For if indeed we must believe that, being God by nature, he became flesh, that is, man ensouled by a rational soul, what ground could there be for being ashamed of his sayings, when they are appropriate to manhood? For if he had refused the conditions appropriate to man, who could have forced him to became man like us? And wh would the one who condescended to voluntary self-emptying for ou sake refuse the conditions required by that self-emptying? Therefore a the sayings in the gospels are to be attributed to a single person, the one incarnate hypostasis of the Word.[281] For there is one Lord Jesus Christ, according to the scriptures.[282]

(9) If indeed he is called 'the apostle and high priest of our confession',[283] as offering to God the Father the profession of faith from us that is made to him and through him to God the Father, and assuredly to the Holy Spirit also, we also affirm him to be the only-begotten Son from God by nature, and do not assign the name and reality of priesthood to a man distinct from him.[284] [39] For he became the mediator between God and mankind and the reconciler for peace,[285] after offering himself in the odour of sweetness to God the Father. This is why he said, 'Sacrifice and offering you did not desire, but you prepared a body for me. In holocausts and sin-offerings you took no delight.[286] Then I said, Lo, I have come – in the scroll of the book it

278 John 10:30.

279 Cf. Heb 1:3.

280 John 8:40.

281 This formula is a variation on the famous formula of the 'one incarnate *nature* of the Word'. Cyril had used it only twice before in the context of his confrontation with Nestorius and the variation here requires careful interpretation. Cyril understood the 'one incarnate nature' formula to be of Athanasian authorship; in fact it originates from an Apollinarian text circulating under Athanasius' name.

282 1 Cor 8:6.

283 Heb 3:1.

284 For Cyril's interpretation of Christ's priesthood in the Letter to the Hebrews, and a comparison with that of his Antiochene opponents, see Young (1969).

285 Cf. 1 Tim 2:5 and Acts 7:26.

286 This last sentence is lacking in many manuscripts and is bracketed in ACO.

stands written of me – to do, O God, your will.'[287] He offered his own body in the odour of sweetness for our sake, not his own. For what offering or sacrifice would he have needed for himself, when as God he transcends all sin? If indeed 'all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God',[288] in that we are prone to stray and man's nature has become infirm with sin (but he is not so) and we therefore fall short of his glory, how can we doubt that he was sacrificed as the true lamb because of us and for our sake? And to say that he offered himself for his own sake as well as for ours would certainly incur an accusation of impiety, for he transgressed or committed sin in no way at all. What offering, then, could he need to make, since there was no sin requiring one?

(10) When he says of the Spirit, 'He will glorify me,'[289] we understand this correctly when we say that it was not out of any need of glory from another that the one Christ and Son received glory from the Holy Spirit, for the Holy Spirit is not greater than he or superior to him. It is when, to display his Godhead, he used his own Spirit in mighty works that he says he was glorified by him, just as if one of us were to say (perhaps) about his own strength or skill in some matter, 'It will glorify me.' For even if the Spirit exists in his own hypostasis and is conceived of individually, in that he is Spirit and not Son, nevertheless he is not alien to the Son; for he was called the 'Spirit of truth',[290] while Christ is the truth,[291] and he is poured out by Christ just as of course from God the Father. Accordingly the Spirit worked miracles through the hands of the holy apostles, and after the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ into heaven glorified him; for it was through operating through his own Spirit that he was believed to be God by nature. This is why he also said, 'He will take from what is mine and announce it to you.'[292] We certainly do not say that the Spirit is wise and powerful through participation, for he is utterly perfect and not lacking in any good thing: [40] since he is the Spirit of the Father's power and wisdom, that is, of the Son,[293] he is in actual fact wisdom and power.

(11) Since the holy Virgin gave fleshly birth to God united to flesh hypostatically, for this reason we declare her to be Theotokos, not as if the

287 Heb 10:5–7.
288 Rom 3:23.
289 John 16:14.
290 John 16:13.
291 Cf. John 14:6.
292 John 16:14.
293 For according to 1 Cor 1:24 Christ is 'the power of God and the wisdom of God'.

nature of the Word had the beginning of its existence from the flesh – for 'he was in the beginning and the Word was God and the Word was with God',[294] and he is the maker of the ages, coeternal with the Father, and creator of the universe – but because, as we have already said, he united manhood to himself hypostatically and underwent fleshly birth from her womb. It was not because he had any need in his own nature for birth in time and in the last age of the world, but his purpose was to bless the very origin of our existence, so that a woman's giving birth to him united to the flesh would abolish for good the curse against the whole race that consigns our earthly bodies to death, and so that his annulment of 'In grief you will bear children'[295] would confirm what the mouth of the prophet had said, 'Death became strong and devoured, and again God took away every tear from every face.'[296] It is for this very reason that we say that he blessed marriage itself by means of the incarnation, as also by going to Cana o Galilee when invited together with the holy apostles.[297]

(12) These are the tenets we have been taught by the holy apostles and evangelists and the whole of inspired scripture and from the true profession of the blessed fathers. Your devoutness must agree and assent to all of them, without any dissimulation. What your devoutness is required to anathematize is appended to this our letter.[298]

1. If anyone does not profess that Emmanuel is in truth God and that therefore the holy Virgin is Theotokos (for she gave fleshly birth to the Word from God made flesh), let him be anathema.

2. If anyone does not profess that the Word from God the Father was hypostatically united to the flesh and that Christ is one with his own flesh, the same (that is to say) being both God and man, let him be anathema.

3. If anyone in respect of the one Christ separates the hypostases[299]

294 John 1:1.

295 Gen 3:16.

296 Isa 25:8 (LXX).

297 Cf. John 2:1–2. Cf. Cyril, *Commentary on John 2.1* (II, 201 Pusey), where Christ's presence at Cana is said to annul Eve's curse.

298 The following anathemas also appear to have circulated independently, and were probably intended for this additional purpose. Nestorius sent these anathemas to John of Antioch. They incensed the Syrian bishops and a veritable war of pamphlets ensued.

299 'The hypostases' in the plural may seem an unexpected phrase in Cyril, but he sometimes (see p. 76, n. 123) used 'nature' and 'hypostasis' interchangeably (whence the notorious 'one nature' formula). But unlike 'nature', which can refer to an essence or genus, hypostasis referred unambiguously to an individual instantiation of an essence. Consequently the phrase 'the hypostases' implies that the two natures were individuated 'prior' to the

after the union, joining them in mere conjunction according to dignity or authority or lordship and not rather by a coming together in natural union, let him be anathema.

4. [41] If anyone ascribes to two persons (*prosopa*) or hypostases the sayings in the gospels and apostolic writings, whether spoken by the saints with reference to Christ or by him about himself, and attributes some to a man considered individually apart from the Word from God and some, as God-befitting, only to the Word from God the Father, let him be anathema.

5. If anyone dares to say that Christ is a God-bearing man and not rather that he is in truth God by nature as the one Son, since the Word became flesh and shared like us in blood and flesh,[300] let him be anathema.

6. If anyone says that the Word from God the Father is the God or master of Christ, and does not rather profess that the same is both God and man, since the Word became flesh according to scripture,[301] let him be anathema.

7. If anyone says that Jesus was inspired as a man by God the Word and that the glory of the Only-begotten was bestowed as if on another, existing apart beside him, let him be anathema.

8. If anyone dares to say that the assumed man should be worshipped and glorified along with God the Word and be called God along with another (for the constant addition of 'along with'[302] will entail this interpretation) and does not rather honour Emmanuel with a single worship and assign a single act of praise to him, since the Word became flesh, let him be anathema.

9. If anyone says that the one Lord Jesus Christ was glorified by the Spirit, as if he used the power through him as something that was another's and received from him the ability to operate against unclean spirits and to perform miracles upon men, and does not say instead that the Spirit through whom he worked the miracles was his own, let him be anathema.

union, in the sense that in the union God the Word took not a generic human nature, which was then individuated in and only in the union, but an individual human nature, namely the manhood of Jesus. The Neo-Chalcedonian reduction of the human nature to a generic nature that attains individuality only in the union is not consonant with this passage. This reference to a plurality of hypostases was cited at the Conference of Constantinople of 532 to excuse Chalcedon's non-recognition of Cyril's Chapters (ACO IV.2, 173,21–9).

300 Cf. Heb 2:14.

301 Cf. John 1:14.

302 The Greek express this through prefixing the verbs in question with συν.

10. Divine scripture says that Christ became 'the high priest and apostle of our confession,'[303] and he offered himself for us in the odour of sweetness to God the Father.[304] If, therefore, anyone says that it was not the very Word from God who became our high priest and apostle when he became flesh and man like us, but a man from woman as an individual distinct from him, or if anyone says that he made the offering on his own behalf and not rather solely for us (for he who knew not sin had no need to make an offering), let him be anathema.

11. If anyone does not profess that the flesh of the Lord is life-giving[305] and belongs to the very Word from God the Father, but [professes that it belongs] to someone other than him, joined to him in [42] dignity and enjoying no more than divine indwelling, and not rather that it is life-giving because, as we have said, in its very coming into being it belonged to the Word who has the power to give life to all things, let him be anathema.

12. If anyone does not profess that the Word of God suffered in the flesl and was crucified in the flesh and tasted death in the flesh and became 'the firstborn from the dead',[306] since he is life and life-giving as God, let him be anathema.

(21) LETTER OF CYRIL TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE[307]

[113] A letter of the holy Cyril written to the clergy and laity of Constantinople, in which he writes that they should not adopt the impious teaching of the heretic Nestorius nor be in communion with him, since he is a wolf rather than a shepherd, but that they should rather be courageous in the Lord and keep their faith without wavering. He writes also that those expelled by Nestorius for opposing his teaching are restored to communion.

To the beloved and most dear presbyters and deacons and laity of Constantinople, greetings in the Lord from Bishop Cyril and the council that has assembled at Alexandria from the Egyptian diocese.

303 Heb 3:1.

304 Cf. Eph 5:2.

305 On the importance of the eucharistic implications of the Christological questions for Cyril, see Chadwick (1951) 145–64.

306 Col 1:18.

307 Cyril, *ep.* 18, CV 24, ACO I.1.1, 113–14; Latin version in CC 9, ACO I.3, 35–7.

It was belatedly and with difficulty that we reached the point it would have been better to reach at the beginning, we mean that of taking thought for the salvation of you all, to save you from turmoil over the faith; we owe you an explanation for the distress of you all on this account. We spent the time that has passed not without tears, and we were expecting that, as a result of the advice and exhortation from the churches and reproof by you all, the most devout bishop Nestorius would abandon his disgraceful doctrines and join us in honouring the faith handed down to the churches by the holy apostles and evangelists, by the whole of sacred scripture and by the sayings of the holy prophets, so as to make its orthodoxy signed and sealed. But what he continues to utter in church in your presence and his written discourses show him [still] in error and grossly impious over the faith. As a result, we have now of necessity come to the point where in a conciliar letter we must declare to him that, if he does not swiftly renounce his innovations and, in accordance with the deadline laid down by the most sacred and most religious Celestine bishop of the church of Rome, anathematize in writing what he has said in your presence and recorded (or at least had recorded) on rolls that have even reached us, he has no place in the communion of the priests of God, but will be held excommunicate by all. Let no one accuse us of procrastination; for we did not doze when so great a flock or rather the congregations and churches everywhere were thrown into confusion, but we imitated those with medical knowledge, who do not immediately subject diseases of the body to the severe treatment of iron and fire, but at first alleviate them with gentle drugs, waiting for the right time for surgery.

Be courageous in the Lord, therefore, and by keeping your faith firm endeavour to be pleasing to Christ the one and only true Son of God. Remembering also [114] our holy fathers who exercised a holy and orthodox priesthood among you, and who already in their lifetime called the holy Virgin 'Theotokos' (since she gave birth to Emmanuel, who is truly God, for the Word became flesh and was born in the flesh from a woman, so that we might be found to be the brothers of him who surpasses all creation) and who preached not the two Christs asserted in your presence, but one and the same both God the Word and man in the flesh from a woman, and this not by mere 'conjunction' and as a man joined to God in mere equality of dignity (for these are his frigid and unprofitable doctrines, like old wives' tales). Instead they affirmed that the same suffered death in the flesh for us and rose divinely after trampling down the power of death, and they added that he will return as the judge of the universe. By always rekindling this faith in yourselves, keep yourselves unstained and without

blame, neither being in communion with the aforesaid man nor attending to his teaching, if he remains a wolf instead of a shepherd and chooses to hold perverse opinions even after receiving this our notification. With the clerics or layman who have been excommunicated or deposed by him on account of the orthodox faith we remain in communion, since we do not confirm his unjust verdict but rather commend those who have suffered, and say this to them: 'If you suffer reproach in the Lord, blessed are you, because the Spirit of power and of God rests upon you.'[308]

(22) LETTER OF CYRIL TO THE MONKS OF CONSTANTINOPLE[309]

[12] To the most devout and most religious fathers of monasteries in th great city of Constantinople, greetings in the Lord from Cyril and the holy council assembled at Alexandria.

We have received exact information about the zeal your religiousness has shown over the blasphemies against Christ (and this in the church of the orthodox!) and we commended especially your goodwill towards Christ and love of his name. With tears we continue to entreat Christ the Saviour of the universe to break now the snare of the devil, remove the stumbling block from the churches, and put an end to the blasphemies against his glory. But since he is long-suffering, he gave the most devout bishop Nestorius time for repentance, while in the meantime all remained silent about him and waited [13] for what all were praying for, that he would abandon his profane babbling, join us in holding the doctrines that are orthodox, seemly and in agreement with the divinely inspired scriptures, and embrace the faith handed down to the churches from of old by the holy apostles and evangelists, who were both true stewards of the mysteries of Christ and appointed to minister his gospel to those in the whole world under heaven.

But since he has kept to the same beliefs or even adopted still worse ones, as he constantly adds blasphemy to blasphemy and expounds strange and utterly alien doctrines totally unknown to the holy and catholic church, we have judged it right to notify him in this third letter,[310] dispatched both

308 1 Pet 4:14.

309 Cyril, *ep.* 19, CV 145, ACO I.1.5, 12–13.

310 The implication of the phrase is that the *Third Letter to Nestorius* was attached.

by us and by our most sacred and most religious brother and fellow minister Celestine, bishop of great Rome, that if he were to choose to repent and, in tears at what he has said, anathematize in writing his perverse doctrines and profess correctly and unimpeachably the faith of the catholic church, then he is to remain, while asking for forgiveness and learning what he should, but if he were not to do this, then he is to be expelled from the episcopal choir and the dignity of a teacher. For it is dangerous to let loose a wolf in the form of a shepherd that is a threat to the Saviour's flocks.

Be courageous, therefore, as servants of God and attend to your own souls, doing everything for Christ's glory, so that faith in him, orthodox and unimpeachable, may be preached everywhere. For this will both protect you[311] from later dangers and make you be honoured with crowns at the divine judgement seat, when because of love for him you will all be accepted by Christ the Saviour of us all.

Greet each other with a holy kiss. All the brothers with me send you greetings. I pray that you be in good health in the Lord, beloved and most dear [brothers].

7. RESPONSES IN THE EAST

Introduction

Bishop John's letter (doc. 23) (probably of late autumn 430) is an attempt to persuade Nestorius to accept the term Theotokos in order to meet the Roman conditions for avoiding condemnation. He reports that couriers had arrived with letters from Celestine and Cyril (these must be the letters cited above), of which he appends copies. This fact suggests that John sent his letter (and the pertinent copies) ahead of the Alexandrian delegation destined for Constantinople rather than handing it to them for delivery alongside theirs. Perhaps John's dispatch gave Nestorius the first opportunity to learn in any detail both of Celestine's verdict and of the subsequent Alexandrian synod and the letter Cyril issued in its name, even before the arrival of the official delegation charged to deliver them. John invites Nestorius to seek honest counsel and reminds him of the case of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who corrected himself without embarrassment about a statement criticized

311 ACO's ἡμᾶς (which is also the object of the following verb 'make be honoured') appears to be a misprint for ὑμᾶς, which is the reading in all the older editions.

by Nestorius himself at the time. It is noteworthy that John now insists the term Theotokos is uncontroversial since earlier fathers had either used or at least not rejected it (§4), although he had earlier been reported by Acacius as having referred to the term as 'adventitious and unacceptable' (doc. 6). It is plausible to attribute this change of mind to consultation with other Syrian bishops, among them the learned Theodoret, whom John mentions as present with him (§5). In tone, the letter is rather distant, even cool, and offers no sympathy to Nestorius. It is also clear that John had not yet heard of the Twelve Chapters.

Nestorius' answer (doc. 24) follows it. According to the collector's rubric, it was written before receiving notification of Rome's verdict and Cyril's letter (that is, before 30 November). However, an appended sermon can be dated 7 December, a few days after receiving the relevan documents. If the attachment of the sermon is original and this date correct the collector's notice must be wrong. Alternatively we have to consider the possibility of an updated second version, adding the sermon (and other material) to the letter originally sent without it. John's letter to Firmus (doc. 25) speaks of receiving from Nestorius two sermons, along with the Cyril's Twelve Chapters (cf. doc. 20), and so witnesses to a dispatch after 7 December which might have given occasion to send the letter again. A further possibility is that the letter, though drafted before the reception of Cyril's letter (which it does not mention), was only dispatched after it.

Nestorius displays irritation at the accusations directed against him. He declares himself willing to accept 'Theotokos', in fact he claims to have done so already even before receiving John's letter, but not without repeating the need to guard against any trace of Apollinarianism and Arianism, all too easily evoked by the term. He recalls the circumstances in which he had suggested Christotokos in an attempt to reconcile those preferring either Theotokos or Anthropotokos. In the expectation of meeting John at the council planned to settle the matter he confidently asserts the orthodoxy of his theology and denounces the 'Egyptian's' customary presumptuousness.

There is appended a sermon preached by Nestorius on the matter. This sermon is transmitted separately (in a slightly different version) in the *Collectio Palatina* and dated there to 7 December.[312] Here it comes with two introductory notes, the first of which may well be the one originally drafted by Nestorius in response to John, whereas a second one stems from an early collector, perhaps Irenaeus of Tyre. The sermon is a brief summary of his

312 CP 24; ACO I.5, 45.

argument and Christological tenets and again explains the correct use of the terms Christotokos, Theotokos, and Anthropotokos. The introduction claims it won him even greater support than before. The second, longer, sermon is preserved in a Latin translation by Marius Mercator.[313]

Having received Nestorius' (qualified) acceptance of the term Theotokos and two sermons on the matter, John of Antioch communicates this turn of events with delight to Firmus of Caesarea (doc. 25). At the same time, the letter draws attention to Cyril's Twelve Chapters, also received from Nestorius, as being highly problematic, in fact outright Apollinarian. In truth the language of the Chapters owed much to Apollinarian texts circulating under the name of Athanasius. John, both tactfully and tactically, one presumes, expresses uncertainty over their authorship. He exhorts Firmus to reject them in public – but without naming the author. The letter is a first indication of a resolute shift of focus in the debate on the side of the eastern bishops. Opposition to Cyril's Chapters will from now on determine their approach to the matter and define their stance in the disputes in Ephesus. On John's prompting, two refutations of them were written by Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Andrew of Samosata during the winter and spring before the council. The Apollinarianism of Cyril's Chapters[314] and their alleged endorsement by the Cyrillian part-council was subsequently the persistent focus of the eastern bishops' criticism of their opponents over the entire conciliar period and remained the central issue of contention thereafter.

(23) LETTER OF JOHN OF ANTIOCH TO NESTORIUS[315]

[93] (1) To the lord the most God-beloved and most sacred bishop Nestorius, John sends greetings in the Lord.

With complete sincerity I have made known to your religiousness my intentions towards you through my lord the in all respects most magnificent Count Irenaeus, and since, as I believe, I have now a true defence and am exempt from suspicion, I shall now address frank advice to your sincerity. In the advice I shall give, you will find a pledge of my sincere feelings towards you and learn how great is our concern for love in accordance

313 CP 23; ACO I.5, 39–45 (not translated here).

314 On which see classically Galtier (1956) 584–609.

315 CV 14, ACO I.1.1, 93–6; Latin version in CC 19, ACO I.3, 44–7.

with God. For those who practise it fulfil the divine laws, while those who neglect it and behave deceitfully towards their own members[316] harm themselves rather than those they try to harm. Since, therefore, these remarks of mine are a suitable prelude, as I at least suppose, accept me, I beg you, as one who will give you good advice, and do not spurn what is advantageous in my words and spoken with a disposition that is fully in accord with God.

(2) We must therefore make proposals to each other over profitable matters; but since our mistakes have given great impetus to disturbances in the church, I have for this reason to inform your sacredness of what has recently been written to us from Rome and Alexandria. For clerics from Alexandria who arrived in haste have given us several letters dispatched about your piety, one from the most holy bishop Celestine and others fror the most God-beloved bishop Cyril. I have sent copies of these and beg yc to read them in such a way that you are neither fiercely indignant, fro which harmful conflict and dispute often result, nor dismiss the matter since the devil knows how to exploit such disregard as to bring to a head and raise to a climax many unprofitable things, so as to make them beyond remedy, but to read them calmly, to invite some of those of like mind with you [94] to a discussion of the matter, and to give them leave to propose what is beneficial rather than what is agreeable. For if those who take part in this plan, being many and your friends, were to be assured of immunity, we shall come to an agreement with ease, and what was thought to be murky would quickly become transparent.

(3) For even if my lord the most God-beloved bishop Celestine has imposed in his letter a very tight deadline, limiting the response to a mere ten days, as is stated in his letter, it is perfectly possible to perform this task in a single day, perhaps even a few hours. For there is no problem in the use of a suitable term concerning the dispensation on our behalf of Christ the universal king, one used constantly by many of the fathers and true to the salvific birth from the Virgin; it should not be rejected as dangerous by your sacredness, nor should you think it wrong for you to contradict yourself. For if you believe the same as the fathers and teachers of the church (of which we are assured, my lord, by many friends we share), why should it distress you to publicize this pious[317] belief by a corresponding term, especially

316 That is, fellow members of the church as the body of Christ.

317 The word 'pious' (εὐσεβής) in texts of this period usually means 'orthodox'. John is *not* saying that the term Theotokos should be tolerated as an expression of devotion.

since you have caused such turmoil and debate? For be assured of this, most beloved of God: this topic has been raised and much talked about by both those near and those far away, and the matter has caused of a sudden the greatest imaginable storm in the churches, leading to fierce conflict among the faithful everywhere and day after day. The truth of this you may learn unmistakably from the facts themselves; for the West and Egypt, and apparently Macedonia, have decided to break away from the unity of the churches – something which God had bestowed on them through the great labour and exertion of holy and esteemed bishops and especially our common father, holy in every respect, the great Acacius.[318] Who would complain if you decided to say what you believe? Or rather, who would not welcome it, if you were to accept an expression whose meaning (as we know) your devoutness has accepted, and this for the sake of universal well-being and peace?

If you have no objection, I shall take the opportunity to remind you of a good example which I would like you to bear in mind; for the time that has passed since it happened is not enough for us to forget it. You surely remember that the blessed bishop Theodore,[319] when preaching, said something that was thought unfortunate first by you, who spoke frankly [95] at the time,[320] and then also by all who heard of it, and how he, on perceiving the harm and turmoil which slight grumbling had caused, and realizing that this would lead to disagreement and even conflict between people who would use a case like this to split into parties, and that conflict would actually be increased by the apparent slightness of the cause of offence (as has now happened with us) – how only a few days later that noble man stood up and without embarrassment and for the benefit of the church corrected what he had said, and thereby brought to an immediate end the criticism he had incurred. He did not think self-correction improper, and this at a time when all knew that what he had said was improper, and yet accepted him as soon as he had made the change.

(4) I in my turn urge on your religiousness not a change of doctrine, which would be open to criticism, nor a childish self-contradiction, as someone might call it. But since (we learn) you have often said to many

318 This must be Acacius of Beroea, the Nestor of the eastern episcopate.

319 Theodore of Mopsuestia, d. 428.

320 For fuller details of this occasion, including the statements by Theodore of Mopsuestia that caused offence even to Nestorius, see the Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553 (ACO IV.I, 84; trans. Price (2009a, I, 296–7).

that you do not dismiss this pious notion but merely reject the term, and that if some celebrated churchmen[321] were to propose it to you, you would not hesitate to call the holy Virgin Theotokos, for this reason I exhort you to follow your own policy and call on you to make the declaration we have heard about – by declaring not that you are in error in your beliefs, but that you are adding to the doctrine an expression and term that was thought up, uttered, and written down by many of the fathers, and that you do not at all reject an expression that is evidence of a pious conception in the mind. For this term was rejected by none of the teachers of the church; they who used it are many and distinguished, while those who did not use it did not criticize those who did. No purpose is served, it seems to me, for the sake of an excessive precision and obsession with heretical error, by our ignoring the consciences of our brethren who are needlessly wounded by the rejection of a term whose meaning we readily accept. For if we were not to accept what it signifies, it would follow that we were in error about many things, and in danger above all over the ineffable incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God. For the rejection of this term, or what it signifies, would immediately imply that the one who underwent the ineffable incarnation on our behalf was not God, and that God the Word did not empty himself in the form of a servant and thereby reveal an ineffable greatness of mercy towards us. This mercy on us the divine scriptures particularly confirm whenever in their account they attribute the passionless birth from the Virgin to the pre-eternal, coeternal, and only-begotten Son of God, in accordance with the saying of the divine apostle, 'God sent his own Son born from woman',[322] where he clearly teaches the ineffable birth of the Only-begotten from the Virgin, as I have already said. If it is because of this birth that [96] the Virgin is addressed by the fathers with this term, as indeed she is, I cannot understand why we have taken up this quite unnecessary question (forgive me!) to the detriment both of ourselves and, as you yourself witness, the peace of the church. For there is no danger in affirming and believing the same as the approved teachers in the church of God, whose names it is needless to enumerate; for you know them as well as anyone, since you pride yourself on being their disciple, as indeed we all do.

(5) I beg you to accept this advice from us; agree to act accordingly; do not give scope to mounting divisions. For consider, if even before

321 The reference is surely to some of the church fathers, not to the leading bishops of Nestorius' own day.

322 Gal 4:4.

the letters now dispatched the multitude were unrestrainedly hostile to us, what they will be like and what boldness they will use against us, once they have learnt boldness from these letters! I have written this letter when in the company of many of the most God-beloved bishops and lovers of your piety, who happened to be with me when these unfortunate letters were delivered, and I have considered it the task of a sincere friend to act as I promised and to set right with brotherly counsel the misconception under which you are at present labouring; I entreat your piety to accept in no contentious spirit the advice I have given out of fear of God and love for you and for the well-being of the church. As I have said, I am not alone, but there are present with me my lords the most God-beloved bishops Archelaus, Apringius, Theodoret, Heliades, Meletius, and Macarius, who by the grace of God has recently been elevated to be bishop of the church of God at Laodicea.[323] These men, who keep to the doctrines and are warmly attached to you, join us in entreating you, my lord, to show an amenable spirit and to bring to an end the excessive flow of these letters, like a hurricane which, if we yield to them, will not disturb or trouble, but which, if we oppose them, will cause distress. This is the advice we offer, as we make your cause our own; it is for you to be so good as to accept and welcome it – unless someone ill-disposed to us induces you to dismiss the matter to your own detriment and that of the whole community. Be so good, I beg you, as to inform us, in reply, of what seems good to you, or rather not so much what seems good to you as what will be beneficial.

(24) LETTER OF NESTORIUS TO JOHN OF ANTIOCH[324]

[4] A letter of Nestorius, which he sent to the holy John of Antioch from the city of Constantinople, replying to the letter John had sent him, before he received the letter of the holy Celestine pope of the city of Rome together with the third letter of the blessed Cyril, that is, before the holy council of Ephesus.

Nestorius to the most God-beloved and most holy fellow minister John.

323 Despite ACO I.1.8, 29, this (as we would expect from the other names in the list) is Laodicea in Syria I, as is stated in the version of the subscription list of the Chalcedonian Definition in the *Collectio Dionysiana*; see Price and Gaddis II, 234.

324 Extant in a Latin version, CC 78, ACO I.4, 4–7.

(1) I would have thought it easier for people to slander me on every other matter rather than [5] to allege that I hold incorrect views on the orthodox faith. Hitherto, because of the war I am waging against all the heretics, I have been delighted that many thousands of enemies have risen against me. Nevertheless, this trial too I ought to bear with joy since, if we maintain proper vigilance, it could make us highly trustworthy as regards orthodoxy. What has happened to us has also revealed how much your religiousness takes thought on our behalf.

(2) For what you lately wrote to me and to our son the most magnificent and Christ-loving Irenaeus, and also to the most God-beloved bishops Musaeus and Helladius, has expressed your religiousness's sincere love for us more clearly than a clarion call, as also your great concern for the tranquillity of the entire universal church; we too have a particular concern for it, and would think it utter madness and hatred of our brethren if we alone, in opposition to everyone else, were to assume authority in some way over the issues that have been raised, even though we know that talk of 'Theotokos' is adopted as their own by many heretics, and we are aware that some people here, who have adopted this term heedlessly, have as a result fallen into heretical and far from pious notions, in particular those of the impious Arius and Apollinarius.

(3) Consequently, knowing from what you have written (as I have said) both your religiousness's good will towards ourselves and your most proper concern for the churches of God, I have hastened in this my letter to resolve for your soul dear to God the contention over the issue that has been raised, and to inform you immediately that even before your religiousness's letter I myself resolved the matter, so to speak. I bore in mind that as a result of the discussion by all of us it was necessary to explain in harmony and unanimity the expression by which she is called Theotokos,[325] not in order to postpone even briefly acknowledgement of this expression by myself, but so that none of those who have the least knowledge of the things of God should have the opportunity, by exploiting our words on the subject, to cause division in the church.

(4) For I think that your religiousness is well aware that, as soon as we came here, we found some of those who belong to the church in factious disagreement with one another: some of them called the holy Virgin Theotokos, while others called her Anthropotokos. Consequently, in order

325 The Latin translator sometimes keeps the Greek word Theotokos, and sometimes (as here) replaces it by *dei genetrix* or *dei partrix*, both meaning 'Mother of God'.

to reconcile both factions with care and not to neglect any one of the sheep, lest it perish, acting as we see the Lord of all things to have done, we called her Christotokos,[326] so that this expression might clearly indicate both of the two, that is, God and man. On the subject of the expressions in the gospel I have allowed those who so wished to give the Virgin the name Theotokos, according to piety, that is, not in an Apollinarian or Arian sense, and not as if the Godhead of the Only-begotten took its origin from the holy Virgin, but because of the account of the union which at the very beginning was given in the words of an angel about the conception.[327]

(5) My request is therefore that you recover from your anxiety about this matter and recognize that by the grace of God we hold and always have held the same beliefs as you in relation to the orthodox faith, and that you pray as usual that both in this and all other matters we receive help from Christ the Lord and have the privilege of conversing together. For it is clear that, if we see each other, when God brings about the council we desire, we shall settle both this matter and whatever else is necessary for the correction and assistance of the whole church, in agreement and without offence, in such a way that, once everything that has been settled by a joint and universal decree, it will be accepted with faith [6] and give nobody scope for contradiction, even if prone to do so. Your religiousness ought not to be surprised by the Egyptian's customary presumption, since you have numerous examples of this from the past. But in a short time, God willing, our judgement on this matter too will receive praise.

To all the brotherhood that is with you, I and those who are with me send greetings. May you, who deserve all honour and are most dear to God, continue to enjoy good health and to pray for us.

(6) *After the subscription*: Foreseeing, as I judge, [the battle that will soon take place][328] against those who seek an occasion for one, we are using other means that should provide further assistance. For after the letter of your religiousness, in a teaching that we delivered publicly in church, we won by God's grace yet greater support from the clergy, the people, and those at the imperial court.

326 Both here and in the rest of the document, the unfamiliar 'Anthropotokos' and 'Christotokos' are translated as (respectively) *hominis genetrix* and *Christi genetrix* by the Latin translator. At one place in the sermon the other extant Latin version preserves 'Anthropotokos' (ACO I.5, 46,16).

327 At the annunciation, Luke 1:26–35.

328 This is a conjectural supplement, *exempli gratia*, offered by Schwartz ad loc.

(7) *A sermon of Nestorius, then bishop of Constantinople, which he delivered when he appeared late at the eucharist, because he was detained in the consistory, in order to expound the doctrine at length to the whole clergy who came to hear him. They so admired his teaching that they anathematized those with different beliefs.*[329]

While various activities on earth benefit various people – some profit from state service, others from the work of the forum, some from maritime skills, and others from business on land – the knowledge of piety is useful for all men alike, princes and priests, the powerful and the common people. Now this, namely the knowledge of piety, for anyone who prefers concision – I am sparing you, since I am very tired and you are crowded together – is the theology of the consubstantial Trinity, the incarnation of the Only-begotten, the ineffable union in the womb of the Virgin of the divine nature with our nature, and the contemplation of two natures in the one Son. (8) I have therefore often said to you that 'Christ', namely this designative name, signifies both, that is, God and man; and if someone were to say simply 'Christ', he has said both, and the meaning of what he says applies to each nature. This is why the blessed evangelist Matthew, when treating the mystery of the genealogy, began the genealogy not with one of the natures but with Christ himself, who is Lord of all. I must state this more clearly, to make the point easier for all of you to grasp. (9) 'The book,' he says, 'of the genealogy of Jesus Christ.'[330] He does not say either 'the book of the genealogy of God the Word' or 'the book of the genealogy of the man.' For if he had said 'the book of the genealogy of the man,' he would have seemed to be presenting Christ as a mere man, while if he had said 'the book of the genealogy of God the Word,' he would be putting before us Godhead without a share in manhood. But both natures are contained in the name 'Christ the Lord', to stop us understanding one of them without the other. This [7] is why it is appropriate for the blessed and holy Virgin to be called Christotokos, because of the double meaning of the word, that is, Theotokos and Anthropotokos. Yet to help those who want to understand Christotokos still more clearly, and especially since

329 This introductory note may be attributed to Irenaeus, the author of the *Tragoedia*, from which this document was taken. Another Latin version of this sermon is extant (ACO I.5, 45,23–46,35), which provides the date of its delivery – 7 December 430. This second version appears to be closer to Nestorius' oral delivery, in that it contains some repetitive sentences, pruned in the version sent to John of Antioch and translated here.

330 Matt 1:1.

they are sons of the church, it is appropriate to use in their presence a more explicit vocabulary. For this reason, what we preached before on the blessed and holy Virgin, when we used a short designation [Christotokos], we shall now repeat with the use of more explicit terms, namely that the holy Virgin is both Theotokos and Anthropotokos,[331] Theotokos because the temple that was created in her by the Holy Spirit was united to the Godhead, and Anthropotokos because God took on the first fruits of our nature.

(10) These are in summary the doctrines of piety. Always keep them in your memory, while consistently rejecting the false opinions of the heretics.[332] Do not suppose, because the usual name they give her is Theotokos, that the church uses Theotokos in the same way, because, although indeed both they and ourselves use the single designation 'Son', they and ourselves do not understand 'sonship' in the same way. For with them the word 'Son' is a mere name, lacking the likeness that a son has to his father, while with us the designation 'Son' is true and firm. Again with them Christ as the lord of all is called God, which we too profess; but with them it is as a creature that he is believed to be God, while for us he is uncreated like his Father. Let us not, therefore, because we use the same name, be credited with the same understanding as the heretics on the subject under discussion, but let us confess one Son – God and man – without either God being turned into flesh (for whatever is divine is unchangeable, and God revealed this to the Jews when he said, 'I am [who] I am, and I have not changed'),[333] or the flesh being transformed into the bodiless nature. For God is not ashamed of the nature he assumed, nor in order to reign in it is he fused with it. For if he had been afraid, he would never have assumed it; but, having assumed it out of infinite love, he possesses inseparably what he assumed. It is good to remember always these things in Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

331 Here the other Latin version actually gives the Greek word ἀνθρωποτόκος (ACO I.5, 46,16).

332 Nestorius proceeds to insist that his opponents are either Arians, denying the full Godhead of Christ, or Apollinarians, denying the fullness of his manhood.

333 Mal 3:6.

(25) LETTER OF JOHN OF ANTIOCH TO FIRMUS OF CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA[334]

[7] Letter of John bishop of Antioch to Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

(1) The love that is according to God can neither be extinguished by time nor in any way corrupted; may we therefore remain mindful of your religiousness. We enjoyed your friendship in Constantinople for a short time, but we have received proof of your virtue for a longer time. For you are, beyond others, a pleasant companion,[335] and to those who see you show yourself helpful as well as pleasant; and while practising humility, you have elevated thoughts. But this is enough on this theme; let it suffice. For the enumeration of your virtues would exceed the due measure of epistolary style.

(2) What is now urgent is that I inform your God-belovedness that by the grace of God the disturbance there was in Constantinople has now been allayed through the reception of a pious judgement on the subject of the incarnation – not that there has been a change of heart or self-correction, but because sensible understanding has rightly accepted the name Theotokos. Although indeed the most holy bishop Nestorius believed this earlier, [8] as the facts show, he nevertheless avoided the name, on the grounds that it could, as we have said, give people an opportunity to criticize us as followers of the heretic Apollinarius. But we may guess that he held this belief even before from the fact that he assented to it so rapidly. For when we so advised him, as friends can do, he both accepted the name itself and sent us a sound and irreproachable exposition of the faith in two sermons.[336]

(3) He has also passed on to us certain chapters or propositions, which are circulating in the imperial city to the detriment of the universal church, supposedly as the work of the most religious bishop Cyril; but I do not believe that they are his, because they do not accord with his character and are quite alien to those who have been fed on pious doctrine. For they are

334 Extant in a Latin version, CC 79, ACO I.4, 7–8.

335 It is likely that *cohabitatio* translates συνδιαγώγη, which means 'association' rather than 'shared residence'.

336 Nestorius must have sent John both the sermon attached to his letter in CC and the longer sermon on the same theme that he had preached the day before, of which a Latin version is extant (ACO I.5, 39–45). Here he argued that Theotokos was acceptable, but only if combined with Anthropotokos. This is a solution that Theodore of Mopsuestia had also proposed before him (see our General Introduction, p. 72).

consonant with, or rather identical to, the tenets for which Apollinarius was cut off from the church of Christ, declared a heretic in each of the ancient councils, and condemned. For, as you can learn by reading them, these chapters state that the body which God the Word took from the holy Virgin is of the same nature as the Godhead,[337] even though the Godhead, as you know, is incapable of undergoing change. For it is orthodox to speak of supreme union and conjunction, but utterly illicit to assert an identity of nature – something which the Apollinarians once presumed to state and hold, though even those who invented this to destroy the faith have recently been denying this infidelity of theirs. But of those who are now Apollinarians some teach this same tenet confidently and perniciously, asserting that the manhood and the Godhead have one and the same nature.

(4) Lest we too succumb to the same, I would ask your religiousness (if these chapters have been circulated in the diocese of Pontus) to examine them. And when you see how deviant are their contents, denounce them in the presence of all the most God-beloved bishops who believe as you do, but without naming the author or begetter of the text, whom we neither know nor, were we to learn it, would we believe it of him. For the Word became flesh not by a change of nature (perish the thought! – since what is divine is immutable) but because, 'though existing in the form of God, he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant',[338] that is, assuming a complete man. You will find in these sage propositions or chapters certain other novel expressions as well which are utterly foreign to the character of the church and the faith that is in us.

(5) I have given this information briefly, merely intending for now to communicate it to your God-belovedness. May your diligence ensure that, wherever they circulate, they receive no approval, so that we may preserve without change the faith of our fathers, which we have a duty to defend and protect, even if we have to lay down our lives in warding off the wicked beliefs of Apollinarius.

337 See Cyril, Anathema 11 (doc. 20).
338 Phil 2:6–7.

8. OTHER DOCUMENTS OF THE TIME

(26) (THIRD) LETTER OF NESTORIUS TO POPE CELESTINE

Note

Nestorius' third surviving letter to Celestine can only be dated approximately. It shows no awareness of the Roman Synod (of August 430) and its verdict, which was delivered to Nestorius on 30 November 430. At the same time, it speaks of the invitations for a universal council, which Theodosius had issued on 19 November. Nestorius' letter to Celestine then, is likely to have been written in the late autumn of 430, when plan for a council were already in the making, but before the verdict of th Roman Synod had been delivered to Nestorius. Its placement at this point in our collection of documents illustrates the principal difficulty of attempting a chronological order: in a way, the letter lies outside the temporal sequence and finds no convenient location in the 'narrative' created by the documents. While the time of writing may be in the late autumn of 430, its contents represent an earlier state of the discussion, before the momentous decisions of the Roman Synod. For Nestorius, one might say, it belongs 'before' the Roman Synod, but it was already outdated and overtaken by events at the time of writing.

In distinction to his previous two letters to Celestine (of 429), Nestorius takes direct aim at Cyril and accuses him of attempting to diffuse the accusations brought against him by stirring up controversy over questions of theology. Cyril had responded dismissively to these accusations in his *Second Letter to Nestorius*. Nestorius attached the letter (doc. 11) he had written in response to Cyril's second letter, and very probably Cyril's letter (doc. 10) as well.

Text[339]

Nestorius bishop of Constantinople to Pope Celestine.

(1) I have learnt that Cyril bishop of the city of Alexandria, terrified because of petitions against him that have been sent to us[340] and looking for

339 Extant only in Latin, CP 55, ACO I.5, 182.

340 These must be the complaints which Cyril dismisses in his *Second Letter to Nestorius*

somewhere to hide from the sacred council that is to take place because of these petitions,[341] has in the meantime been thinking up some other questions involving words, and taken up the terms Theotokos and Christotokos, of which he accepts the one, while as for the other he at one time removes it from the gospels and then again accepts it – that is, Christotokos – because, I think, of a certain excess of caution. As regards the expression Theotokos, unless it be used to confuse the natures in line with the madness of Apollinarius and Arius, I do not criticize those who wish to use it, but at the same time I have no doubt that this word Theotokos should make way for the word Christotokos, since this was used by both the angels[342] and the gospels. If it were not your reverence, who is knowledgeable, to whom I am saying these things, I would have to say a great deal and at length about this matter. But even without this your beatitude is assuredly well aware of the following: if we consider that two factions stand in opposition to each other with one of them using only the word Theotokos and the other using only the word Anthropotokos, with each faction insisting on its own confession and, if it does not get its way, being in danger of falling away from the church, it will be necessary for whoever has the task of dealing with this controversy to take thought for both factions, and to find a remedy for the danger incurred by both in the expression that the gospels hand down and which signifies both natures. For, as I have said, the assertion of these two terms is avoided by the expression Christotokos, which removes the blasphemy uttered by the man of Samosata about Christ the lord of all as if he were a mere man, and at the same time refutes the wickedness of Arius and Apollinarius.

(2) This is what I wrote to the most honourable bishop of Alexandria, as your beatitude can learn from the copies that I have attached to this letter of mine and from what he has written to us. It has pleased God our helper to announce an ecumenical council, allowing no excuses [for absence], to enable an investigation of other church matters. For I do not think that doubts about words will require a difficult analysis or hinder a treatment of the divinity of Christ the Lord.

(pp. 117–18 above with n. 77); their authors will be the same he calls the 'dung of the city' of Alexandria (p. 106 above).

341 Nestorius presents the petitions against Cyril as the reason for convening the council, yet he can hardly have expected these to be its main agenda. In fact, the discussion of his Christological views in the letter suggests that Nestorius (also) expected deliberation of doctrine. The imperial instructions for the council (doc. 38), significantly, will prohibit transaction of disciplinary matters.

342 Cf. Luke 2:11.

(27) PETITION FROM BASIL THE DEACON AND OTHER MONKS

Note

The petition by Basil reports maltreatment at the hands of Nestorius. The events described could have happened at any time during the conflict, and the petition cannot be dated. Vague allusions to a desired council (see n. 352) are not specific enough to date the petition with any confidence after 19 November. Its late placing in the *Collectio Vaticana* (more than a hundred documents after even the first Ephesine session) already indicates the difficulty. The identity of the complainant is uncertain. He could be the same Basil who after the council, at the time of Proclus, played a role in attacking the heritage of Theodore of Mopsuestia; but the name is too common for this to be certain.[343]

Text[344]

(1) [7] To the most pious Christian emperors, who have been honoured and are honoured by God and men, Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, a petition or entreaty from Basil, deacon and archimandrite, and Thalassius, lector and monk, and other Christian monks.

The philanthropy of God, which has bestowed and bestows on the human race a share in benefits uncountable by men, is in all and over all. Among these gifts from God is true knowledge and the hatred of false knowledge, with the result that we know the faith handed down to the catholic church from of old and from the beginning by the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and holy bishops with the cooperation of most pious emperors, first by Peter the prince of the apostles, who said to those coming afterwards, according to revelation, knowledge, confession, and tradition, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God,'[345] by James apostle and archbishop, John apostle and evangelist, and the other evangelists, by martyrs, confessors, bishops, and all who have believed or believe in the consubstantial Trinity – Irenaeus, Gregory the Great,

343 On this Basil, see Schwartz (1914a) 26 with note 3; Schwartz is convinced of the identity of the person.

344 CV 143, ACO 1.1.5, 7–10.

345 Matt 16:16.

bishop of Neocaesarea; the holy council of 180 bishops that convened at Antioch against Paul of Samosata and which deposed him because of his impiety in not professing that Christ is by nature God and the Son of God the Father, and the great and holy council of 318 bishops at Nicaea which confirmed the decree of those at Antioch; by Basil and Gregory, brothers and bishops, Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, Ephrem the Syrian, Bishop Gregory, Bishop Ammon, Bishop Vitalius, Amphilochius, Paul, Antiochus, Eustathius, Methodius, Optimus, Leporius, Ambrose of Milan, and the whole council of Africa; and by Bishops John, Severianus, and Atticus, and Cyril the bishop of Alexandria, who is now living and follows the law of your piety. No one among men is able to count all the faithful who believed or believe in Christ the Son of God, that he is in reality true God. We will not deny the fact that he was [God] on the grounds that he became man on our behalf while remaining what he was, God, as your piety too has learnt, but we too believe, profess, and teach that God the Word before the ages, being the only-begotten Son of God, because of the great benevolence he had towards us, became complete man, as one of us in all things apart from sin, while remaining what he was, God, and being born for the salvation of our race from the holy Virgin Mary, in a manner that he himself knows.

(2) [8] Because of this true doctrine, which is preached with precision in the most holy church, and the just ousting of the heretic Paul, there occurred divisions among congregations, anarchy among priests, and turmoil among shepherds. And so now also, in the very presence of Nestorius, the one entrusted with the episcopal see (if it is right to call him a bishop), some of the most devout presbyters have repeatedly refuted him at assemblies; and on account of his lack of faith – his denial that the holy Virgin is Theotokos and that Christ is really and by nature true God – they have formally withdrawn from his communion and remain so even now, while others likewise keep away from his communion secretly. Others of the most devout presbyters, because of their preaching in the most holy church of Irene by the sea against this wrongly revived doctrine,[346] were prohibited from preaching. As a result, the laity, who longed to hear orthodoxy being taught as usual, exclaimed, 'We have an emperor, but we do not have a bishop.' Till now the afflictions of the laity have remained unavenged, after some of them were seized by the assistants

346 Nestorius' alleged psilanthropism was accused of reviving the heresy of Paul of Samosata, condemned at the Council of Antioch of 268. See doc. 1, pp. 93–7 above.

and assaulted in various ways in the guardhouse,[347] here in the capital city, something that is unprecedented even among barbarians. Some [of the presbyters] refuted [him] in his very presence in the most holy church before the congregation, and were subjected to severe maltreatment. One of the more simple of the monks felt compelled by his zeal to attempt in the middle of the church to prevent the preacher of lawlessness from entering for the synaxis, on the grounds that he is a heretic. But Nestorius had him beaten and handed over to the most magnificent prefects, and then, after he had been beaten again and paraded in public, with the public crier shouting in front of him, had him sent into exile – not only this, but in the most holy church itself, after his lawless sermon, those of the faction of this tyrant were about to commit murder, had not the help of God prevented it.

(3) As for ourselves, the story will perhaps seem incredible to many who hear it. At his bidding and command, we went to the episcopal palace in order to obtain confirmation whether we had rightly understood what we had heard him preach. But he forced a postponement on us a second and third time, and even then it was only reluctantly that he bade us say what it was we wanted. And when he heard from us that his statements were not orthodox – namely that 'Mary gave birth' (he said) 'only to a man of the same essence as herself' and 'What is born from the flesh is flesh'[348] – he immediately ordered us to be seized by the crowd of attendants. After being beaten, we were taken from there into the guardhouse, and there, stripped and bound as if we were liable to punishment, we were pilloried, racked,[349] and kicked. This is something that is not inflicted in secular courts, we do not say simply on clerics and archimandrites or monks, but even ordinary people in the world do not suffer what we in the church had to suffer, contrary to law and at the hands of the lawless one. Our maltreatment in the guardhouse, starvation, and imprisonment in the servants' quarters went on for a long time. Even this did not satisfy his frenzy, but we were then handed over on some pretence to the most magnificent prefect of this renowned city. We were put in irons and carted

347 It is clear from what follows that the 'guardhouse' (το δεκανικόν), housing the guards or attendants (οἱ δεκανοί), was an establishment under the bishop, and not under the prefect of the city.

348 John 3:6.

349 The Greek words refer to tying to a post (στῦλος) and then to a pallet or gridiron (κράββατος), probably for flogging.

off to prison; and afterwards we were taken to the office of the praetor[350] in the same manner, still in chains. But since no one brought an accusation against us, we were duly taken back to the guardhouse. And so again he summoned us into his presence, where he had us beaten again. He then conversed with us [9] and agreed in pretence (as was shown by the sequel) about the Son of God by nature that he was born from holy Mary the Theotokos, while asserting 'since another Son is involved',[351] after which he released us.

(4) We therefore entreat you, with your deathless and most pious faith, no longer to overlook the way in which the church of the orthodox is being debauched by heretics, even in the time of you orthodox and most pious emperors. It is not that we wish to be avenged in this way for our maltreatment (God knows), but that we wish the foundation of the Christian faith to remain unshaken. May your authority order a holy ecumenical council[352] for this reason to be held now, so that, with a council being held, Christ may unite the most holy church, assemble his people, and enable the priests by proclaiming the true faith to take preventative action before this wicked teaching circulates any more widely. We also appeal to you as petitioners, for he is attempting to intimidate people with threats, harassment, exile, and all manner of ill-treatment, and to give force to his frenzy and impiety by doing everything unsparingly, with no fear of God or shame before men, and with no respect for bishops or any priest, or the clerical office of any, or holy monks or devout laity, nor for the deterrence directed at wrongdoers, nor the law for those who perform a ministry for God in his anger against those who merit it; and all this he does in a display of contempt towards all, since he is confident in his wealth and the influence of certain depraved persons, or even, if we may speak boldly, your own authority. We therefore petition that he be prohibited from taking action against anyone, unless the orthodox faith be first restored, lest he

350 The *praetor plebis*; see Jones (1964) 692.

351 That Nestorius taught that there are two sons in Christ was a charge constantly brought by his enemies, but that Nestorius himself would have spoken in this way is incredible.

352 Literally, 'Your authority will order the holy ecumenical council to meet'. The peremptory 'will order' (future indicative) must be a mistake for the optative or at least imperative (as ACO notes). The definite article before 'ecumenical council' arises from the use of 'council' to refer to the college of bishops, as distinct from a particular meeting. For this reason, the remark does not allow a dating of the petition in firm relation to the official convocation of a council on 19 November 430. The petition, then, could have been written at any time during the conflict.

suppress it and by these actions of his impose his own doctrine instead. For he knows, as he imagines, that by terrorizing many people he will seduce them from the faith and then, finding them of one mind with himself, give them the audacity to make public attacks to the point of blows and to conduct a persecution. He has won over to his side not only (of course) his own clerics and officials, but also some from other dioceses, who have absolutely no right according to the ecclesiastical canons to be in another episcopal palace or a different church, but are under an obligation to stay in their own dioceses or cities where they were ordained and live there peaceably, to avoid the danger that, with the passing of time and through tyranny for a time, lawlessness vastly increase and be ascribed to your piety. It was for this that God appointed you to be servants of his glory, for he glorified and is glorifying you, and will give you a reward with all the saints who held fast to the ministries entrusted to them, to whom he said 'Well done, good and faithful servant, you were faithful over a little, I shal set you up over much: enter into the joy of your lord.'[353] Real Christians display their faith in these words by means of their works, but faithless and abandoned Christians, who live for their belly and make this the object of their persistence, if they hear someone professing that Christ is God, are goaded to fury, just as the Jews at that time stopped their ears when the holy Stephen the first martyr declared, 'I see the heavens opened and the Son of man standing at God's right hand.'[354] These men are goaded to fury against Christians in the same way and exert themselves to give full vent to their anger.

(5) We therefore entreat the most magnificent prefect of this city of New Rome in his foresight to prevent those who attack the orthodox, and with the pretext of self-justification [10] (as they claim) make attempts against whoever it may be, until such time as the faith is restored. But even if you disregard and ignore us, we testify to you before 'the King of the ages, the imperishable, invisible, sole and wise God',[355] who came and revealed himself for our salvation according to his will and will come again to judge the living and the dead, to whom 'every knee shall bow of those in heaven, on earth or under the earth and every tongue will confess him',[356] that we are innocent. For we have appealed to you for an ecumenical council able

353 Matt 25:21.
354 Acts 7:56.
355 1 Tim 1:17.
356 Phil 2:10–11.

with precision to strengthen and restore what is tottering and ruinous – and, by the grace and help of God that is at work in you, the gates of hell (which are the mouths of heretics) will not have power to harm her[357] – so that, after gaining this request, we may offer up to God in harmony, in a manner acceptable and orthodox, our customary prayers for general prosperity and for your reign. Amen.

9. PLANS FOR THE COUNCIL

Convocation

Introduction

When exactly and on whose initiative plans for a council became concrete is difficult to ascertain. The formal letter of convocation (doc. 28) was issued – surely after lengthy deliberation – on 19 November. Imagining a sequence of events in the run-up to it depends in significant part on the hypothetical reconstruction of the circulation of news about the Roman Synod. After receiving the Roman verdict from the hands of his deacon Posidonius returning to Alexandria, Cyril wrote to several eastern hierarchs to appraise them of the news; letters to Juvenal and John of Antioch are extant. John of Antioch passed the news on to Nestorius. At the same time, the rubric in the Latin collections for Celestine's report identifies not just John and Juvenal as recipients, but also Rufus of Thessalonica and Flavian of Philippi. His letters to John and Juvenal were part of the dispatch handed to Posidonius and, as a consequence, forwarded by Cyril from Alexandria. But it seems implausible that the letters to Macedonia should have taken the same route and not rather been sent there directly. Rumours may well have travelled on from Macedonia to Constantinople. When in the earliest phase of the conflict documents and news about Nestorius' teaching had found their way to Rome via uncertain channels, might not rumours about a Roman decision against Nestorius have travelled along similar channels in the opposite direction? When Nestorius around this time decided to write to Celestine again – after a worryingly long silence without a response from Rome – he gave no indication that he had any knowledge of recent events in Rome but

357 Cf. Matt 16:18, 'her' being the church.

appeared confident, at the same time, that a synod would put an end to Cyril's machinations. While all these considerations hardly enable us to narrow down sufficiently when news and rumours will first have reached Constantinople and Nestorius, concern about Roman involvement to the detriment of Nestorius provides a likely background for plans to forestall it by calling a synod. Tensions in Constantinople, and with Cyril, had been flaring up for a while; the entry into the dispute of the Roman see (or the fear it could soon happen) provided a sufficient motive and added urgency for decisive action. Halting an escalating crisis is virtually the only definite imperial interest that emerges clearly from Theodosius' letter of convocation. The *sacra* remains purposely vague on the specific issues at hand but is all the more insistent on the need for participation in the forthcoming council – no excuses are allowed for non-attendance – in order to stop a difficult situation from escalating even further and damaging both church and state. Damage control and limitation could be said to be Theodosius' main purpose, befitting a scenario of the kind just sketched.

Although the sources do not provide probative evidence, it is usually suggested, and with a high degree of probability, that Nestorius himself lobbied the emperor for a council. The *sacra*'s plans for a council certainly aim at protecting Nestorius by placing a moratorium on any decisions taken outside of and prior to the coming council. In effect this moratorium formally suspended both Celestine's verdict and the stipulations of the Alexandrian synod, which would soon be delivered to Nestorius, before they could come into effect. The *sacra* barely touches on doctrinal questions. Only in the later instructions intended to be read out at the council (doc. 38) does the question of doctrine emerge clearly as the council's central agenda. Instead the emperor focuses here on the ethical comportment of the clergy in society, on which front Cyril was arguably most vulnerable (in particular if we take Theodosius' personal letter to Cyril into account; doc. 29). Theodosius, furthermore, abstains completely from suggesting a desired outcome. What is stressed, however, is the expectation that matters be resolved in accordance with ecclesiastical good practice (little more can be meant by reference to canonical procedure). It must also be said that the *sacra* gives no indication that the council was meant to resolve a 'Nestorian controversy'. At no point is there a suggestion that the bishop of the capital or his teaching were viewed as the root of the current crisis or that his change of heart or removal constituted the council's main purpose.

The *sacra* stipulates Ephesus as the council's location. Much has been made of an alleged change of venue – on the proposal, supposedly, of Pulcheria – from the capital to the metropolis of Asia, purportedly the 'great Marian shrine in Asia Minor'[358] – ominous in that the (purported) Marian association undermined and even overturned Nestorius' designs. But none of this finds any support in the sources, and the practical reasons for this choice given in the *sacra* must be taken seriously.[359]

In addition to the formal letter of convocation there survives a personal letter to Cyril of Alexandria (doc. 29). It differs markedly in tone form the bureaucratic reserve of the former. Theodosius angrily scolds Cyril for his incitement of tumult and confusion, his effrontery and domineering behaviour. He is particularly incensed over the separate treatises that Cyril had sent to the women in the imperial household, insinuating (or provoking) rifts in the imperial family. Yet Theodosius is not prepared to offer Cyril the opportunity to style himself the victim of imperial persecution suffered in the fight for orthodoxy, and so offers 'sacred calm' while adding that he is capable of indignation. In contrast to the letter of convocation, orthodoxy is clearly identified as a central concern for the upcoming council, which will have to conduct an examination characterized by free speech and mutual consultation – in evident contrast to the behaviour so far displayed by Cyril.[360]

Two short separate letters to Acacius of Beroea (doc. 30), the celebrated Nestor of the eastern episcopate, and to Symeon Stylites (doc. 31), perhaps the most famous 'holy man' of the time,[361] show that Theodosius also tried to bolster his plans for a council by calling on the spiritual authority of revered figures in the church.

358 McGuckin (1994) 40; his phrase is representative of a wide range of traditional assertions about this change of venue, the role of Pulcheria, and, perhaps most importantly, the Marian piety and devotion characterizing, it is claimed, Ephesus. Neither literary sources nor the archaeology of the city support this claim. See p. 44 above.

359 Similar reservations and scepticism towards the traditional narrative are also voiced in Bevan (2016) 138–40.

360 For more detail on the two *sacrae*, see Graumann (2013) 111–18.

361 See Jean Gribomont, 'Simeon Stylites the Elder', *EAC* III, 587; P. Hatlie, 'Symeon the Stylite the Elder', *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Wiley Blackwell 2012, 6471–2.

(28) IMPERIAL LETTER OF CONVOCATION[362]

[114] Divine letter sent to Archbishop Cyril in Alexandria and to the bishops of the metropolitan cities in its territory.[363]

The Emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, most great and ever-venerable Augusti, to Bishop Cyril.

(1) The condition of our state depends on piety towards God, [115] and great is the natural affinity and close relationship between them. For the two are interconnected, and each will advance through the progress of the other, with the result both that true religion will advance together with just action and that the state, strengthened by these two, will flourish. Since we were appointed by God to reign and are a bond for the piety and well-bein of our subjects, we always keep this close relationship unbroken whil mediating between providence and mankind, we serve the former wit an eye to the advance of the state; by taking care[364] of our subjects in al things (so to speak) we ensure that they are pious and conduct themselves as is proper for those who are pious. While duly attending to both, since it is not possible to pursue the one without likewise taking thought for the other, we give priority before all else to ensuring that the state of the church continues to be God-befitting and beneficial for our times, and preserves freedom from disturbance through the unanimity of all and freedom from faction through peace in church affairs, and that pious religion incurs no blame, with those enrolled in the clergy and major priesthood[365] being free from all censure of their mode of life.

(2) Recognizing that this is secured through love of God and a will of mutual affection among the pious, we have often already, because of events

362 CV 25, ACO I.1.1, 114–16; Latin versions in CVer 12, ACO I.2, 31–2 and CC 22, ACO I.3, 49–50.

363 The letter of convocation was sent to all the eastern metropolitans (as is stated at §3). The copy given in the Acts is that produced and read out at the session of 22 June (p. 226) by an Alexandrian notary, which is why it is the one sent to Alexandria. The mention of the bishops of the metropolitan cities of Egypt in this (doubtless editorial) heading, even though the text that follows is addressed solely to Cyril, suggests that it was left to Cyril to circulate this letter among them. For all the bishops of Egypt were under the authority of the bishop of Alexandria (as Canon 6 of Nicaea had laid down) and so were treated by the emperors as his suffragans.

364 The Greek is simply γινόμενοι, which is manifestly defective (though Schwartz offers no comment), and we follow the Latin versions, one of which has *utilitates subiectorum sequentes* (ACO I.2, 31,37–8) and the other *subiectorum curam habentes* (I.3, 49,29).

365 'Major priesthood' means episcopacy.

at the time, judged necessary a God-beloved council of most holy bishops from everywhere, but were reluctant, nevertheless, to impose a burden on their religiousness. However, an examination of the present straits of the church and the related needs of the state have made a council needful and indispensable. Consequently, lest neglect of the proposed examination of such profitable matters should cause a turn for the worse, which is alien to the piety of our times, your religiousness will take thought to make your way to Ephesus in Asia after the coming holy Easter,[366] God willing, on the very day of holy Pentecost.[367] You are to ensure the attendance at the same place of a few most holy bishops of your choice from the province under your authority in such a way that there shall be no shortage either of bishops sufficient for the most holy churches in the same province or of those needed at the council.[368]

(3) Our divinity has written this same letter about the aforesaid most holy council to the God-beloved bishops of the metropolitan sees everywhere.[369] Our intention is that the turmoil arising from controversy may thereby be brought to an end in accordance with the ecclesiastical canons, that improper developments may be corrected, and that both devotion to God and benefit to public affairs may be secured. Before the most holy council and the decree that it is going to issue by common vote, no fresh step, obviously, is to be taken individually by anyone. We are confident that each of the most God-beloved priests, recognizing that the most holy council is being expedited by this our decree for the sake of the affairs of both the church and the world, will assemble with zeal and contribute all they can to matters that are so urgent and will secure the goodwill of God. [116] And we, in our great attention to this, will show no toleration whatsoever

366 19 April 431.

367 7 June 431.

368 The vagueness in determining the range of participation deserves to be noted. The eastern bishops would later point out their disapproval of the large numbers attending from the Asiana and from Egypt, when their metropolitans had only brought a couple of bishops each doc. 67, p. 365 (3). The metropolitans from Syria-Mesopotamia were indeed more restrained in bringing suffragans with them, even if about half of them brought three or four; see Price (2012b) 397–404. In the invitation for the Second Council of Ephesus in 449 (cited Council of Chalcedon, Session I.24; ACO II.1.1, 68f.; Price and Gaddis I, 132–4), Theodosius was to be much more specific about numbers, doubtless aiming to avoid just such imbalances; see Graumann (2013) 114–15. But if the same number had come from each province, whatever its size, this would also have created an imbalance.

369 The names of the metropolitans invited is probably preserved in the *sacra* sent to the council in August 431 (see doc. 87).

to anyone who absents himself: whoever does not immediately and with zeal present himself at the appointed time and at the specified place will have no excuse either before God or before ourselves, since anyone who is summoned to a priestly council and does not eagerly attend gives proof of a bad conscience.

May God preserve you for many years, most sacred and most devout father.

Issued at Constantinople thirteen days before the Kalends of December in the consulship of our masters and eternal Augusti Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Valentinian for the third time.[370]

(29) LETTER OF THEODOSIUS II TO CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA[371]

[73] The Emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, most great and ever-venerable Augusti, to Bishop Cyril.

(1) Religion is of the greatest concern to us, for it wins offenders forgiveness. But a need for forgiveness is not respectable for those who ought rather to earn our praise and receive particular honour for venerable piety. Priests ought to win admiration through excellence of conduct and precision over the faith, to display a consistent integrity of life, and to recognize that the nature of every reality and in particular the doctrines of piety are discovered by investigation rather than wilfulness.

(2) For from of old these have been defined for us not by the threats of someone domineering or seeking to domineer but by the deliberation of the holy fathers and the sacred council,[372] and it is clear to everyone that piety attains sureness not through imperiousness but consent. May therefore your religiousness now inform us why, out of contempt for us, of whose constant concern for piety you are well aware, and contempt also for the priests everywhere, to whom, gathered together, it should have fallen to settle the dispute, you have thrust, as far as in you lay, turmoil and division on

370 19 November 430.

371 CV 8, ACO I.1.1, 73–4; Latin version in CC 20, ACO I.3, 47–8. The letter was part of the same dispatch, and probably of the same date, as the letter of invitation to the upcoming council, as is suggested by the concluding paragraph. For an interpretation of Theodosius' correspondence before the council, see Graumann (2013).

372 The language is deliberately vague and general, but the Council of Nicaea is probably in Theodosius' mind.

the churches, as if an impudent assault fits teaching about piety more than precision, diligence has less influence with us than effrontery, and sincerity is less pleasing to us than sophistry. Moreover, we did not think that the great honour we have paid you would be received by your religiousness in this way, nor that everything would be thrown into confusion as if we were incapable of indignation; but our concern now will be for sacred calm.

(3) But be aware that you have stirred up everything quite improperly, and indeed it is not at all surprising if one who has gone over the bounds does not limit his attack to the churches and his fellow priests, but even presumes to treat ourselves in a manner unworthy of our piety. For what sense was there in writing one letter to us and the most pious Augusta Eudocia my spouse and a different letter to my sister the most pious Augusta Pulcheria?[373] Or did you think that we were in disagreement or hope that we would be in disagreement as a result of your religiousness' letters? For if this were actually the case, for someone at such a distance to ascertain the fact out of misplaced inquisitiveness [74] would be utterly reprehensible, while if it is not the case, to wish to make it happen would suit anybody rather than a priest. It is a single impulse and the identical intention to wish to sunder the members of both the churches and the imperial family, as if this were the one way to gain credit!

(4) So that you may know our situation, know that the churches and the empire are united and shall be united still more through our bidding, with the help of the providence of God our Saviour, and that forgiveness has been conceded to your religiousness in order to deprive you of the excuse or the claim that you were censured because of teaching in defence of piety. For it is our will that this matter be investigated at the sacred council and that what they [the council] think right is to prevail, whether the defeated party be pardoned by the fathers or not. We shall not allow the cities and the churches to be convulsed nor omit from our examination the doctrine about which the presiding priests everywhere must sit in judgement, and

373 In the autumn Cyril had written separate treatises addressed, in one instance, to the Augustae Eudocia and Pulcheria, the emperor's wife and older sister (*Oratio ad Pulceriam et Eudocian augustas de fide*, CPG 5220), and in the other to Theodosius' other sisters Arcadia and Marina (*Oratio ad Arcadiam et Marinam augustas de fide*, CPG 5219). A further separate treatise had been addressed to Theodosius personally (*Oratio ad Theodosium de recta fide*, CPG 5218). Identifying which of the imperial women were the addressees of which treatises (a problem which the secondary and modern titles in CPG just cited do not reflect) has been the subject of much scholarly dispute; see Holum (1982) 160; Bevan (2016) 135–7; Graumann (2002) 323–6 for various proposals.

through which we both are and shall be more fully in possession of true doctrine. At all events, no one whose way of life earns him even to a modest degree freedom of speech and trustworthiness in relation to piety will choose to evade this judgement, since this will not be permitted even to one who desires to, while our divinity must commend those who attend such an investigation with eager confidence, but does not tolerate anyone who on matters of this kind wishes to dictate rather than to consult and be consulted.

(5) Consequently, it is the duty of your devoutness to come at the time indicated in the other letter, the one sent to all the bishops of metropolitan sees. You may hope to recover our favour only if you cease from everything harmful and disruptive, and come to the inquiry into the matters under scrutiny with a good will. For in this way you will appear neither overwhelmed by your setback nor improperly hostile to anyone, and to have acted hitherto stubbornly and irrationally but nevertheless in defence of belief and to have the proper intentions about what is to ensue. For if your intentions are otherwise, we shall not tolerate it.

(30) IMPERIAL *SACRA* SENT TO ACACIUS OF BEROEA AND SYMEON STYLITES[374]

[112] Copy of the *sacra* written to Acacius of Beroea and Symeon the anchorite of Antioch and to other provinces, to each [person] individually.[375]

We have neglected absolutely nothing of what needs attention for the sake of our religion. In relation to this your sacredness will have received precise information from the most devout bishop of Antioch and the other holy bishops with him. The matter has caused a certain amount of controversy and discontent; our attempts to allay this have hitherto been hampered by the quantity of other business, but we shall not cease from this endeavour until God in his goodness grants to us the unity of the holy churches in answer to your prayers. It is therefore the duty of your holiness

374 CV 23, ACO I.1.1, 112.

375 The reference to other provinces is confusing. This letter is specifically addressed to Acacius of Beroea and Symeon Stylites, two of the most revered figures in the church of the time, neither of whom would personally attend the council – Acacius because of his great age and Symeon because he was not a bishop (as observed by Schwartz, ACO I.1.4, xii). What they would learn from the bishop of Antioch was the convocation of the council.

to be zealous in asking this of God, thereby proving that the priests of the Roman religion deserve a good reputation.

Preparations

Note

After the imperial letter of convocation of 19 November 430 that stipulated 7 June 431 as the date for the council, several pieces of correspondence show the bishops' preparations for the council and their journeys from various parts of the empire during May and June 431. The letters grouped together here come from three different collections, each offering a glimpse of the activities of different individuals and groups.

The Roman delegates left Rome on or just after 8 May, carrying instructions and correspondence. A first group of letters (docs 31–33), from the *Collectio Veronensis*, preserves Celestine's instructions for his delegates and the letters they were given for addressees in the East. Two letters, to Cyril of Alexandria and to the emperor, survive, but similar exhortations to other bishops, though not extant, may be presumed. The dates of these documents (7–8 May 431) reveal their preparation over the course of two days; they were not, however, sent separately but handed to the legates and taken by them to the East.

The first of two letters (docs 34–35) (from the *Collectio Vaticana*) written by Cyril to his congregation in Alexandria on his way to Ephesus and after his arrival in the city, reports benign sailing conditions and swift progress; the second shows him in confident spirits on his arrival at Ephesus.

Arguably the most important, a letter by John of Antioch gives the reasons for his and his group's delay. They had suffered great adversity on the arduous journey over land but were finally close enough to Ephesus to announce their imminent arrival within a few days. Cyril's decision to nevertheless go ahead and summon the bishops already present in Ephesus to a formal opening of the council is the subject of a letter of protest (preserved in the *Collectio Casinensis*) written on the eve of the meeting.

We conclude this section with the imperial instructions for the council, intended to be read out at its opening.

(31) LETTER OF CELESTINE TO CYRIL[376]

[26] Celestine to Cyril bishop of Alexandria.

I realize that a statement by the most wise Solomon has been fulfilled, for it is when 'thirsting for cool water' that I have received 'from a far country a repeated message'[377] through the letter of your love, which binds us together through a sharing of advice. It is not hard to hope for the peace of the churches and of the catholic faith, when we witness in this way most Christian princes labouring on its behalf; there is no lack of effectiveness, especially in divine causes, in royal solicitude, which involves God, since he faithfully controls the hearts of rulers. We therefore send a brief reply to your holiness. For you ask whether the holy council ought to receive a man who condemns what he himself has preached, or whether, because the period of respite has now passed, the sentence already passed must hold. Let each of us address the same question on this matter to our common Lord. Will he not reply to us at once through the prophet that he does not wish the death of one dying,[378] and through the apostle Paul that he 'wishes every man to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth'?[379] God is never displeased by a sudden reformation in anyone. May this be the work of your holiness, or perhaps it has been reserved by God for the venerable council of brothers, that the turmoil that has arisen within the church be stilled, and that we learn that through the help of God the matter has been concluded by the amendment we desire. We would not say that we are absent from the assembly; for we cannot be absent from those, wherever located, who are yet joined to us by a common faith. I do not want to be thought to have that body whose 'presence' is described by the apostle as 'weak':[380] we who ponder what is being done there on behalf of all are also there; we do in spirit what we do not do in body. I am zealous for universal peace, and I am zealous for the salvation of one who is perishing, if indeed he is ready to acknowledge his sickness. Our reason for saying this is lest we appear to fail one who perhaps wishes to reform. If, however, while we look for grapes he has grown thorns,[381] let the earlier decree stand and let him be

376 Celestine, *ep.* 16, CVer 10, ACO I.2, 26–7.

377 Prov 25:25, which has 'good' rather than 'repeated'.

378 Cf. Ezek 18:32.

379 1 Tim 2:4.

380 2 Cor 10:10, 'They say [of Paul], "His letters are weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is weak"'.

381 Cf. Isa 5:2.

stuffed [27] with the fruit of his own judgement; let him harvest what he sowed in the furrow of the devil. For if he is about to perish not by our resolution but through his own agency, this proves that we do not have 'feet swift to shed blood',[382] since he knows that a remedy has been offered him. As for those whom your brotherliness says are under suspicion regarding the catholic faith, if they have sent written statements, it is necessary for us to reply to them in accordance with the facts; in this matter no one should act prematurely, since the case is to be handled with extreme caution.

Issued nine days before the Ides of May in the consulship of the most glorious men Flavius Bassus and Flavius Antiochus.[383]

(32) LETTER OF CELESTINE TO THEODOSIUS II[384]

[25] Celestine to the Augustus Theodosius the Younger.

May the concern showed by your clemency suffice for the defence of the catholic faith, which out of love for Christ our God, who directs your reign, you hasten to support in every way. By condemning the error of perverse doctrines you keep the faith pure and immaculate; in this you place the protection of your reign, knowing that your rule, when protected by the observance of holy religion, will endure more firmly. But in virtue of episcopal office, each of us as far as he is able devotes his labour to the glory of this heavenly responsibility, and we are present at the council you have ordered in those whom we send, while we entreat your piety, as we appeal to the divine judgement, that your mildness should not give any scope to unruly novelty, and that no opportunity should be given to those who endeavour to restrict the authority of divine majesty within the limits of human debate – which would upset the peace of the church. The cause of the faith ought to be more important to you than that of your rule, and your clemency ought to be more concerned about the peace of the churches than about the security of all your territories. For success in everything else will follow if priority is given to preserving the things of God, as being still more dear.[385] Abraham flourished through faith and

382 Ps 13:3.

383 7 May 431.

384 Celestine, *ep.* 19, CVer 9, ACO I.2, 25–6.

385 Cf. Matt 6:33, 'Seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things will be added to you'.

filled the whole world with the fame of his success; Moses, the liberator of his people, armed himself with zeal for the Lord against those who had departed from the true worship of God; and the Lord protected King David by subjecting his enemies to him, because in his reign he upheld the Lord's commandments. [26] Fortified by these examples, uphold by faith, vigilance, and power the universal church's most pious worship of our God, lest dissension arrogate anything to itself. For your rule is assisted by every labour undergone on behalf of the peace of the church and the respect due to holy religion.

All these concerns, most glorious and most serene emperor and Augustus, which we know are lodged in your heart (for I am certain that God is present there), we are communicating to your august ears through my brothers and fellow bishops Arcadius and Projectus and my fellow presbyter Philip, whom we have sent, while we humbly entreat from you piety what we believe you keep in your prayers, namely, that what you as of God you may exhibit for the sake of the faith itself.

Issued eight days before the Ides of May in the consulship of the most fortunate and most glorious men Flavius Bassus and Flavius Antiochus.[386]

(33) MEMORANDUM OF POPE CELESTINE TO HIS LEGATES[387]

[25] Celestine, a memorandum to bishops Arcadius and Projectus and our presbyter Philip, sent to the East in this same cause.[388]

When through the agency of our God, as we trust and hope, your charity reaches your destination, consult over everything with our brother and fellow bishop Cyril, and do whatever he judges to be right. We charge you to uphold the authority of the apostolic see. Since the instructions that have been given to you tell you that you ought to take part in the assembly, if it comes to a debate, you are to pass judgement on their statements but not to descend to controversy. But if you find that the council has taken place and all the bishops have gone home, you are to inquire how matters

386 8 May 431.

387 Celestine, *ep.* 17, CVer 8, ACO I.2, 25.

388 The preceding document in the *Collectio Veronensis*, to which this remark alludes, is Celestine's letter to the council read out in the session of 10 July (where the text is given; see doc. 68, pp. 370–73 below).

were concluded. If the proceedings have upheld the ancient catholic faith and you learn that my holy brother Cyril has gone to Constantinople, it will be necessary for you to go there, in order to present our letters to the emperor. But if matters have gone differently and there is dissension, you are to decide on the basis of the situation what you ought to do, not without the advice of our above-mentioned brother.

Issued eight days before the Ides of May in the consulship of the most glorious Flavius Bassus and Flavius Antiochus.[389]

(34) FIRST LETTER OF CYRIL TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF ALEXANDRIA[390]

[116] Cyril sends greetings in the Lord to the beloved and most dear presbyters, deacons, and laity of Alexandria.

By the grace and benevolence of Christ the Saviour of us all, we have crossed the great and wide sea with soft and most gentle winds, with the result that, having completed the voyage without any fear or danger, we have arrived at Rhodes giving glory to God and saying in the words of the psalmist, 'You have mastery over the power of the sea, and you tame the surge of its waves.'[391] Since, being absent in body but present in spirit, we have to embrace you as our children by letter, I thought I should send you this news in the meantime and communicate it to you. For I believe that God will grant the rest as well, because all of you have entreated him with your prayers. Offer, therefore, especially at the present time, your prayers on our behalf as the fruit of love; for I myself do not cease to do this, so that the Lord of hosts, who 'suppresses all wars',[392] may again, by ordaining

389 8 May 431.

390 Cyril, *ep.* 20, CV 26, ACO I.1.1, 116.

391 Ps 88:10. Contrast the letter from Cyril to 'the bishops Comarius and Potamon and Apa Victor father of the monks' (all at Constantinople) in the Coptic Acts of Ephesus (ed. Bouriant, 12–16). This gives a very different account of the voyage from Alexandria to Ephesus: adverse winds drove Cyril to Lycia, but he finally reached Ephesus on the day before Pentecost (6 June). In his *Apology to Theodosius* (CV 118), Cyril does indeed talk of his voyage to Ephesus having been stormy and that he remained cheerful because he was soon to see the emperor, but this reads like a fiction to win Theodosius' sympathy (so Schwartz (1928) 16–17); that this passage was the source for this Coptic narrative is suggested by Schwartz (26–7). That Cyril arrived only just before Pentecost is confirmed by Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 34.3.

392 Jdt 16:2.

what is to come and calming all turmoil, restore us rejoicing to you, while you rejoice as our children. For all things are possible for him, according to scripture, and nothing at all impossible.[393] Maintain your proper and habitual modesty. For this in particular will win you esteem, for both when your spiritual father is absent and when he is present you value a noble and admirable life.

Greet each other with a holy kiss. The brothers with me send you greetings. I pray that you be in good health in the Lord, beloved and most dear [brothers].

(35) SECOND LETTER OF CYRIL TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF ALEXANDRIA[394]

[117] Cyril sends greetings in the Lord to the beloved and most dea presbyters, deacons, and laity of Alexandria.

When I was longing to address your modesty again, time and place were granted to me for writing. For we are now at Ephesus, still in good health through the prayers of you all and near now to the time for the council. We are confident that Christ the Saviour of all will cleanse his churches from perverse notions and make the orthodox faith most plain to all, so that all men everywhere, pure and irreproachable, and keeping the faith uncorrupted, 'may raise holy hands in prayer',[395] while repeating the words of the blessed David: 'May my prayer be directed as incense in your sight; may the raising of my hands be an evening sacrifice.'[396]

The evil one, the sleepless beast, goes about plotting against the glory of Christ, but he is strong in nothing at all, since his perversity is ineffectual and his wickedness unavailing. For he is plotting not against an ordinary man or one simply like ourselves, as these new dogmatists suppose, but against God in his omnipotence. So let him hear from everyone who loves Christ, 'It is hard for you to kick against the pricks.'[397] For it is himself whom the wretch is chastising, and he will fall into destruction along with his children; for those who pervert the orthodox doctrines of the holy

393 Cf. Luke 1:37.
394 Cyril, *ep.* 21, CV 27, ACO I.1.1, 117.
395 1 Tim 2:8.
396 Ps 140:2.
397 Acts 9:5.

churches will share his lot, and will not escape the judgement of God. Pray, therefore, for us, that God the Saviour of all may grant that we, rejoicing, are restored to you rejoicing, for all things are possible for him and nothing at all impossible.[398]

Greet each other with a holy kiss. The brothers with me send you greetings. I pray that you be in good health in the Lord, beloved and most dear [brothers].

(36) LETTER OF JOHN OF ANTIOCH TO CYRIL

Note

With a great number of bishops already assembled in Ephesus, the travelling party from the imperial diocese of Oriens led by John of Antioch was significantly delayed. The following letter by Bishop John to Cyril sketches the difficulties of the journey and announces the group's imminent arrival. The remaining distance should have taken about three days. The bishops eventually arrived on 26 June, four days after the first session. The letter must have reached Cyril no later than 21 June, when he resolved to convene the bishops the following morning and invitations were sent out. Cyril took John's letter – and, as he claims, the oral assurances from the two bishops sent ahead to deliver it[399] – as *carte blanche* for proceeding with a session against Nestorius. In the weeks and months following the session he consistently upheld this interpretation, just as firmly as John denied that his note had ever been intended to signal his unwillingness to attend the proceedings against Nestorius. In contrast, from the moment of their arrival and throughout the period here in view, the eastern bishops denounced the convening of a session before their arrival as illegal and uncanonical.

Text[400]

[119] To my lord the most God-beloved and most holy fellow minister Cyril, John sends greetings in the Lord.

398 Cf. Luke 1:37.

399 See the council's report to Celestine, CV 82, ACO I.1.3, 6 (doc. 76, pp. 405–10).

400 Cyril, *ep.* 22, CV 30, ACO I.1.1, 119; Latin version in CC 21, ACO I.3, 49.

It is a matter of deep distress to me that I have been late for these few days, when your sacredness has already arrived at Ephesus. For, indeed, a longing to see your holiness, even more than necessity, presses me to exert myself to complete the journey. At least, thanks to the prayers of your sacredness, I am now at the very gates, having undergone much trouble on the road. For I have been travelling for 30 days (such is the length of the road), without making any concessions to myself, although several of my lords the most God-beloved bishops became ill on the way, and many of our animals collapsed from the strenuousness of the journey. Pray, therefore, master, that we may make this journey of five or six staging posts without misadventure, so as to hasten to embrace your head, which is holy and sacred in our eyes.

My lords the most God-beloved bishops John, Paul, and Macarius,[401] and those with them, salute your sacredness.[402] I and those with me send many greetings to all the brotherhood with you. May you continue in good health, supported by our prayers, most God-beloved and most sacred master.

(37) PROTEST AT THE EARLY MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

Note

On Sunday 21 June, Cyril, Juvenal, and – we may surmise – the local bishop Memnon sent groups of clergymen to the other bishops sojourning in Ephesus with invitations for a first formal session of the council, planned for the following morning. A letter signed by 68 bishops, many of them metropolitans, protests against this initiative and admonishes Cyril and Juvenal, the driving forces behind it, of the need to await the arrival of the bishops travelling with John of Antioch. The bishops also voice concern over any uncanonical admittance to the assembly of bishops subject to ecclesiastical penalties.

401 Bishops Paul of Emesa and Macarius of Laodicea.

402 The secretary is speaking, referring to John in the third person. The following sentence was presumably written by John in his own hand.

Text[403]

[27] Protest sent to the blessed Cyril and those who had assembled with him from other bishops of various provinces, who wanted to wait for John of Antioch and for the council to be held then in his presence, because, as he had written to the blessed Cyril, the journey he had still to make would take scarcely three days. It was sent on the day before the proceedings against Nestorius took place which effected his deposition.

To our lords, brothers, and fellow ministers Bishops Cyril and Juvenal, greetings in the Lord from Tranquillinus, Alexander, Helladius, and all the rest of the bishops with them.

Well-known is the faith of orthodox profession which we were taught from of old by the divine and venerable scriptures; and indeed this very faith was handed down to us by the holy fathers who assembled at the council at Nicaea, among whom there were as many cases of suffering for piety as there were council members. Because in view of certain controversies the most pious and Christ-loving emperor summoned by letter orthodox priests from everywhere to come to Ephesus, displaying his zeal for the faith on this occasion also, we have almost all assembled by God's grace, but absent from the holy council is the most religious John bishop of Antioch, who, himself too, is already at the gates, according to information he recently provided in a letter and which has been communicated by the *praefectiani* and *magistriani*[404] he sent on ahead; also absent are some western bishops who are to attend the council.[405] Yet [28] your reverences have sent instructions to the effect that it is intolerable to wait till his arrival, and insisting that a hearing be held on the matters laid down by the most pious emperor even before the arrival of the aforesaid most God-beloved bishops. For this reason we have sent this letter to your reverences, urging you to wait for the arrival of the most God-beloved fellow ministers and that you should in no way accept those who have been deposed or those who have been excommunicated by their bishops either formerly or recently. It is patently clear what the canons lay down in these cases, and they have

403 Extant only in the Latin version in CC 82, ACO I.4, 27–30.

404 For *magistriani*, see Jones (1964) 578; their roles as couriers were often equivalent to those of *agentes in rebus* (ibid., 103–4); see further W. Enßlin, 'Praefectianus', *RE* XXII.1 (1953) 1224–6.

405 The papal legates arrived on 10 July.

imposed no slight penalties on those who infringe them; these can in no way be ignored by the most holy council. And this your reverences should take cognizance of, since everything that is hastily committed precipitately by the reckless will be requited against their reckless presumption by both Christ the Lord and the divine canons.

(1)[406] Tranquillinus bishop of Antioch in Pisidia: I hereby sign.
(2) Alexander bishop of Apamea in Syria:[407] I hereby sign.
(3) Helladius bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia: I hereby sign.
(4) Verinianus bishop of Perge in Pamphylia: I hereby sign.
(5) Phritilas bishop of Heraclea in Europa, through Euprepius bishop of Bizye: I hereby sign.
(6) Himerius bishop of Nicomedia in Bithynia: I hereby sign.
(7) Dalmatius bishop of Cyzicus [in Hellespontus]: I hereby sign.
(8) Severus bishop of Synnada in Phrygia Salutaris: I hereby sign.
(9) Maeonius bishop of Sardis in Lydia: I hereby sign.
(10) Maximin bishop of Anazarbus in Cilicia Secunda: I hereby sign.
(11) Dexianus bishop of Seleucia in Isauria: I hereby sign.
(12) Dorotheus bishop of Marcianopolis in Moesia Secunda: I hereby sign.
(13) Alexander bishop of Hierapolis in Euphratesia: I hereby sign.
(14) Pius bishop of Pessinus in Galatia: I hereby sign.
(15) Timothy bishop of Scythia: I hereby sign.
(16) Eutherius bishop of Tyana in Cappadocia Secunda: I hereby sign.
(17) Asterius bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia: I hereby sign.
(18) Peter bishop of Traianopolis in Rhodope: I hereby sign.
(19) Basil bishop of Larissa in Thessaly: I hereby sign.
(20) Diogenes bishop of Ionopolis, also representing his metropolitan, Bosporius bishop of Gangra in Paphlagonia: I hereby sign.
(21) Julian bishop of Sardica in Dacia: I hereby sign.
(22) Venantius bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia:[408] I hereby sign.
(23) James bishop of Durostolus in Moesia: I hereby sign.

406 The numbers are in the manuscripts. The first 22 names are those of metropolitan bishops, outnumbering the sixteen metropolitans who attended the session of 22 June.

407 Note the presence at Ephesus of the metropolitan of Syria II (and of two of his suffragans, signatories 65–6), as likewise bishops from Euphratensis (signatories 13, 67–8), before the arrival of John of Antioch's party.

408 In the absence of the bishop of Laodicea (the provincial capital), Venantius could claim to represent his province, as bishop of Hierapolis (which enjoyed metropolitan status).

(24) Athanasius bishop of Deultum in Moesia Secunda:[409] I hereby sign.
(25) Theophanius bishop of Philadelphia in Lydia: I hereby sign.
(26) Paul bishop of Daldis in Lydia: I hereby sign.
(27) Euprepius bishop of Bizye in Europa: I hereby sign.
(28) John bishop of the whole of Lesbos: I hereby sign.
(29) [29] Fuscus bishop of Thyatira in Lydia: I hereby sign.
(30) Commodus bishop of Tripolis: I hereby sign.
(31) Eutherius bishop of Stratonicea in Lydia: I hereby sign.
(32) John bishop of the city of Aureliopolis in Lydia: I hereby sign.
(33) Limenius bishop of the city of Saittae in Lydia: I hereby sign.
(34) Theosebius bishop of Cius in Bithynia: I hereby sign.
(35) Peter bishop of Prusa in Bithynia: I hereby sign.
(36) Eugenius bishop of Apollonia in Bithynia: I hereby sign.
(37) Anastasius bishop of Tenedos in the Cyclades: I hereby sign.
(38) Cyril bishop of Adana in Cilicia Prima: I hereby sign.
(39) Hesychius bishop of Castabala in Cilicia Secunda: I hereby sign.
(40) Severus bishop of Sozopolis in Pisidia: I hereby sign.
(41) Aetius bishop of Pionia in Hellespontus: I hereby sign.
(42) Timothy bishop of the city of Germe in Hellespontus: I hereby sign.
(43) Athanasius bishop of the city of Scepsis: I hereby sign.
(44) Daniel bishop of Faustinopolis: I hereby sign.
(45) Philtatius bishop of Theodosiopolis:[410] I hereby sign.
(46) Eustathius bishop of Parnassus: I hereby sign.
(47) Theodore bishop of Attaleia: I hereby sign.
(48) Paul bishop of Erymna: I hereby sign.
(49) Timothy bishop of Termessus and Eudocias: I hereby sign.
(50) Aedesius bishop of Isinda: I hereby sign.
(51) Gerontius bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria: I hereby sign.
(52) Aurelius bishop of Irenopolis in Isauria: I hereby sign.
(53) Ablabius[411] bishop of Amorium: I hereby sign.

409 This list is exceptional in stating (in most cases) the province to which each city belonged, but here an error is made, since Deultum was not in Moesia II but in Haemimontus. This suggests that the specification of the province was an editorial addition, doubtless to bring out the full geographical range of the opposition to Cyril's council.

410 From its position in this list and in CC 88, between two bishops of Cappadocia II, we would expect this to be in the same province, but no city of this name is otherwise attested in this province. ACO IV.3.3, 299–300 identifies it with Theodosiopolis (Rhesina) in Osrhoene.

411 The name is wrongly given as Abraamius in the Latin MSS.

(54) Polychronius bishop of Heraclea in Caria: I hereby sign.
(55) Zosys bishop of Esbus in Arabia: I hereby sign.
(56) Hermolaus bishop of Attuda: I hereby sign.
(57) Asclepiades bishop of Trapezopolis: I hereby sign.
(58) Evagrius bishop of Valentia: I hereby sign.
(59) Libanius bishop of Palaeopolis: I hereby sign.
(60) Sallustius bishop of Corycus in Cilicia: I hereby sign.
(61) Valentinus bishop of Mallus: I hereby sign.
(62) Pausianus bishop of Hypata in Thessaly: I hereby sign.
(63) Theoctistus bishop of Caesarea in Thessaly: I hereby sign.
(64) Maximus bishop of Demetrias in Thessaly: I hereby sign.
(65) Julian bishop of Larissa in Syria Secunda: I hereby sign.
(66) [30] Diogenes bishop of Seleucobelus in Syria Secunda: I hereby sign.
(67) Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus in Augustoeuphratesia: I hereby sign.
(68) Meletius bishop of Caesarea[412] in Augustoeuphratesia: I hereby sign.

The Imperial Instructions for the Council

(38) THEODOSIUS II TO THE COUNCIL

Note

In the *Collectio Vaticana* the following imperial letter immediately precedes the protocol of the first formal meeting of the council held on 22 June.[413] When the letter was drafted can be determined only approximately. It must have been handed to Candidianus on the occasion of his departure from Constantinople to Ephesus, no later than the beginning of June. Historically its composition therefore belongs most probably to late May or the very beginning of June 431; its intended recitation at the opening of the council,[414] however, determines as the date when it was meant to become

412 The city more generally called Neocaesarea.

413 In the *Collectio Vaticana* the imperial *sacra* is followed by the annotation, 'After this preceding divine letter had been read at Ephesus, what harmonized with this proposal was put into effect by the holy fathers and bishops, and is given' (CV 32, ACO I.1.1, 121,17–19), and the Acts of the session of 22 June follow immediately.

414 For the circumstances of the document's eventual reading to the assembled bishops, see p. 218 below.

public the day on which the first session was to take place. We retain its placement as the last document before the records of the session of 22 June (against the chronology) in accordance with the arrangement of the Vatican Collection and because of the original intention of its public reading at that meeting, which Candidianus carried out, however reluctantly.

In the letter, Theodosius outlines the powers of his envoy Candidianus, limiting them to keeping order and forbidding him to involve himself in doctrinal discussion. He expresses his expectation that an investigation of 'true doctrine' take place, and that the bishops conduct a free and orderly discussion and arrive at a common judgement pleasing to all. It is noteworthy and in marked contrast to his very precise orders for the Second Council of Ephesus in 449[415] that the emperor gave no instructions concerning the presidency of the council. In light of the personal accusations against both Cyril and Nestorius prior to the council, his proscription of civil or criminal accusations against individuals is also significant.[416]

Text[417]

[120] The Emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, most great and ever-venerable Augusti, to the holy council.

We take great trouble over everything that contributes to the common good and especially over matters relating to piety, since on them depends the bestowal of other benefits on mankind. This is why we previously wrote in appropriate terms about the convening of your religiousness in

415 At Ephesus II (449), the emperor Theodosius assigned the role of chairing the council to a group of three bishops: Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Thalassius of Caesarea (Cappadocia Prima); see Council of Chalcedon, Session 1.52, ACO II.1.1, 74 (Price and Gaddis I, 140). Dioscorus dominated the proceedings, and the other two bishops attempted to disavow any responsibility when the conduct of the council was criticized at Chalcedon two years later. At Ephesus I (431), in the session of 22 June, a degree of joint chairmanship by a group of leading metropolitans can be observed (as was common; see Price (2009b) 242–3); by their orders, they exercised what was in effect a presidential role. The absence of clear imperial instructions about the presidency left room for abuse and invited criticism of procedural impropriety. Nestorius later scathingly commented: 'I was summoned by Cyril, who had assembled the council [...] Who was judge? Cyril. Who was the accuser? Cyril [...] Cyril was everything'; *Liber Heraclidis* II, 1 (195 Bedjan/117 Nau; trans. Driver/Hodgson, 132). In the same context Nestorius repeats that Cyril acted as 'accuser, emperor and judge' (ibid.).

416 For more detail on Theodosius' instructions, see Graumann (2013).

417 CV 31, ACO I.1.1, 120–1; Latin version in CC 23, ACO I.3, 51–2.

the metropolis of Ephesus. Since it was necessary to take due care for the calm and good order proper to the deliberations of your most holy council, we have not neglected to ensure that it will be free of disturbance from any quarter; we are convinced that your religiousness needs no help from outside to bestow peace even on others, but this is something that in our attentive concern for piety we could not overlook. Therefore Candidianus, the most magnificent count of the hallowed *domestici*,[418] has been instructed to make his way to your most holy council, but to take no part in the investigation and clarification to be made about the most pious doctrines, for it is unlawful for a person who is not on the list of most sacred bishops to take part in church business. He is to use every means to expel from the city laymen and monks who have already gathered for this reason or are about to do so, since it is essential that those who are quite unnecessary for the coming examination of doctrine do not stir up trouble and thereby obstruct that which your holinesses ought to decree peaceably. He is also to ensure that no dissension be prolonged as a result of antipathy, lest the examination by your most holy council be hampered and the precise investigation of the truth be frustrated by a chance outbreak of disorderly clamour, and that everything that is said, whether in presenting or opposing an opinion, be given a patient hearing. This will ensure that the whole investigation of true doctrine is decided by proposal and solution without any disturbance and receives by the common vote of your holinesses a decree that is impartial and acceptable to all.

First and foremost, the same most magnificent Candidianus has been instructed by our divinity [121] to use every means to ensure that none of those in your most holy council is to leave the place appointed for the investigation, whether returning home or wishing to come to our divine court or intending to go anywhere else. He is also to ensure that no other ecclesiastical inquiry is to be proposed at all, whether requested by some or arising in any way from some proposal, if it does not contribute to the appointed scrutiny of holy doctrine, until every dispute that is raised concerning the latter has been resolved and, after precise scrutiny, the stages of its truthful investigation have reached a conclusion that accords with orthodox religion.

Your religiousness should also be cognizant that our serenity has resolved that no accusation, civil or criminal, should be mooted against anyone, whether at your most holy council or in a public court there, if

418 See 'Fl. Candidianus 6', *PLRE* II, 257–8.

this were to happen to someone, but that the entire judicial investigation of these matters is to be conducted in this renowned city. [You should also be cognizant] that the most magnificent Irenaeus has travelled with the most holy and most God-beloved Nestorius, bishop of this renowned city, out of friendship alone, and is not on any account to take part in the business of your most holy council or in the matters entrusted to the most glorious Candidianus whom we have sent.

2. THE SESSION OF 22 JUNE

INTRODUCTION

On Monday morning, 22 June 431, the bishops in Ephesus gathered in the church named after Mary for the first official session of the council. This meeting determined the course of the council and took its most important decision. It decreed the deposition of Nestorius for his refusal to heed the council's summonses and, importantly, also on account of his holding and preaching 'impiety'. Along the way, and as the effective basis for judging Nestorius, the bishops further confirmed by their votes the orthodoxy o Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius*, originally sent in 430. The council's reception in subsequent years focused principally on this meeting's decisions as the all-important work and achievement of the council – supplemented by the equally momentous decision of 22 July, to which we shall return (see doc. 86 with introduction). Both the condemnation of Nestorius and the approval of Cyril's orthodoxy proved to be the lasting legacy not just of this session but also of the entire council as it came to be recognized in later years.

In the immediate historical context of the summer of 431, however, the session's legitimacy was contested even before it opened, and remained contentious over the course of the following weeks and months. While a large majority of bishops either participated in it or subscribed to its decision subsequently, and unwaveringly upheld the validity of the proceedings and decisions thereafter, a significant minority objected to it. On his arrival at Ephesus, Bishop John of Antioch was joined both by bishops from Syria-Mesopotamia who had arrived already and by a significant number from other regions, making up 60 bishops in all, in rejecting the validity of the session of 22 June and declaring the leaders at that session, Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus, deposed.[1]

1 Because these bishops hail from the civil diocese of Oriens, in the literature they are usually called the 'Orientals' or the 'Easterners' (we employ the latter designation). It must

The meeting of 22 June, then, marks both the starting point for the eventful weeks and heated controversies in Ephesus over the summer of 431; and the stance taken up by various actors and parties in relation to it proved the decisive crossroads of these developments.

A closer inspection of the record emerging from this session reveals the most important substantive issues in hand and, more indirectly, enables us to glean the main reasons for its contentiousness.

Invitations to attend a session on Monday 22 June had been sent to the bishops sojourning in Ephesus on the preceding Sunday. In response 68 bishops had signed a protest note against the formal opening of the council as premature and pointed out the need to await the arrival of the bishops from Oriens (doc. 37). On Monday morning, the emperor's envoy, the *comes* Candidianus entered the church together with several bishops from the group of protesters to dissuade the bishops from proceeding and to emphasize the emperor's command for a joint meeting of all. He failed. On the pretext of wanting to hear the emperor's instructions, Cyril persuaded him to read out the imperial *sacra* addressed to the council (doc. 38). On this basis the bishops felt justified in proceeding and expelled Candidianus from the meeting, to whom the *sacra* ascribed a role only in keeping order, while explicitly excluding him from the council's substantive business. The controversy over the opening of a session emerges only from Candidianus' reports to the emperor and the account he gave to the bishops from the East who arrived late. The formal record of the session, in contrast, does not refer to the dispute at all. It commences only after these events, and reports neither Candidianus' and the accompanying bishops' protests nor the clever manoeuvre by the council's leaders which took the public reading of the *sacra* as an act that formally opened the council.

Some rather more indirect signs of these unrecorded initial conflicts are nevertheless discernible in the background of the earliest exchanges, and the fundamental question of the session's legitimacy in many ways informs and determines the presentation of the entire proceedings in the record.

be remembered, though, that not the entire diocese was on John's side; Palestine in particular was staunchly Cyrillian over the entire course of the council. Not all bishops from the area arrived late either. The subscriptions to the letter of protest from the preceding Sunday (doc. 37) show that eighteen of the 33 bishops from Syria and Mesopotamia which we find on John's side had already arrived. The figure of 60 bishops is based on the subscription list of the first session of John's rival council (doc. 53), plus the new names that appear in the slightly later letter to the clergy of Hierapolis (doc. 62). See Price (2012b) 396–403.

The structure of the record, and the corresponding procedural steps and strategies, can be described in this way:

According to the convention in the case of documents of this kind, it opens with a heading that gives the date and place of the session and mentions the imperial convocation as its legal basis, followed by a list of participants. After that a brief narrative by the Alexandrian presbyter and notary Peter outlines the reasons for the council and the main agenda of the meeting. Peter officiates as the main administrative aid to the council's leadership throughout; he will announce important procedural steps, and present and read out documents; it is likely that he also had a significant role in the initial composition of the records.[2] His opening statement succinctly narrates the prehistory of the council with a focus on the letters and documents exchanged before the event. These documents formed the basis and backbone of the following examination and so in effect set the meeting's agenda.

At first, however, the bishops addressed the question of the council's legitimacy raised in the undocumented protests by Candidianus and the bishops' protest note sent the night before. They conducted the equivalent of a ceremonial opening by reading out the emperor's letter of invitation from November 430; this compensated for the absence from the record of his instructions to the council, which Candidianus had not handed over but to which some participants allude in their statements. The council goes on to assert the legality of the meeting by confirming that the date set by the emperor had already passed. The conspicuous absence of Nestorius is addressed next. That he was invited – like the other bishops – on the previous day is reported and in effect reinterpreted as constituting a first summons. On the day, two more delegations are sent to him carrying increasingly sharp summonses so that, ostensibly, the canonical requirement of three summonses was met. The envoys were denied access to Nestorius. His evident refusal to participate was used as justification to proceed with an examination in his absence.

This examination proper is constructed of three procedural arcs – or, more precisely, of three units of edited text if the Acts' account of the procedure followed may in part be called into doubt.

With the Creed of Nicaea (325) held up as the doctrinal standard, Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius* (doc. 10) is first read and examined; its orthodoxy is approved by 126 individual verdicts and the acclamations

2 On the importance of the administrative personnel, cf. Graumann (2017) 117–43.

of all. In a mirroring procedure, Nestorius' response (doc. 11) is then read and found to be heterodox (simply by contradicting Cyril's interpretation of the Nicene Creed just approved); 35 individual statements and collective shouts of 'anathema' pronounce this judgement. At this point, Nestorius could be said to have been found guilty of heterodoxy, and his condemnation could, in theory, have been formalized already. However, further steps follow.

The second step of the procedure is concerned with the conditional condemnation pronounced by Pope Celestine and a Roman Synod in August 430. Celestine's letter to Nestorius which announced it (doc. 15) is read out. Immediately thereafter the minutes also report the reading of Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* (with the Twelve Anathemas or Chapters; doc. 20). Its inclusion in the Acts reads more like an editorial insertion – made when the proceedings were first compiled – than a record of the procedure actually followed. Irrespective of whether the letter was read out at this point of the meeting (which seems unlikely) or publicly recited at all (which remains a possibility, given the long periods in which the bishops waited for the return of the delegations and which are not documented), its context in the record is telling. The minutes do not record any responses to it, whether individually or collectively, that might provide a procedural or textual basis for the question, later much discussed, of whether the council gave formal 'conciliar' approval to this letter. Its standing, contested or otherwise, as a conciliar document in the eyes of later generations was grounded solely on its inclusion in the official record, not on any pronouncements about its orthodoxy or validity made in the course of the meeting. In its immediate context, its importance is restricted to the communication to Nestorius of those theological propositions requisite for his recantation. Celestine's verdict had explicitly left the specification of doctrinal details to Cyril. The *Third Letter* and Twelve Anathemas spelled out in uncompromising terms what Nestorius had to condemn if he wanted to avoid deposition. So the aim of the second step in the case against Nestorius presented in the minutes is to establish the fact that the conditions set by Celestine, and specified in Cyril's anathemas, had not been met and that the original Roman verdict was therefore applicable. To this end, two of the bishops who had delivered the letters to Nestorius in 430 testify that he had indeed been correctly issued with them, and that he had not at the time met the conditions of recantation but repeated his tenets. After that, two further eminent bishops testify that Nestorius had only recently repeated his most inflammatory tenets in conversation with them in Ephesus. It was evident

from these statements that he had failed to recant, with the result that Celestine's original verdict of deposition and excommunication came into effect – this is the second procedural arc presented by the record's careful composition.

For a second time, then, a verdict could have been formalized at that point. Instead a third line of argument is pursued. This time it is constructed entirely of the written presentation of evidence, introduced only – as editorial sutures rather than remarks in the assembly – by the Alexandrian notary Peter's presentation of the relevant material and Bishop Juvenal's corresponding order to 'read' it. The section consists in the 'reading' of extracts from orthodox fathers – the first time that recourse is taken to 'patristic' evidence in a conciliar context – followed by a collection of extracts from Nestorian writings, which once more prove his heterodoxy. Both sets of excerpts are almost in their entirety the fruit of Cyril's prior engagement with the texts in question and had been quoted by him before in various treatises and letters. Their introduction into the session's record is best explained as an editorial insertion at the time of the composition of the proceedings in the days following the meeting. It is not improbable that the Nestorian excerpts in particular had been read at some point during the long hours of waiting for the return of delegations or during the deliberations, and reference to them is made in the final verdict against him. Yet in the sequence of the protocol, their inclusion is dictated by the needs of documentation in the written record, not by the wish to present a scrupulously faithful record of the actual proceedings. In placing the 'orthodox' statements first, the arrangement mirrors the sequence introduced earlier, when Cyril's 'orthodox' letter was placed before the heterodox response by Nestorius. For the purpose of his conviction for 'heresy', even without the extracts Nestorius' errors had been sufficiently documented by that letter – explicitly condemned already – and through the statements by witnesses that proved his failure to recant. Not surprisingly, the protocol again offers no 'live' voices in response to their purported reading. Only one lesson is taken from them, presented as the concluding remark by their 'reader', the Alexandrian presbyter Peter: according to him, the final extract demonstrated quite clearly the anti-traditional stance of Nestorius and the novelty of his thinking. This is the decisive element achieved by this third arc of anti-Nestorian evidence and argumentation laid out before us. He is shown up as anti-traditional in inspiration and mode of thinking; his tenets are novelties previously unheard of – the very definition of a heretic. What follows accords with this concept and reinforces it. Without further

explanation, a letter by the Carthaginian bishop Capreolus is produced and read out; it is the last document to be presented at this session. The letter offers the apology of the North African episcopate, explaining their inability to meet and send a delegation because of the devastation of their territories by the Vandal invasion. To the strategy of the council's leadership, however, the principal import of the letter can be found in Capreolus' emphatic warnings to do nothing contrary to tradition and not to allow any novelties. This element is picked up by Cyril; it is the only time in the final third of the record that any statement in direct speech, by any participant, is recorded: 'He [Capreolus] wants the ancient doctrines of the faith to be confirmed and the novel ones, perversely concocted and impiously uttered, to be rejected and condemned'. Cyril's summative assessment is echoed by the corroborating chants of 'all' declaring their agreement with this wish, and it is these that conclude the meeting.

From there the record moves straight on to the verdict of deposition decreed against Nestorius by the council. There follow 197 signatures, significantly more than the names of bishops that had been listed as participants or recorded as delivering a personal verdict earlier, and a final summary remark calculates the support at over 200 when absentees are taken into account. The additional names show that subscription was kept open for at least several days after the session (and probably longer), which explains the later addition of signatures. A first list must have been sent to the emperor together with the protocol on 1 July, allowing initially for just over a week to collect further signatures. Still later additions, though, suggest it was kept open even after that, indeed until the end of the council.[3]

The meeting concluded late in the day. In a letter Cyril describes how a jubilant crowd accompanied the bishops on their way back from the church in torch-lit procession. The following day, the official decree was promulgated and issued to Nestorius.

3 The eventual list transmitted in the manuscripts includes names that we find still on the side of the Easterners as late as the sending of delegates to colloquia in Chalcedon, i.e. September 431 (see CA 67 with CC 116; doc. 114). A comparison of the different lists of names from both sides and collected on several occasions reveals some bishops' early change of allegiance and the rapid initial swelling of support for Cyril's side, starting already on the day of the meeting and continuing over the course of the following days before John's arrival. For these, and some much later movements between camps, see Price (2012b) 406–10, 415–16.

(39) TEXT[4]

33. [3] After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, ten days before the Kalends of July,[5] the council convened in the metropolis of Ephesus by decree of the most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors. There were seated in the holy church called [after] Mary the most God-beloved and most religious bishops:[6] (1) Cyril of Alexandria, also representing the most holy and most sacred Celestine archbishop of the church of Rome,[7] (2) Juvenal of Jerusalem, (3) Memnon of Ephesus, (4) Flavian of Philippi, also representing[8] Rufus the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, (5) Theodotus of Ancyra in Galatia Prima, (6) Firmus of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima, (7) Acacius of Melitene in Armenia, (8) Iconius of Gortyna in Crete, (9) Perigenes of Corinth in

4 CV 33–62, ACO I.1.2, 3–64. Latin versions of an abbreviated text in CVer 11–18.4, ACO I.2, 27–65 and CC 24–5, ACO I.3, 52–83.

5 22 June 431. The version of this heading read out at the session of 11 July (CV 106.30; doc. 69) adds the date according to the Egyptian calendar – 28 Pauni.

6 Apart from three misplacements (12, 23–4), the list displays the following sequence: metropolitans (1–15); an assortment of suffragans from other provinces, to show the wide geographical spread of Cyril's supporters (16–28); and then lists according to province: Palestine (29–41), Hellas (42–6), Epirus (47–8), Crete (49, 51–2), Thrace (50, 53–4), Thessaly (55–7), Lycaonia (58–9), the Islands (60), Caria (61–8), Asia (69–90), Cyprus (91–4), Armenia II (95), Pamphylia II (96–104), Galatia I (105–6), Honorias (107), Helenopontus (108), Egypt (109–54), Africa (155).

7 The list makes a claim for Cyril as representative of Celestine of Rome – in addition to acting in his own right. Celestine had sent legates to formally represent him. They had not yet arrived and first joined the council on 10 July (doc. 68, p. 368). Even after their arrival, attendance lists retain their presentation of Cyril as 'also representing' the Roman bishop. Cyril's claim does not strictly rest on any formal authorization, but extrapolates from Celestine tasking him to act in his stead and execute the decision of the Roman Synod of 430, expressed in his letters of the time (doc. 14); it had no conciliar procedure in view. The claim certainly helped Cyril to assume the principal presidency of the meeting (assisted by a small group of metropolitans), which the emperor had failed to regulate. Claims that his presidency accorded with canon law (McGuckin (1994) 74) fail to take into account the contested nature of ecclesiastical hierarchy and the absence of a canonical 'rule book' for conciliar procedure. That a number of metropolitan bishops exercise some presidential function at the meeting (see Price (2009b), 242–7) reflects more clearly both this uncertainty and the intention to showcase communality.

8 Different from Cyril's special case, the common 'also representing' formula here as elsewhere means that the bishop in question was both representing his metropolitan and present in his own right.

Hellas, (10) Cyrus of Aphrodisias in Caria, (11) Valerianus of Iconium, (12) Hesychius of Parium,[9] (13) Hellanicus of Rhodes, (14) Dynatus of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus, (15) Eucharius of Dyrrachium in Epirus Nova, (16) Perrebius of Pharmalus, (17) Eudoxius of Choma in Lycia, (18) [4] Silvanus of Ceretapa in Phrygia, (19) Amphilochius of Side in Pamphylia, (20) Epiphanius of Creteia in Honorias, (21) Gregory of Cerasus in Pontus Polemoniacus, (22) Prothymius of Comana, (23) Palladius of Amaseia in Helenopontus,[10] (24) Senecion of Scodra,[11] (25) Acacius of Arca, (26) Docimasius of Maronea in Thrace, (27) John of Proconnesus, (28) Daniel of Colonia in Cappadocia Secunda, (29) Romanus of Raphia, (30) Paulianus[12] of Maiuma, (31) Paul of Anthedon, (32) Fidus of Joppa, (33) Aeanes of Sycamazon, (34) Theodore of Gadara, (35) Letoeus of Livias, (36) Abdelas [Theodulus][13] of Elusa, (37) Theodore of Arindela, (38) Peter of Parembolae, (39) John of Augustopolis, (40) Saidas of Phaeno, (41) Rufinus of Gabae,[14] (42) Anysius of Thebes, (43) Callicrates of Naupactus, (44) Domninus of Opus, (45) Nicias of Megara, (46) Agathocles of Coronaea, (47) Felix of Apollonia and Byllis, (48) Theodore of Dodona, (49) Anderius of Chersonesus in Crete, (50) Cyril of Coela in the Chersonese, (51) Paul of Lappa, (52) [5] Zenobius of Cnossus, (53) Lucian of Topirus in Thrace, (54) Ennepius of Maximianopolis, (55) Secundianus of Lamia, (56) Dio of Thebes in Thessaly, (57) Theodore of Echinus, (58) Martyrius of Ilistra, (59) Thomas of Derbe, (60) Athanasius of the island of Paros,[15] (61) Themistius of Iasus, (62) Aphthonetus of Heraclea, (63) Philetus of Amyzon, (64) Apellas of Cibyra, (65) Spudasius of Ceramus,

9 It is surprising that a suffragan of Hellespontus attended this session, when his metropolitan (Dalmatius of Cyzicus) had signed the protest at the premature meeting of the council (doc. 37). His position in the list, among the metropolitans, implies that he was treated as the representative of his province.

10 As a metropolitan, Palladius' name should have come higher up. The MSS all have 'Hellespontus' in error.

11 Since Senecion was also a metropolitan (of Praevalitana), his name too should have come higher up in the list.

12 ACO oddly prints 'Paulinianus', although 'Paulianus' is the form to be found in most of the Greek MSS at this point, in the great majority of occurrences of the name elsewhere, and in ACO's own index.

13 This name appears as Theodulus at 39.2 and in most other passages (cf. ACO 1.1.8, 19), though the Acts of 22 July give the further variant 'Apelles'.

14 This is Schwartz's proposed correction of 'Tabae' in the MSS, both here and where the name recurs.

15 This is Schwartz's correction of 'Parosithus' in the MSS.

(66) Archelaus of Myndus, (67) Phanias of Harpasa, (68) Promachius of Alinda, (69) Philip of Pergamum in Asia, (70) Maximus of Cyme, (71) Dorotheus of Myrina, (72) Maximus of Assus, (73) Euporus of Hypaepa, (74) Alexander of Arcadiopolis, (75) Eutychius of Theodosiopolis, (76) Rhodo of Palaeopolis, (77) Eutropius of Euaza,[16] (78) Aphobius of Coloe, (79) Nestorius of Sion, (80) Heracleon of Tralles, (81) Theodotus of Nysa, (82) Theodore of Aninetus, (83) Timothy of Briulla, (84) Theodosius of Mastaura, (85) Tychicus of Erythrae,[17] (86) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (87) Euthalius of Colophon, (88) Modestus of Anaea, (89) [6] Theosebius of Priene, (90) Eusebius of Magnesia by Sipylus, (91) Sapricius of Paphos in Cyprus, (92) Zeno of Curium in Cyprus, (93) Reginus of Constantia, (94) Evagrius of Soli, (95) Caesarius *chorepiscopus*,[18] (96) Tribonianus of Aspendus in Pamphylia, (97) Nunechius of Selge, (98) Solon of Carallia, (99) Acacius of Cotenna, (100) Nesius of Colybrassus, (101) Matidianus of Coracesium, (102) Nectarius of Sennea, (103) Eutropius of Etenna, (104) Tarianus of Lyrbe, (105) Eusebius of Aspona in Galatia, (106) Philumenus of Cinna, (107) Eusebius of Heraclea in Honorias, (108) Paralius of Andrapa in Helenopontus, (109) Hermogenes of Rhinocolura, (110) Euoptius of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, (111) Eusebius of Pelusium, (112) Eulogius of Terenuthis, (113) Adelphius of Onuphris, (114) Paul of Phlabonis, (115) Phoebammon of Coptos, (116) Theopemptus of Cabasa, (117) Macarius of Metelis, (118) Adelphius of Sais, (119) Macedonius of Xois, (120) Marinus of Heliopolis, (121) Metrodorus of Leontopolis, (122) Macarius of Antaeopolis, (123) [7] Paviscus of Apollonopolis, (124) Peter of Oxyrhynchus, (125) Strategius of Athribis, (126) Athanasius of Paralus, (127) Silvanus of Coprithis, (128) John of Hephaestus, (129) Aristobulus of Thmuis, (130) Theon of Sethroites, (131) Lampetius of Casium, (132) Cyrus of Achaea, (133) Publius of Olbia, (134) Samuel of Dysthis, (135) Zenobius of Barca, (136) Zeno of Taucheira, (137) Daniel of Darnis, (138) Sopater of Septimiace, (139) Eusebius of Nilopolis, (140) Heraclides of Heracleopolis, (141) Chrysaorius of Aphroditopolis, (142) Andrew of Hermopolis Magna, (143) Sabinus of Panopolis, (144) Abraham of Ostracine, (145) Hieracis of Aphnaeum, (146) Alypius of

16 This is the city in Asia listed as 'Augaza' in Jones (1971) 526.

17 Tychicus' see is variously given as Chytri or Erythrae in the Acts of Ephesus I. The position of the name in this list (among the sees of Asia) shows that Erythrae is correct.

18 Of Arca (Armenia I). See the subscription list of the session of 22 June, p. 284 (79).

Sele, (147) Alexander of Cleopatris, (148) Isaac of Tava, (149) Ammon of Buto, (150) Heraclius of Thinis, (151) Isaac of Helearchia, (152) Heraclius of Tamiathis, (153) Theonas of Psinchos, (154) Ammonius of Panephysis, (155) Bessulas deacon of Carthage.[19]

34. Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries[20] said: 'Already earlier, when the most devout Nestorius had been ordained bishop for the holy church of Constantinople and not many days had passed, [8] some people brought from Constantinople sermons of his that alarmed their readers, causing great commotion in the holy churches. Learning of this, Cyril the most devout bishop of Alexandria wrote a first and then a second letter to his devoutness, full of advice and exhortation. To these he replied, rejecting and opposing what had been sent. In addition to this, the same most devout Bishop Cyril, on learning that a letter and books of his sermons had been sent by him to Rome as well, himself wrote to the most religious Celestine bishop of Rome through Posidonius the deacon, charging him, "If it be found that the books of his sermons and letters have been delivered to him, deliver my letter as well; but if not, bring it back here undelivered." He, finding that the sermons and letter had been delivered, delivered this letter of necessity as well, and an appropriate reply was written by the most sacred and most religious Celestine bishop of the church of Rome, containing a decree. Since therefore by imperial and God-beloved command your holy council has been convened here, we of necessity inform you that we have the relevant documents to hand, for whatever is the wish of your religiousness.'

35. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Let there be read the God-beloved letter of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors written to each of the metropolitans, and let it shine forth at the beginning of the record of our present proceedings.'

After it had been produced by the most devout Peter presbyter of Alexandria, it was read out as follows:

'The Emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant conquerors, most great and ever-venerable Augusti, to Bishop Cyril. The

19 To this attendance list must be added three bishops omitted here but who speak at the session: Constantius of Diocletianopolis (at CV 45.15), Helladius of Adramyttium (45.123), and Stephen of Teos (45.58).

20 Chief notary of Cyril's Alexandrian office.

condition of our state depends on piety towards God' – and the rest, as it shines forth at the beginning [of this record].[21]

36. Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'Let us be informed by the most God-beloved and most holy Memnon bishop of the city of Ephesus how many days have elapsed since our arrival.'

Memnon bishop of the city of Ephesus said: 'Since the time appointed in the pious and God-beloved letter sixteen days have passed.'

Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'This holy and great council has shown sufficient patience waiting for the arrival of the most God-beloved bishops whose coming had been expected. Because many of the bishops have fallen ill and some have actually passed away,[22] and since it is appropriate to fulfil the mandate immediately and to discuss the faith [9] for the benefit of the whole world under heaven, let there be read in order the documents relating to the matter, especially since a second mandate of the most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors has been read to the council by the most magnificent and most glorious Candidianus count of the hallowed *domestici*, which commands that the faith be investigated and defined without any delay.'[23]

37. Theodotus bishop of Ancyra said: 'The reading of the documents will take place at the proper time, but it is now fitting that the most God-beloved bishop Nestorius should attend the proceedings as well, so that piety may be confirmed by common decision and assent.'

21 The full text of the Greek version (ACO I.1.1, 114,26–116,9) is translated above, doc. 28. The Latin *Collectio Veronensis* gives the full text of the letter at this point (ACO I.2, 31–2); other Latin collections abbreviate and cross-reference similarly to the Greek manuscripts. The *Veronensis* at this point reconstituted what the collector believed to be the original order, but Juvenal's instruction envisages, and orders, its placing in front of the transactions proper. That this was indeed the original placing of this letter is argued by Graumann, *The Acts of the Early Church Councils* (forthcoming). For another 'error' committed by the collector of the *Veronensis* in reinserting documents, see n. 24 below.

22 We know of one bishop who died after arrival at Ephesus – Sapricius of Paphos. See doc. 103.

23 The text of the mandate is given above (CV 31; doc. 38). For the true circumstances of the reading of this document by Candidianus, see his own account (CC 84; doc. 46). The document had not been handed over by Candidianus, and so it was not initially part of the record.

38. (1) Hermogenes bishop of Rhinocolura said: 'We were sent yesterday by your religiousness to notify the most devout Nestorius that he ought to take part in the council. He was not ignorant of the day of this holy council and said, "I shall think about it for a while, and I shall come if I need to."'

(2) Athanasius bishop of Paralus said: 'We were sent by your religiousness yesterday to instruct the most devout Nestorius to take part in this holy council, and we visited him, notifying him of this. But he made the following declaration: "I shall think about it, and come if I need to."'

(3) Peter bishop of Parembolae said: 'Yesterday we were sent by your religiousness to the most devout Bishop Nestorius to notify him that the holy council would sit today, and he replied, "I am reflecting, and shall come if I need to." We also notified the most devout and most religious bishops who were there, and were six or seven, more or less, and they too said, "We shall think about it, and if we think it right we shall come tomorrow."'

(4) Paul bishop of Lappa said: 'Because your holy and blessed council charged us to go to the most devout Nestorius and instruct him to come today to your holy and blessed council, I too went with the holy brethren who have already testified, and I instructed him to come today to your holy council and take part. He replied, "If I think it right, I shall come then." We notified not only him but also some most devout bishops whom we found with him. There were six or seven bishops with him, more or less.'

39. (1) Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Let some of the most devout bishops go and instruct him again to come and take part in the holy council.'

(2) [10] The holy council sent Theodulus bishop of Elusa in Palestine, Anderius bishop of Chersonesus in Crete, Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa in Egypt, and Epaphroditus lector and notary of the most devout Bishop Hellanicus of the city of Rhodes, with a written message from the holy council to the most devout Bishop Nestorius, which ran as follows:

(3) 'It was the duty of your religiousness, having been notified yesterday by most devout and most religious bishops, to have come promptly to the holy council convened today in the holy and catholic church, and not to have missed it. But since your sacredness has missed the convocation of the holy council, we of necessity, through Theopemptus, Theodulus, and Anderius, most devout and most religious bishops, and Epaphroditus, lector and notary of the city of Rhodes, summon you again to come and not to miss the proceedings, especially since the most pious and most God-beloved emperors ordered us to leave everything and carry out a confirmation of the faith.'

(4) When they returned, Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'Since the most devout and most God-beloved bishops sent by the holy council are here, we ask them to testify what reply they received.'

40. (1) Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa said: 'When sent by this holy and great council to the most devout Nestorius, we went to his residence and, on seeing a mass of soldiers with staves, we asked to be announced. But they prevented us, saying, "He is on his own and taking a walk, and we have been ordered to let no one enter and meet him." We said, "We cannot leave the matter without receiving an answer, for the holy council has sent a written message to him, summoning him to join them in their session." His clergy came out and gave us the same reply as the soldiers had done. While we were waiting, hoping to receive a reply, there came out the hallowe tribune Florentius, a colleague of Candidianus the most magnificent a most glorious count of the hallowed *domestici*, who made us wait, as if was about to bring us a reply, and so we stayed. Later, coming out with th clerics, he said to us, "I was not able to see him, but he has given instructions that your religiousness is to be told, 'Once all the bishops have assembled, we shall meet with them.'" After calling both on him and on all the soldiers and clerics present to witness this, we departed.'

(2) [11] Theodulus bishop of Elusa said: 'I too heard the same and give the same testimony.'

(3) Anderius bishop of Chersonesus in Crete said: 'I too went there on the instructions of your holy and blessed council, and said and heard the same things as the most religious bishops with me have testified in full.'

41. (1) Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Because it is improper to omit any of the points of ecclesiastical procedure, and since it is clear that, although notified yesterday and a second time today, the most God-beloved Nestorius has not come, he must be notified by yet a third written message. The most God-beloved fellow ministers Anysius bishop of Thebes in Hellas, Domninus bishop also in Hellas, John bishop of Hephaestus in Augustamnica, and Daniel bishop of Darnis in Libya are to go and notify him for a third time.'

(2) They set off with Anysius the notary and lector of Firmus bishop of Cappadocia, who bore a written message which ran as follows:

(3) 'In this third summons the most holy council summons your devoutness, following the canon and showing you patience and forbearance.

Be so good at least now to come and defend yourself before the church assembly over the heretical doctrines you are reported as having preached in church. Be aware that, if you do not come and vindicate yourself against the charges made against you both orally and in writing, the most holy council will be obliged to decree in your case what the canons of the holy fathers require.'

42. (1) When they returned, Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'Since the most devout bishops who were sent have now returned, we ask them to testify what answer they got.'

(2) John bishop of Hephaestus said: 'We had been sent by this holy and God-beloved council to instruct the most religious Nestorius by a third written message to hasten at least now to the holy council so that his statements on the faith could be examined in the presence of his religiousness. Following our instructions from your religiousness, we arrived at his residence and on reaching the doorway found a mass of soldiers with staves standing in the very doorway. We asked them either to let us enter the gates of the house where the most religious Nestorius was residing, or at least to announce that we had been sent by the holy council with a third written message summoning him politely and with all courtesy to the holy council. We waited a long time. The soldiers did not even allow us to stand in the shade, but jostled us insolently, [12] tried to drive us away from the place, and gave us no civil answer. For a long time we persevered with our request, saying, "We are four bishops in number who have been sent not out of offensiveness or to do anything offensive and improper, but to follow due procedure in telling him even now to come to this sacred church and take part in this holy council." But the soldiers finally sent us on our way, saying that we would get no other answer even if we waited at the doorway of the house till evening. They added that they were standing in the doorway in order to prevent anyone from the council from going in, having received these instructions from him.'

(3) Anysius bishop of Thebes said: 'What our most holy brother and fellow priest John has testified is the truth. We stood for a long time at the doors of the most devout Nestorius, and this is what we saw and heard.'

(4) Domninus bishop of Opus in Hellas said: 'What my most holy and most God-beloved brothers and fellow priests John and Anysius have testified is what I too saw and heard.'

(5) Daniel bishop of Darnis said: 'What the most religious bishops have testified is what I heard, and is the truth.'

43. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Even though the ecclesiastical laws lay down that a third summons is sufficient for those summoned to defend themselves on whatever charges, we would be ready to grant more and send a fourth written message by most religious bishops to summon the most devout Nestorius yet again; but since a band of soldiers are standing round his house and denying access, as the most religious bishops who went there have testified, it is clear that because he has a bad conscience he is refusing to come to the holy council. Let us therefore proceed to the next stage according to canonical order, and to what will vindicate our orthodox and pious faith. Let there be read first of all the creed issued by the 318 most holy fathers and bishops who met at Nicaea, so that, by comparing the statements about the faith with this exposition, those that agree with it may be confirmed and those that differ be rejected.'

The creed was read out as follows:

The council at Nicaea issued this creed:

We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not [13] *made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, both those in heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down and was enfleshed, became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not,' and 'Before being begotten he was not,' and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.*

44. (1) When this had been read, Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'We have to hand the letter of the most holy and most religious Archbishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius, full of advice and exhortation, to the effect that his beliefs are not orthodox. If your holinesses so bids, I shall read it out.'

(2) Acacius bishop of Melitene said: 'Since the most devout and most religious presbyter Peter, who opened the discussion, has said that a letter was sent by the most God-beloved and most sacred Bishop Cyril to the most

devout Nestorius, to the effect that he does not follow orthodox teaching, it is appropriate that it too be read.'

(3) It was read out and comes in the preceding documentation.[24] Its opening runs as follows: 'Certain persons, as I am informed, are prattling to the detriment of my character in the presence of your religiousness' – and the rest.[25]

(4) After the letter had been read, Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'The holy and great council has heard what I sent to the most devout Nestorius in defence of the orthodox faith. I am confident that I shall be found to have departed in no way from the orthodox account of the faith or to have offended against the symbol issued by the holy and great council convened in its time at Nicaea, and I ask your sacredness to say whether this writing of mine is orthodox, unimpeachable, and in accord with that holy council or not.'

45. (1) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Now that the holy creed issued[26] at Nicaea and the letter of the most holy and most sacred Archbishop Cyril have been read, the teaching of the holy council has been found to be in accord [with that of Cyril], and in addition I agree and assent to these pious doctrines.'

(2) [14] Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'What was said in brief and in summary by the holy council at Nicaea has been expounded with subtlety and exactitude by your religiousness, who has made the meaning of the creed clearer to us, with the result that there is no ambiguity in the things said, since they all cohere together and confirm the faith. Since therefore they are precise and irrefutable and introduce no innovation, I too give my assent, since I inherited the same convictions from my fathers the holy bishops.'

(3) Memnon bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus said: 'The contents of the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved father Bishop Cyril are

24 Here the *Collectio Veronensis* gives the full text of both Cyril's first and second letters to Nestorius. The former is out of place here; it was never read or included in the original protocol. The collector misinterpreted the introductory remarks by the notary Peter. His mistake is evidence that his Greek model already no longer contained the full text of the letters in the Acts of this session. The extraction of letters from them, and their placement instead up front, happened very early.

25 CV 4, doc. 10.

26 The Greek phrase (τῆς ἐκτεθείσης πίστεως) can equally mean 'the faith expounded'. We vary the translation according to context.

in accord with the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea. We agree and assent to them, since we find nothing that is defective or dissonant.'

(4) Theodotus bishop of Ancyra said: 'The exposition of the holy faith made by the 318 holy fathers convened at Nicaea is wonderful and most pious and orthodox has been shown clearly and plainly by the letter of the most religious and most holy father and bishop Cyril, which differs in no way from the teaching of that creed, but expounds more fully what is there said in summary. Therefore, since we recognize the accord between the letter and the creed of the 318 holy fathers, we agree and assent both to the latter and to our father who propounded their teaching in a letter, and we believe what they expounded and the letter of the aforementioned most holy Bishop Cyril clearly explained.'

(5) Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Now that the creed issued at Nicaea by the 318 holy fathers convoked in that city has been read to us and the letter of the most holy father and bishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius about the faith has also been read out, we find that it agrees clearly and expressly with the creed issued at Nicaea and provides much light for the understanding of what was affirmed. Therefore I too assent to the letter written by the most holy and most God-beloved father and fellow minister Cyril, which differs in no way from the orthodox faith but is in accord with the apostolic preaching and the orthodox creed issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea. I testify that our most holy father Rufus of the metropolis of Thessalonica assents to this, for these are the instructions that he gave me when I was to come to this great and holy council, when he himself declined to come for reasons of ill health. [15] I am confident that all those of Illyricum share my convictions and are in no doubt about what has been read.'

(6) Acacius bishop of Melitene said: 'Since I see that the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril is both pious and totally in harmony with the 318 fathers at Nicaea, I accept its meaning and acknowledge that I hold the same. That from the beginning and from of old the church has held these beliefs I know from the works of the sacred fathers, from the holy scriptures, and from the traditions of the faith.'

(7) Iconius bishop of the city of the metropolis of Gortyna: 'Now that the creed and teaching of the most holy fathers who met at Nicaea has been read and also the letter of the most holy father and bishop Cyril, I too, in recognition that this teaching is in accord with them [the Nicene fathers], agree and assent, since I share their belief in the name of Father and Son

and Holy Spirit, and I know that the holy council rejects those who do not hold these beliefs.'

(8) Hellanicus bishop of the metropolis of Rhodes said: 'I follow the exposition of the orthodox faith at Nicaea and the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril, which is in accord with it, and I uphold this the authentic and orthodox faith. Those with opinions contrary to this have God himself as their adversary, and may he who does not believe that the holy Virgin Mary is Theotokos be anathema.'

(9) Palladius bishop of Amaseia said: 'The letter of our most God-beloved and most holy father and bishop Cyril just read is in all respects in agreement with the creed issued by the holy fathers convened at Nicaea. Since it is orthodox and, as I have said, in accord with the teaching of the holy fathers, I admire and agree with it, and I hold the same beliefs that he does and also the holy fathers who, as I have said, convened in the city of Nicaea.'

(10) Cyrus bishop of the city of Aphrodisias in the province of Caria said: 'I too observe that the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius is in accord and identical in meaning with the creed issued by the holy fathers assembled in the city of Nicaea, and so I give the same testimony as the preceding fathers.'

(11) Perigenes bishop of Corinth said: 'My own convictions agree with the faith expounded so well just now by our most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, as does also that expounded by the most holy and most sacred fathers at the holy council at Nicaea. I therefore vow to keep, without wavering, the ordinances handed down from the beginning and preserved by us till now.'

(12) [16] Amphilochius bishop of Side said: 'Since the letter of the in all respects most God-beloved and most sacred Archbishop Cyril accurately preserves the apostolic tradition and agrees with the exposition of the faith by the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea, I rejoice at its orthodoxy, and concur and assent to the piety of its doctrines.'

(13) Prothymius bishop of Comana said: 'Since I find that the exposition of faith read to us in the letter of our most holy father and bishop Cyril neither omits nor adds anything to the faith expounded by the 318 fathers, or only in the mere expressions used, I acknowledge that this was the faith in which I was baptized and reared, grew up, and received the priesthood. In this I vow to depart this life, and this to keep at the resurrection for Christ the Lord.'

(14) John bishop of Proconnesus said: 'I too give the same testimony as the most devout Bishop Prothymius, and believe accordingly.'[27]

(15) Constantius bishop in Phrygia Pacatiana said: 'I too give the same testimony and believe accordingly.'

(16) Valerianus bishop of Iconium said: 'In different words we find one and the same rule of faith, since both were inspired by the same Holy Spirit. Since we recognize that the contents of the letter of our most holy and God-beloved father and bishop Cyril are in full accord with what was said and expounded correctly and precisely by the holy council at Nicaea, we too assent and agree with them, since we find the letter to be like a perfume that renews the fragrance of their faith.'

(17) Theodulus bishop of Elusa said: 'I follow habitually the orthodox faith of this holy and great council, the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril the archbishop, and the creed issued at Nicaea by our 318 most holy and most sacred fathers.'

(18) Fidus bishop of Joppa said: 'I admire the creed of the 318 holy fathers who were at Nicaea, and I admire no less the letter, read out just now, of the most holy in faith and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril, which is in accord with their faith as if written by the Holy Spirit, and I believe that he who does not abide by the same faith of the Holy Spirit has been expelled from the holy and catholic church.

(19) Paulianus bishop of Maiuma in Palestina Prima said: 'I recognize that the faith of the fathers, which we learnt from the 318 at the [council] at Nicaea, was written down by the most religious Bishop Cyril and that his pronouncements[28] are in accord with the Holy Spirit. We have admired them, and embrace and follow them.'

(20) [17] Daniel bishop of Colonia in Cappadocia said: 'I have recognized the words and virtually the syllables contained in the teaching of the holy fathers who held a council in their time at Nicaea, and the conceptions of the doctrines recorded there, in the letter of our father the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, which teaches,[29] as it were, some impresses of the fathers. Since I myself inherited this teaching, and know that it was

27 Schwartz (1928) points to the speech at that session by Hesychius of Parium, claiming to be the only bishop from Hellespontus present (§122), and concludes that John's presence was a later fiction.

28 The word used (τὰ θεσπισθέντα) is normally reserved for inspired utterance by prophets or apostles.

29 We follow Schwartz's suggested emendation of the text.

rooted, entrusted, and disseminated by the holy fathers in the holy church assigned to me, I acknowledge that the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Cyril is in accord with the creed of the holy fathers. This is indeed our own conviction, both my own and that of the holy church under me, in the name of the holy and consubstantial Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.'

(21) Anysius bishop of Thebes said: 'In union with the shared presence and the convictions of all the most holy bishops, and perceiving the orthodox composition of the most holy and most sacred Archbishop Cyril, I assent to it as being akin and in accord with the teaching of the holy fathers convened at Nicaea.'

(22) Callicrates bishop of Naupactus said: 'I agree with the letter issued by our most holy father and archbishop Cyril, since it is in accord with what was expounded by the holy and blessed fathers assembled at the holy council at Nicaea.'

(23) Domninus bishop of Opus said: 'If those ignorant of the accurate creed ever decreed anything, they did so wrongly. But we recognize what has been defined by the most holy Archbishop Cyril and now rightly put on a par with the holy council at Nicaea of the 318 fathers, and we rightly acknowledge that it[30] is to be fully upheld together with them. I believe in the Father and Son and the Holy Spirit, and I vow to remain in it till the end of my life and to die in it.'

(24) Nicias bishop of Megara said: 'Just as we came holding one belief, so too we have been taught to affirm one belief. In view therefore of the harmony between the exposition by the most holy Archbishop Cyril and the earlier one by the holy fathers at Nicaea, we are in agreement, and have no doubts about what has been well defined both now and previously.'

(25) Romanus bishop of Raphia said: 'My convictions too are in accord with the teaching of the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea, and I agree with the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, whose contents are in harmony with the creed of the holy fathers.

(26) Gregory bishop of Cerasus said: 'The contents of the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril are in harmony with the creed of the holy council at Nicaea. Since I am satisfied that it is in accord with the faith of the church, I agree and assent to it. [18] I am attending not only on my own account, but also on behalf of the most religious Eleusius bishop of the metropolis of Neocaesarea, as he instructed me.'

30 We follow Schwartz's suggested emendation of the text.

(27) Nunechius bishop of Selge in Pamphylia said: 'Now that the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril has been read to us, which is in all respects in accord with the creed produced at Nicaea by the holy fathers, I too assent to it and believe accordingly. In this faith I vow after my life to stand at the judgement seat of Christ with confidence, preserving this the orthodox faith.'

(28) Solon bishop of Carallia in Pamphylia said: 'As the most holy and most religious Archbishop Cyril has transmitted and transmits his Christian faith, which is in all respects in accord with the holy and great council at Nicaea, so too was I baptized and so too I believe, and I vow to keep it till my last breath.'

(29) Acacius bishop of Cotenna in Pamphylia said: 'Now that I have heard the letter of our most holy father and archbishop Cyril, which is in all respects in accord with the [exposition] of the orthodox faith by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, I too acknowledge that I hold and believe accordingly, and I vow to keep [this faith] till death.'

(30) Tarianus bishop of Lyrbe in Pamphylia said: 'I too give the same testimony and assent to the doctrines of our holy fathers and bishops and to the letter of the most devout and most God-beloved Cyril.'

(31) Nectarius bishop of Sennea in Pamphylia said: 'I too believe the same and assent to the doctrines of our holy fathers and bishops and to the letter of the most devout and most God-beloved Cyril.'

(32) Matidianus bishop of Coracesium in Pamphylia said: 'I am in accord with the profession on the sound and orthodox faith made by the holy fathers now present and by those at that time who, not without the aid of God, composed the exposition of the faith in the city of Nicaea. Recognizing that it is apostolic, I vow to remain in it and keep it pure until my last breath.'

(33) Nesius bishop of Colybrassus in Pamphylia said: 'The letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril that was read today was in accord with the holy creed issued by the holy and blessed fathers at Nicaea, and I vow to keep this faith until my last breath.'

(34) Epiphanius bishop of Creteia said: 'I too assent to the doctrines of our holy fathers [19] and bishops and to the letter written by the most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril, and I vow to persevere in them till my final breath.'

(35) Eusebius bishop of Heraclea in the province of Honorias said: 'I assent to the letter of our father the most holy and most sacred Cyril, as following in every way the creed of the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea,

and we vow to complete the time appointed to us by the Almighty in this conviction.'

(36) Silvanus bishop of Ceretapa in Phrygia Pacatiana said: 'Even though I received holy baptism somewhat late, yet I was baptized in this faith, the one expounded at Nicaea by the holy fathers, the 318 bishops, and explained to us more fully today by the letter of Archbishop Cyril, which is in accord with it. In this [faith] I have also baptized many, and I vow to keep it unstained till the day of resurrection and to present it to Christ.'

(37) Eutropius bishop of Etenna in Pamphylia said: 'Now that the letter of our father the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril has been read, which is in all respects in accord with everything that was expounded by the 318 holy fathers assembled at Nicaea, I concur and assent, and in this confession I vow to stand before Christ the Lord.'

(38) Secundianus bishop of the city of Lamia in the province of Thessaly said: 'I have both professed and profess and accordingly have believed and believe in the [faith] expounded by the holy and blessed fathers, the 318 bishops at Nicaea, with which the letter just read of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril is also in agreement.'

(39) Theodore bishop of the city of Echinus in the province of Thessaly said: 'I too give the same testimony and assent to this.'

(40) Rufinus bishop of Gabae said: 'I too have the same convictions as the most holy fathers who met at Nicaea, and I agree with the letter of our father the most holy and most sacred and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril, whose contents are excellent and orthodox, and which is in accord with the same exposition of faith.'

(41) Theodore bishop of Arindela said: 'I too give the same testimony and agree with the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, whose contents are excellent and orthodox.'

(42) Paul bishop of Anthedon said: 'I too agree with the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, which is like the creed of our holy fathers who met at Nicaea.'

(43) Letoeus bishop of Livias said: 'My beliefs also accord with the composition of our holy fathers who met at Nicaea – for they issued a creed in harmony with the orthodox faith – and I agree with the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril.'

(44) [20] Peter bishop of Parembolae said: 'I too share the same convictions, and agree with the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, whose contents are excellent and pious.'

(45) John bishop of Augustopolis said: 'My beliefs also accord with the creed of our holy fathers, and I agree with the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, whose contents are in harmony with this creed.'

(46) Saidas bishop of Phaeno said: 'There is agreement between the orthodox faith and the contents of the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, to which also I assent.'

(47) Theodore bishop of Gadara said: 'Since the contents of the letter just read of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril are excellent and pious and in harmony with the creed issued by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea. I too agree with it.'

(48) Aeanes bishop of Sycamazon said: 'In the same way I too agree with the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril, since it followed the orthodox faith expounded by our most holy fathers.'

(49) Theodosius bishop of Mastaura in Asia said: 'Since I have believed from the beginning till now in the exposition of faith of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, I mean the 318, I persevere in following, as harmonious in content, the letter written by the most sacred and God-beloved Bishop Cyril to the most devout Nestorius the bishop, since, as I have said, it is in accord with the teaching of the fathers, profitable to the soul.'

(50) Alexander bishop of Arcadiopolis in Asia in said: 'In the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril I believe and have believed, since it is in harmony with the creed issued by the holy fathers assembled in the city of Nicaea, that is, the 318, and I vow to maintain this conviction.'

(51) Maximus bishop of Cyme in Asia said: 'I agree and assent to the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril, since it is in accord with the orthodox creed issued by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea, and I acknowledge that this is the orthodox faith.'

(52) Theosebius bishop of Priene said: 'I believe in the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers, and I have handed it down to the holy churches of God, and also in the letter of the most holy and God-beloved Archbishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius, since its contents are in harmony with the creed of the holy fathers at Nicaea.'

(53) [21] Eutropius bishop of Euaza said: 'In accordance with the creed of the 318 bishops who met at Nicaea, I place my faith in the letter of the most God-beloved Bishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius, since it is in accord with the creed of the holy fathers. I approve it and have believed in it.'

(54) Euthalius bishop of Colophon in Asia said: 'The holy creed of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and the letter of the most God-beloved and

most sacred Bishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius, since it is concordant, I approve and assent to, and I believe according to this tradition.'

(55) Docimasius bishop of Maronea said: 'Seeing the letter of our father the most God-beloved and most sacred Cyril to be in accord with the faith expounded out of piety and the love of Christ by the holy fathers at the city of Nicaea, I, sharing these convictions, agree and assent to preserve it [the faith] intact till the end.'

(56) Lucian bishop of Topirus said: 'Now that the letter of our father the most God-beloved and most sacred Cyril which he sent to the most devout Nestorius has been read, I agree with the composition. Finding it in all respects to be in harmony with the [faith] expounded by the holy council at the metropolis of Nicaea, I am in agreement with it, and shall preserve it [the faith] intact till the end.'

(57) Ennepius bishop of Maximianopolis said: 'Recognizing the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius to be in accord with faith expounded by the most sacred fathers in the metropolis of Nicaea, I assent and agree to hold these convictions and I trust I shall maintain it [the faith] unshaken.'[31]

(58) Stephen bishop of Teos[32] said: 'We recognize that the letter of our father the thrice-blessed Bishop Cyril is in accord with the [creed] issued by the 318 holy fathers and bishops assembled at Nicaea. Therefore I too assent to it, and in it I have placed my faith.'

(59) Modestus bishop of the city of Anaea in Phrygia[33] said: 'I too hold fast to the creed issued by the holy fathers, the 318 bishops who met at Nicaea, and in addition to the letter read just now from our father the most holy archbishop Cyril, written to the most devout Bishop Nestorius, since it accords with the creed issued by the aforesaid holy fathers.'

(60) [22] Aphobius bishop of Coloe said: 'Now that the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril has been read out to the holy council, whose contents are in harmony with the [faith] expounded by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, I both assent to this faith and so believe.'

(61) Maximus bishop of Assus in Asia said: 'As our bishop the most holy and most God-beloved Memnon has testified, so I too believe and persevere in this belief.'

31 We omit an intrusive 'I believe' from the final phrase.

32 The MSS give 'Dio', but this bishop must surely be the Stephen of Teos (Asia) who appears in the subscription list of this session (62.148).

33 An error: Anaea was in Asia.

(62) Dorotheus bishop of Myrina in Asia said: 'Since the contents of the letter just read from our father Bishop Cyril, in all respects most holy and most God-beloved, are in harmony with the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers, I share these beliefs and convictions.'

(63) Eucharius bishop of Dyrrhacium said: 'Since I recognize that the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius is utterly right and correct, I have found it to accord with the creed issued by our holy fathers who met in their time at Nicaea. I myself share these beliefs and convictions, and I too vow so to live and die in the Lord.'

(64) Theodore bishop of Aninetus said: 'I myself also assent to the testimony of the holy fathers concerning the creed issued at Nicaea and to the letter written by the most sacred and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril to the most devout Bishop Nestorius.'

(65) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Choma in Lycia: 'I admired wha was written by our father the most sacred and most holy Bishop Cyri to the most devout Bishop Nestorius, since it is in accord with the creed issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea, and I agree and acknowledge that my convictions concur with what our most holy fathers expounded.'

(66) Philip bishop of Pergamum said: 'I agree with the faith expounded by the 318 holy fathers assembled in the city of Nicaea, according to the canons that they issued, and with the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Cyril, since it is in accord with these canons, and I share these convictions and beliefs.'

(67) Eusebius bishop of Magnesia in Asia said: 'I agree with the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea and with the letter of our father the most holy Archbishop Cyril, whose contents are in harmony, and I share these convictions and beliefs.'

(68) Tychicus[34] bishop of the city of Erythrae in Asia said: 'Convinced by the observations and [23] demonstrations of the holy fathers (both the metropolitans and those from various provinces) who have testified, I acknowledge and believe in the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea and the letter written to the most devout Nestorius by the most holy Bishop Cyril.'

(69) Dynatus bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus said: 'Having heard the letter read today at this holy and great council which our father and fellow minister the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril wrote to the

34 The MSS give 'Eutychius' in error.

most devout Nestorius, and finding it in accord with the [creed] of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and expounded the orthodox faith, and considering the text of the letter and the orthodox faith expressed in it to be worthy of full reception, I too share these beliefs and add my testimony.'

(70) Theodore bishop of the city of Dodona said: 'I too assent and agree to the testimony of the bishop of my metropolis the most holy Dynatus.'

(71) Heracleon bishop of Tralles said: 'I follow in the footsteps of the holy fathers and I abide by the teaching of the council that took place at Nicaea of the 318 fathers who proclaimed the orthodox faith. And again at this holy council that is taking place in the metropolis of Ephesus I have heard our father the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril proclaiming or rather elucidating the same in his letter and recognize it to be in harmony with the 318. I give my assent, and vow to persevere in this faith and, through your prayers, to die accordingly.'

(72) Paralius bishop of the city of Andrapa said: 'Having been reared in the faith expounded by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, I believe and assent accordingly, and I find the letter read to us just now, written by the most holy and most God-beloved father Cyril, to be in all respects in harmony (though in a more detailed account) with the same exposition. I give my assent and vow to die in this faith.'

(73) Archelaus bishop of the city of Myndus in Caria said: 'The letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril is identical and in accord with the creed handed down to us piously and for our salvation by the holy and most God-beloved fathers and bishops convened in the city of Nicaea. I acknowledge that I believe accordingly, and vow so to do.'

(74) Apellas bishop of Cibyra in Caria said: 'I too give the same testimony and assent to this.'

(75) [24] Thomas bishop of Derbe in Lycaonia said: 'I myself also profess agreement with the creed of the fathers and with the letter written by the most holy and most religious Archbishop Cyril. I share these convictions and beliefs.'

(76) Themistius bishop of Iasus in Caria said: 'In accordance with the sound faith of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and the concordant letter just read of our father the most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril, I express the same belief and testimony.'

(77) Spudasius bishop of Ceramus in the province of Caria said: 'In the faith expounded by the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea I have both lived and vow to live. Likewise, seeing that the letter written by our father

the most holy Archbishop Cyril to the most religious Bishop Nestorius is homonymous,[35] I accept it and find it in no way at variance with the creed. Therefore I too believe and confirm both of them.'

(78) Aphthonetus bishop of Heraclea in Caria said: 'The letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril is an interpretation and confirmation of the pious creed handed down to us by the most holy fathers and bishops at Nicaea, and I profess and vow belief in both.'

(79) Philetus bishop of Amyzon in Caria said: 'I testify and believe in accordance with the heavenly and glorious creed issued by the 318 most devout and most God-beloved bishops who met at Nicaea, and with the letter written by the most holy and most God-beloved father Archbishop Cyril, which is in accord with the same holy exposition. I am of the same opinion as his religiousness.'

(80) Phanias bishop of the city of Harpasa in Caria said: 'In accordance with the exposition of the heavenly faith expounded by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea and with the letter read to us from the most holy and most God-beloved bishop our common father Cyril, written to the most devout Bishop Nestorius, since it has the same meaning as the creed of the holy fathers, I acknowledge and testify that my convictions are the same.'

(81) Promachius bishop of Alinda in Caria said: 'I myself also recognize that the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved archbishop Cyril is in accord with the exposition of the faith by our most holy and most God-beloved fathers and bishops who met at Nicaea. I testify that my beliefs and convictions are the same.'

(82) Saidas bishop of Phaeno in Palestina Salutaris said: 'I concur with the teaching [25] of the holy council of the 318 who met at Nicaea and with the writing by the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril; and to the testimony of our bishop the most sacred and most religious Juvenal, which accords with the teaching of the fathers, I agree and assent.'

(83) A translation of the testimony of Bishop Senecion.[36] Senecion bishop of Scodra said: 'In accordance with the faith defined by our 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, who were filled with the Holy Spirit, and also in accordance with the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril that has now been read to us, I believe and assent.'

35 An episcopal malapropism, since the word used (ὁμώνυμον), like its English derivative, does not mean synonymous but being verbally identical but different in meaning.

36 Senecion, coming from the province of Praevalitana, will have spoken in Latin.

(84) John bishop of Hephaestus in Augustamnica said: 'Since the creed issued by the holy council convoked by the holy fathers at Nicaea and the letter written to the most devout Nestorius by our father the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril express one meaning and one faith in different words, I too agree with them and share this belief, and vow, by the grace of God, to live by them.'

(85) Athanasius bishop of Paralus said: 'I too give the same testimony and assent to the orthodox faith of our father Archbishop Cyril.'

(86) Eusebius bishop of the city of Aspona in Galatia said: 'Since I recognize how great is the harmony between the faith expounded in the letter of our father the most God-beloved and most religious Bishop Cyril and that expounded formerly by the most sacred fathers, I approve and accept it and believe in it; I hold and teach the same.'

(87) Theon bishop of Sethroites said: 'I assent to the letter of our most holy archbishop Cyril, whose teaching is in harmony with the creed issued by the most holy fathers who convened in their time at Nicaea.'

(88) Daniel bishop of Darnis said: 'I assent to the letter just read of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril, whose teaching is in harmony with the creed of our most holy fathers at Nicaea.'

(89) Macarius bishop of Antaeopolis said: 'Finding the same grace of the Holy Spirit in the creed issued by the most holy fathers at Nicaea and in the letter of the most holy and most sacred Archbishop Cyril, I admire it and abide by it, and vow to maintain this faith, which guides and saves the human race.'

(90) Sopater bishop of Septimiace said: 'To take up much time [26] expounding the marvels of the holy fathers should not fall to me, but to someone who can boast of extensive education. Now that the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril written to Nestorius has been read, whose contents are in harmony with the council of 318 that took place in the city of Nicaea, I too hold and approve what our holy fathers held and believed.'

(91) Samuel bishop of Dysthis in Pentapolis said: 'I believe in accord with the holy fathers convened at Nicaea, and so I think and believe, having also heard the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril.'

(92) Strategius bishop of Athribis in the province of Augustamnica said: 'Since the contents of the letter just read of the most holy and most religious Archbishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius are in accord and identical in faith to our holy fathers the 318 bishops who sat in

session at Nicaea, I of necessity held and hold, believed and believe [the same], and shall persevere in this faith by the grace of the holy Trinity and of this holy council.'

(93) Eusebius bishop of Nilopolis in the province of Arcadia said: 'I approved the letter, since it is in accord with the creed of the holy fathers, and I believe according to this conception.'

(94) Marinus bishop of Heliopolis in the province of Augustamnica said: 'I approve the letter of our most holy Archbishop Cyril, since it is orthodox and in accord with the creed of the holy fathers at Nicaea.'

(95) Paul bishop of Phlabonis said: 'One and the same radiant faith, expounded formerly by the holy fathers at Nicaea and now made manifest by the unanimity of this great council and proclaimed yet more clearly by the letter of our most holy father Cyril, I hold and believe, and to this I assent, through which I also hope to be saved, confessing it in Christ.'

(96) Metrodorus bishop of Leontopolis said: 'Since the holy creed issued by our holy fathers at Nicaea and the letter read just now of the mos holy and most God-beloved father and archbishop Cyril, written to th most religious Nestorius, express one faith and understanding in differen words, I too necessarily assent to it, believing, holding, and confessing the same by the grace of the holy Trinity.'

(97) Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa said: 'It is superfluous for the bishops from Egypt to be asked for an account of the orthodox faith. For it is conspicuous to all that we follow and approve the faith expounded by our father the most holy and most sacred Archbishop Cyril, since it is in accord with the creed of the holy fathers.'

(98) [27] Heraclides bishop of Heracleopolis in Arcadia said: 'Since the creed of our holy fathers formerly assembled at Nicaea and the letter of our father the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril proclaim and profess one concordant faith, I necessarily, having been born and reared in it, vow to be of the same conviction forever by the grace of the holy Trinity.'

(99) Sabinus bishop of Panopolis in the province of the Thebaid said: 'Since the creed of the holy fathers formerly issued at Nicaea and the letter of our father the most religious and the most devout Cyril express a concordant faith, I too necessarily assent to it by the grace of the holy Trinity.'

(100) Heraclius bishop of Tamiathis said: 'Since the letter of our father the most devout and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril differs in no respect from the creed formerly issued at Nicaea by the holy fathers, I too necessarily assent to it by the grace of Christ.'

(101) Isaac bishop of Helearchia said: 'I acknowledge that there is the same accord in the symbol of the holy fathers and in the letter of the most holy Archbishop Cyril. I too necessarily assent to it by the grace of Christ.'

(102) Eutychius bishop of Theodosiopolis in Asia said: 'Since from a young age we have believed accordingly, we were in no way dismayed by the letter just read from the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril, sent to the most devout Nestorius. For it proved to be in accord with the creed issued by the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea, and my beliefs accord with what the holy fathers expounded at this great council.'

(103) Adelphius bishop of Sais said: 'Since the creed of the holy fathers formerly issued at Nicaea and the letter of the most God-beloved Bishop Cyril express a concordant faith, I too necessarily assent to it by the grace of the holy Trinity.'

(104) Rhodo bishop of the city of Palaeopolis in Asia said: 'Since the letter of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Cyril in no way differs from the holy fathers who met in the city of Nicaea, I myself also testify that I believe accordingly, in line with the creed they issued.'

(105) Nestorius bishop of Sion in the province of Asia said: 'Since my own beliefs also have accorded with the teaching of the holy fathers at Nicaea and I maintain the same, I have found the contents of the letter of the most God-beloved Cyril to be in harmony [with it], and [28] I myself also assent to this creed and teaching of the holy fathers, and vow to pass the rest of my life in this faith, by the grace of Christ.'

(106) Anderius bishop of the city of Chersonesus in the province of Crete said: 'The faith of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea was released like a precious perfume, and it has delighted us all the more through the letter of the most holy Bishop Cyril, whose contents are in accord and the same in essence. I myself also assent to it, and I vow to believe accordingly throughout my life.'

(107) Paul bishop of the city of Lappa in the province of Crete said: 'Now that I have heard the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Cyril and found it the same in expression and belief as the creed issued by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, I assent to it and believe accordingly, and vow to persevere forever in this faith.'

(108) Zenobius bishop of the city of Cnossus in the province of Crete said: 'Since the orthodox creed of the holy fathers who met in the city of Nicaea is acknowledged, and since there has also been read to us the letter of the most holy Bishop Cyril, which shares the same belief and expression

as those who expounded the faith correctly at that time, I agree and assent to it, and I vow to persevere in this faith.'

(109) Macarius bishop of Metelis in Aegyptus said: 'Since the letter just read of our most holy Archbishop Cyril is in accord with the faith expounded through the Holy Spirit by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, I assent to this identity in faith, since it is no different in doctrine but, as I have already said, is in accord with the creed handed down to God's most holy church by the most holy fathers.'

(110) Lampetius bishop of Casium in the province of Augustamnica said: 'I assent to the letter just read of our most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril, since it is in accord with the council at Nicaea and the creed issued by the holy fathers.'

(111) Macedonius bishop of Xois said: 'Now that there has been read to us today [the creed of] the holy council composed by our most sacred fathers and also the confirmation of it by our most holy Archbishop Cyril, since he shares the same belief, I too assent to it and believe in it as long as I live, [knowing] that I teach and was reared accordingly.'

(112) [29] Ammon bishop of the city of Buto said: 'I am in accord with [the creed of] the holy council at Nicaea composed by the holy fathers and the letter of our most holy Archbishop Cyril, and I myself agree to keep it till the last day of my life.'

(113) Ammonius bishop of the city of Panephysis in the province of Augustamnica said: 'I believe and persevere in this creed of the 318 bishops, and I assent to the letter written by the most holy Archbishop Cyril, since it is in accord with the holy fathers. I believe accordingly, and vow to die in it [our faith].'

(114) Alypius bishop of Sele in the province of Augustamnica said: 'I have heard the letter of our father the most holy and most religious Archbishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius, and the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea agrees with it. I believe accordingly in this orthodox faith, and I vow in this manner to conclude my life here and stand before the judgment seat of Christ.'

(115) Perrebius bishop of the Thessalian Saltus said: 'Since the creed issued at Nicaea by the holy fathers is fixed and incontrovertible, I also embrace the faith in accord with it that has been expounded in a letter by the most holy Bishop Cyril, as all the holy fathers before us also testified.'

(116) Philumenus bishop of the city of Cinna in Galatia said: 'Finding the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril to be in accord with the exposition of faith of the 318 holy bishops at Nicaea, I agree with them,

and my beliefs concur with the teaching of the holy fathers and contents of the letter of the most holy Bishop Cyril.'

(117) Hermogenes bishop of Rhinocolura said: 'It is one and the same Holy Spirit who inspired both the fathers at Nicaea about the faith and also the soul and tongue of the most holy and most sacred father and archbishop Cyril, who composed the letter to correct what had been wrongly uttered in church by the most religious Nestorius. Therefore, admiring their accord, and being myself in agreement with the beliefs of the fathers, I give the same testimony as the most holy council.'

(118) Euoptius bishop of Ptolemais in Pentapolis said: 'I marvelled at the accord between the letter of our father the most holy and most religious Archbishop Cyril [30] written to the most religious Nestorius to correct what had been said incorrectly and the symbol [written] by our most holy and most religious fathers assembled at Nicaea, and since I see nothing at variance in the letter, I assent with the whole council to their accord in the orthodox faith.'

(119) Phoebammon bishop of Coptos in the Thebaid said: 'The letter just read of our father the most holy Cyril, for the restoration of orthodox doctrine and the condemnation of heretical doctrine, has the same meaning as the doctrines expounded by the council at Nicaea and differs in no respect. I too testify my belief.'

(120) Zeno bishop of the city of Curium in Cyprus said: 'To the definition by the holy fathers at Nicaea and the writing by our father the most holy Archbishop Cyril, which are in accord, we too assent, confessing the same faith.'

(121) Martyrius bishop of Ilistra said: 'Having been reared in the canons of Nicaea from of old and from [the time of] my forefathers and trusting to keep them till death, and then having heard also the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Cyril and finding it in agreement with the holy canons, we trust to guard and preserve [in this faith] to the end the congregations committed to our care.'

(122) Hesychius bishop of Parium said: 'Even if I seem to have come on my own from my province,[37] and this thanks to prayer, nevertheless I testify that I am of the same faith that was expounded by the most holy and most religious fathers who met at Nicaea. This faith was confirmed by the

37 Hellespontus. The metropolitan of the province, Dalmatius of Cyzicus, and three of his suffragans had signed the protest of the previous day against the premature opening of the council (doc. 37, pp. 211–12, at nos 7 and 41–3).

most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril in the letter written to the most devout Nestorius.'

(123) Helladius bishop of Adramyttium said: 'My beliefs are in accordance with the teaching of our 318 most holy and most God-beloved fathers and the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Cyril, and I shall keep this faith.'

(124) Dio bishop of the city of Thebes said: 'My faith is that of the holy fathers at Nicaea and this I profess, and I know that the most holy father and fellow minister Archbishop Cyril in the holy letter written to Nestorius expounded and uttered the same convictions.'

(125) Andrew bishop of Hermopolis in the Thebaid said: 'My beliefs are in accordance with the enactment on the orthodox and salvific faith b the holy fathers the 318 bishops assembled in the city of Nicaea and wit the letter just read of our father the most holy and most sacred Archbisho Cyril, sent to the most devout [31] Bishop Nestorius, which is in harmony with the old decree by the same most holy bishops assembled at Nicaea, and I hold the faith of the orthodox.'

(126) And all the remaining bishops with places in the assembly give the same testimony. Their beliefs concur with both the teaching of the fathers and the message of the letter of the most holy Archbishop Cyril written to Bishop Nestorius.

46. Palladius bishop of Amaseia said: 'It is fitting that the letter of the most devout Nestorius should also be read, which the most devout presbyter Peter mentioned at the beginning, so that we may learn whether it too is in accord with the teaching of the holy fathers at Nicaea.'

It was read out, and was attached in the form in which it is given above,[38] beginning 'To the most devout and most God-beloved fellow minister Cyril, Nestorius sends greetings in the Lord. As for the insults against us in your astounding letter, I forgive them, since they merit a remedial patience' – and the rest.[39]

47. (1) After the reading of the letter, Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'What is the opinion of his holy and great council about the letter that has

38 In other words, the full text of the letter was given in the original version of the Acts, but is omitted in the edition that is preserved, which has a substantial preliminary section of documents before the council. See p. 7 and p. 232, n. 24.

39 CV 5; doc. 11.

just been read? Does it too appear in accord with the faith defined at the council of the holy fathers who convened in their time in the city of Nicaea, or not?'

(2) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'It is in no way in accord with the pious creed issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea, and I anathematize those with these beliefs, for these are completely alien to the orthodox faith.'

(3) Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'The entire contents of the letter just read are utterly opposed and absolutely alien to the creed issued at Nicaea by the most holy fathers, and we judge those with these beliefs to be contrary to the orthodox faith.'

(4) Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'Clothing the letter with a semblance of piety at the beginning, he was totally unable to disguise its meaning as the account progressed and conveyed his meaning without any veil, at variance with the creed of the 318 holy fathers and in opposition to the letter of the most sacred Bishop Cyril.'

(5) [32] Valerianus bishop of Iconium said: 'The contrariety of the letter of the most devout Nestorius is conspicuous to all, for it is not only at variance with the creed of the holy fathers at Nicaea and the letter of the most God-beloved and most holy Archbishop Cyril, but not even consistent with itself.'

(6) Iconius bishop of Gortyna said: 'The letter of the most devout Nestorius read just now is utterly discordant with the teaching of the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea and also with the letter of our father the most holy Bishop Cyril. Therefore I reject it and anathematize those with these beliefs, while I assent to the teaching of the holy fathers at Nicaea and to the letter of the most holy father and archbishop Cyril.'

(7) Hellanicus bishop of Rhodes said: 'I have already testified that I follow the exposition of the orthodox faith by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea, and I acknowledge that the holy Virgin Mary is Theotokos. Let him who believes otherwise be anathema.'

(8) Acacius bishop of Melitene said: 'The letter just read of the most devout Bishop Nestorius has shown that he had good reason to be afraid to come to this holy and great council. For it was natural for one who was conscience-stricken at having falsified the divine scriptures and undermined the doctrines to be possessed by such fear as to surround his residence with a mass of soldiers. For his letter just read has shown most plainly that, by abolishing the statements about the only-begotten Son of God contained in the creed of the holy fathers the 318 bishops, he has connected the salvific economy to the flesh alone, asserting that

it was the bare temple of God that underwent birth and death. And he has falsely represented scripture as itself teaching that the birth and the passion are not the Godhead's but the manhood's, and falsely accused the letter of the most holy and most religious Bishop Cyril of saying that God is passible, which neither he nor any other of those with pious beliefs have either thought or had the temerity to say. Throughout he has shown himself to acknowledge the oneness of God with the flesh in word alone, while completely denying it in reality; he has convicted himself of bizarre teaching in claiming that the doctrines have only now been brought to light and by himself. All this I reject as being alien to the truth and containing much impiety, and I declare myself a stranger to the communion of those who utter such things.'

(9) Memnon bishop of Ephesus said: '[33] The letter just read is full not only of misrepresentation but also of blasphemy. Therefore all of it is contrary to the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea.'

(10) Theodotus bishop of Ancyra said: 'We know that the letter of the most devout Nestorius is in total disagreement with the teaching of the 318 holy fathers convened at Nicaea. We therefore follow their teaching, but we consider Nestorius' letter alien to the orthodox faith and we judge those with these beliefs to be contrary to the orthodox faith.'

(11) Palladius bishop of Amaseia said: 'I myself because of the blasphemy written in the letter hastened to stop my ears, and out of shock became almost like a stone, being so overcome with shock as to be unable to utter a word. I believe that the whole God-beloved and holy synod is of the same mind as myself over the letter that has just been read, and what I say is simply this: the letter that has been read is utterly discordant with the exposition of the faith by the holy fathers convened in the beautiful city of Nicaea.'

(12) Dynatus bishop of Epirus Vetus[40] said: 'The letter just read of the most devout Nestorius proclaims no word of truth; we recognize that it is in accord with neither the teaching of the holy fathers at Nicaea nor the tradition of the catholic church. Therefore we recognize that in no respect does it belong to the catholic church, but if anyone else shares these beliefs, he is not following the faith of the catholic church.'

(13) Prothymius bishop of Comana said: 'I have faith in the letter issued by your holiness, and I anathematize whoever denies that the holy Virgin is Theotokos.'

40 Dynatus of Nicopolis is the last metropolitan bishop to speak.

(14) Gregory bishop of Cerasus said: 'What the most devout bishop Nestorius has written to the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril is contrary to the pious religion of the 318 bishops at Nicaea. Therefore, since these are his beliefs, I do not concur with his doctrine, but I assent to that of the aforesaid Archbishop Cyril and the aforesaid holy fathers.'

(15) Romanus bishop of Raphia said: 'The faith that the most devout Nestorius has expounded is spurious, and contrary to that of the holy fathers. Therefore we anathematize it according to the statement of the apostle that runs, "If anyone instructs you contrary to what you received, let him be anathema".[41]

(16) Theodulus bishop of Elusa said: 'I reject the letter written by the most devout Nestorius to the most holy Bishop Cyril, because it was composed lawlessly and contrary to the ecclesiastical ordinances, while I hold the creed of Nicaea to be valid.'

(17) Hermogenes bishop of Rhinocolura said: '[34] What has been composed by the most devout Nestorius is totally alien to the orthodox faith and the teaching of the fathers, and also to what was written by the most sacred and most God-beloved Cyril, which is in accord with the beliefs of the fathers about the faith.'

(18) Euoptius bishop of Ptolemais said: 'Just as those who falsify the imperial currency are liable to the extreme penalty of the law, so too the most devout Nestorius, having dared to falsify the doctrine of orthodoxy, deserves every penalty from God and from men, as do also the doctrines discordant with the catholic church that he has uttered for the ruin and destruction of the men who have followed him. Therefore I make myself alien to both his communion and that of all who share his beliefs.'

(19) Fidus bishop of Joppa said: '"What communion does light have with darkness or what agreement is there of Christ with Belial?"[42] The letter of the most devout Nestorius read just now is far distant from the truth, but very much in agreement with the lawless opinions of Paul of Samosata. Therefore because of the blasphemies it contains it will be unacceptable to all.'

(20) Theodore bishop of Arindela said: 'The contents of the letter of the most devout Nestorius are neither orthodox nor in accord with either orthodox faith or the teaching of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, but totally discordant. Therefore I too anathematize him for holding these beliefs.'

41 Gal 1:9.
42 2 Cor 6:14–15.

(21) Theodore bishop of Gadara said: 'I too anathematize the most honourable Nestorius for not sharing the beliefs of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, as his letter just read has shown.'

(22) Rufinus bishop of Gabae said: 'The letter of the most devout Nestorius just read has shown him to hold beliefs contrary to the creed issued by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea. Therefore I anathematize him and reject the blasphemies issued by him.'

(23) Paulianus bishop of Maiuma said: 'Likewise I too anathematize him because of his false beliefs. For this has been proved by his letter.'

(24) Aeanes bishop of Sycamazon said: 'Neither vaguely nor accidentally have the opinions of the most devout Nestorius been shown by the letter just read to clearly contain beliefs contrary to the orthodox faith. Therefore I too anathematize him.'

(25) Peter bishop of Parembolae said: 'Since it is incumbent on those devoted to God to follow the orthodox creed issued by the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea, while the most devout Nestorius has been found to have different beliefs, for this reason I too anathematize him because of his letter just read out.'

(26) John bishop of Augustopolis said: 'The most devout Nestorius has been seen from the letter just read to hold beliefs contrary to the orthodox faith. Therefore I too anathematize him.'

(27) Paul bishop of Anthedon said: 'Those who are truly Christians ought not to be seduced [35] by those holding wrong beliefs, but the very opposite. Therefore, on the basis of the letter of the most devout Nestorius just read, which clearly contains things contrary to the orthodox creed issued by the holy fathers who at that time met at Nicaea, I anathematize him.'

(28) Letoeus bishop of Livias said: 'From what has been read, the beliefs of the most devout Nestorius differ greatly from the orthodox faith. Therefore I too anathematize him.'

(29) Saidas bishop of Phaeno said: 'I too anathematize him, since he holds wrong beliefs and is not in agreement with the creed of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea. For his opinions have been exposed by the reading of his letter.'

(30) Eusebius bishop of Pelusium said: 'All the contents of the letter of the most devout Nestorius just read are alien to the creed issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea. I necessarily anathematize both them and those who hold them.'

(31) Macarius bishop of Antaeopolis said: 'The contents of the letter of the most devout Nestorius differ vastly from the creed issued by the holy

fathers who met at Nicaea, and I anathematize those with such beliefs as having no part in the orthodox faith.'

(32) Phoebammon bishop of Coptos said: 'The letter of the most devout Nestorius is in no way in accord with the creed issued by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, nor with the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril. So anathema to those with such beliefs!'

(33) Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa said: 'It is clear from the letter read just now that the most devout Nestorius holds beliefs that differ from the creed of the holy fathers, and I anathematize him and those with the same beliefs.'

(34) Aristobulus bishop of Thmuis said: 'We recognize from his letter just read that the most devout Nestorius holds beliefs contrary to the orthodox faith. For this reason I anathematize him.'

(35) Amphilochius bishop of Side said: 'The unnatural and abominable doctrines that have been revealed by the letter of the most devout Nestorius not only offend the hearing of the pious, but also declare war on the orthodox faith.'

48. All the bishops exclaimed together: 'Let whoever does not anathematize Nestorius be anathema. He is anathematized by the orthodox faith, he is anathematized by the council. He is anathematized by the holy council. Let whoever is in communion with Nestorius be anathema. We all anathematize the letter and the doctrines of Nestorius. The heretical Nestorius [36] we all anathematize. Those in communion with Nestorius we all anathematize. The impious faith of Nestorius we all anathematize. The impious doctrine of Nestorius we all anathematize. The impious Nestorius we all anathematize. The whole world anathematizes the impious religion of Nestorius. Let whoever does not anathematize him be anathema. He is anathematized by the orthodox faith. He is anathematized by the holy council. Let whoever is in communion with Nestorius be anathema. Let the letter of the most holy bishop of Rome be read.'[43]

43 This final acclamation must be an editorial suture (added already in the original preparation of the written-up record) linking the acclamations to what follows; cf. Graumann (2002a) 385 and DeHalleux (1993) 76, n. 140. In the reading of these passages conducted at the Council of Constantinople 553, it is omitted (Session VI.14.1; cf. ACO IV.1, 154,22–31 and Price (2009a) II, 30). The reading at Constantinople was only interested in the approval of Cyril and the rejection of Nestorius, not the interlinking of procedural steps in the Ephesine record.

49. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Let there also be read the letter of the most holy and most religious Celestine archbishop of Rome which he sent about the faith.'

Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries read out:

A translation of the letter of Celestine bishop of Rome to Nestorius: 'To the beloved brother Nestorius, Celestine. For some days of our life, after the wicked and oft-condemned doctrine of Pelagius and Caelestius, the catholic faith enjoyed peace' – and the rest.[44]

Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'In agreement with what has just been read is a letter by his holiness our most religious Bishop Cyril, which we have to hand, and if your religiousness so directs, we shall read it.'

Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'After it has been read, let it also be included in the proceedings.'

Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries read it out:

'To the most devout and most religious fellow minister Nestorius, Cyril and the council assembled at Alexandria from the Egyptian diocese send greetings in the Lord. Since our Saviour expressly says, "He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me"' – and the rest.[45]

After this had been read and inserted in the minutes, Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'Not only was this letter from the most holy and most sacred Celestine bishop of the church of Rome sent [37] and delivered to the most devout Nestorius,[46] but so also, through the most devout bishops Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon, and Comarius, was the letter from the most holy and most religious Cyril bishop of the church of Alexandria and the whole Egyptian council, and I request that the most devout bishops Theopemptus and Daniel, who are here, be asked about this.'

44 CVer 2, doc. 15.

45 Cyril, *Third Letter to Nestorius*, CV 6, doc. 20.

46 Clearly this comment should follow immediately the reading of the letter referred to. This shows, as de Halleux noted, that Cyril's *Third Letter* has been inserted in the wrong place – even if its relevance in this context, as evidence that Celestine's ultimatum was delivered to Nestorius, is clear. No conclusion can be drawn as to whether this letter was, or was not, read out at some stage in this session. The protocol does not suggest any discussion, let alone approval, of this letter's theological content or, especially, of the appended anathemas. Its inclusion in the written-up protocol which bishops signed, however, is the constant focus of protests and condemnations by the eastern bishops, to whom this act clearly amounted to the affirmation of its 'heretical' doctrines.

Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Let our fellow ministers the most devout Theopemptus and Daniel, who are present, testify whether they delivered the letters.'[47]

50. Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa said: 'Going up to the episcopal palace on a Sunday, when the liturgy was being celebrated,[48] in the presence of all the clergy and almost all the *illustres*,[49] we delivered these letters to Nestorius.'

Daniel bishop of Darnis said: 'Going up to the episcopal palace on a Sunday, in the presence of all the clergy and almost all the *illustres*, we delivered these letters to Nestorius.'

Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Did he do what the letters required?

Daniel bishop of Darnis said: 'He told us at that time to come on the following day and see him privately. But when we came, he shut the doors against us and did not deign to give us a reply.'

Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa said: 'Having received the above-mentioned documents, he instructed us to meet him on the following day. We came, but when we came he did not receive us, nor has he done what the letters required, with the result that he utters in church the same doctrines and even worse: not only did he teach these things before receiving the documents, but after receiving them he has taught far worse, till this day.'

51. Fidus bishop of Joppa said: 'That he persists in the same teaching till today can also be stated by the most religious bishops Acacius and Lord Theodotus here present, who held discussions with him, to the extent that these could have been a real danger for someone. We urge and conjure them by the holy gospels here exposed[50] to say for the guarantee of the minutes what they heard three days ago from Nestorius himself.'

47 The Greek phrase and the similar ones that follow could, though in the plural, refer to a single letter, and the essential point at issue is whether Celestine's letter was properly delivered. However, in view of the preceding speech by Peter, it is natural to take the bishops to be referring to the delivery of both letters.

48 The reference must be to a reception in the episcopal palace immediately following the celebration of the eucharist. The date was 30 November, according to a note in the *Collectio Palatina* (ACO I.5, 39,21).

49 Members of the Senate of Constantinople.

50 At councils the gospel book was placed in the central place of honour.

52. Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'Since our discussion is not on accidental points but about a matter of more capital importance than anything, I mean the Christian faith, it is fitting, [38] according to the urging of the most devout Bishop Fidus and the oaths imposed, that the most devout and in all respects most God-beloved bishops Theodotus and Acacius, since they are holy and lovers of the truth, relate what they heard him say in the city of Ephesus, when they embarked on a discussion with him over the orthodox faith.'

53. Theodotus bishop of Ancyra said: 'I am pained on behalf of a friend, but I honour piety more than all friendship. Therefore, though with great regret, I am obliged to tell the truth on the matter I am being asked about. I do not think that our testimony is strictly necessary, since his beliefs are clear from the letter to your religiousness. For what he there[51] forbade to be said about God, that is, the Only-begotten, treating his manhood as a reproach to him, he also said here, when he asserted that one should not attribute to God either being fed with milk or born from a virgin. Accordingly he said several times here that [an infant] two or three months old should not be called God.[52] This was heard not only by ourselves but also by many others only a few days ago when he was speaking to us here at Ephesus.'

Acacius bishop of Melitene said: 'Since the faith is in question and piety towards God, I am obliged to set aside every predisposition. Consequently, even though I had great love for the lord Nestorius, more than for others, and was eager to protect him in every way, I am now obliged through a love of the truth to recount what he has said, lest, if I hide the truth, my soul be condemned. As soon as I arrived at the city of Ephesus, I had a discussion with this man and, knowing that he held unorthodox beliefs, tried in every way to get him to correct and renounce his pernicious beliefs, and witnessed him acknowledge *with his lips* that he retracted such a view. After leaving the matter for ten or twelve days, when there was again discussion, I defended the true account and witnessed him oppose it. I realized that he had fallen into two absurdities at the same time. For first, by the absurd turn of his questioning he tried to compel those answering either to deny altogether that the Godhead of the Only-begotten had become man or to acknowledge (which was impious)

51 In Constantinople.

52 For the same statement in direct speech see CV 67, doc. 50 (p. 317).

that the Godhead of the Father and that of the Holy Spirit had become flesh together with the Word[53] – these tenets being indicative in every way of a false understanding contrary to the pious faith. Then, when a second discussion arose, a bishop who was with him took over the discussion and said that the Son who underwent the suffering was a different person[54] from God the Word. Unable to endure this blasphemy, I took my leave from them all and went away. And another of those with him accused the Jews of impiety not towards God but towards a man.'

Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Since the testimony of our fellow ministers the most devout and most religious Theodotus and Acacius is plain, it is fitting that the beliefs held on the present topic by our blessed fathers and bishops be read out and inserted in the proceedings.'

54. [39] Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'Because we have to hand the books of the most holy and most sacred fathers, bishops, and various martyrs, and have chosen from them a few chapters, we shall, if it please you, read them out.'

Flavian bishop of Philippi: 'And let them, after the reading, be inserted [in the proceedings].'

There was read the following.[55]

53 Nestorius' argument is that, since the one Godhead is shared by all the three Persons of the Trinity, to hold that Christ in his Godhead became flesh would imply that all three Persons did.

54 'Person' is not in the Greek, but is implied by the use of masculine pronouns: ἄλλον μὲν ... ἄλλον δὲ.

55 The following texts were selected as demonstrating the traditional and authoritative teaching of the church represented by the 'Fathers', and in contradistinction from the errors espoused by Nestorius, excerpts from whom follow next. It is implied that the fathers' teaching is in complete accord with the teaching of Cyril, which had been approved earlier in the meeting. In fact, most of the excerpts presented here had been collected by Cyril and used in his writings prior to the council. We identify the texts by their numbers in *CPG* but do not give editions.

Peter the most holy Bishop and Martyr, from the Book *Concerning the Godhead*[56]

(1) Because grace and truth came truly through Jesus Christ[57] (which is how we have been saved by grace, according to the apostolic saying, 'And this is not from us but the gift of God, not from works lest anyone should boast'),[58] the Word became flesh by the will of God, and 'being found in form as a man'[59] was not deprived of Godhead. For it was not in order to depart completely from his power or glory that he become poor, although he was rich,[60] but so that he might accept death on behalf of us sinners, 'the righteous for the unrighteous, so that he might offer us to God, being mortified in the flesh but made alive in the spirit'.[61]

(2) *And further down*: This is why the evangelist says truly, 'The Word became flesh and dwelt among us,'[62] from the moment, that is, when the angel greeted the Virgin, saying, 'Hail, O favoured one, the Lord is with you.'[63] For Gabriel's statement 'The Lord is with you' is here to be understood as meaning 'God the Word is with you'. It meant that he was being generated in the womb and becoming flesh, as it is written, 'The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you, and therefore the holy one to be born will be called the Son of God.'[64]

(3) *And yet further down*: God the Word became flesh in the womb of the Virgin in the absence of a man and according to the will of God who is able to work all things, and did not need the work or presence of a man. For the power of God worked more effectively than man, when it overshadowed the Virgin through the coming of the Holy Spirit.

56 Bishop Peter of Alexandria (300–*c.* 311), who died in the Great Persecution. Of the work only the passages excerpted here are extant; see CPG 1635.

57 John 1:17.

58 Eph 2:8.

59 Phil 2:8.

60 2 Cor 8:9.

61 1 Pet 3:18.

62 John 1:14.

63 Luke 1:18.

64 Luke 1:35.

Athanasius the most holy Bishop of Alexandria, from the Book *Against the Arians*[65]

(4) Many indeed have been made holy and pure of all sin: Jeremiah was sanctified even from the womb,[66] and John, while still in the womb, leapt for joy at the voice of Mary the Theotokos.[67] Nevertheless 'death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over those who had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression',[68] and so it was that men remained no less mortal and corruptible, liable to their own [40] natural passions. But now that the Word has become man and has appropriated the things of the flesh, these no longer affect the body, because of the Word who has come to be in it, but they have been destroyed by him; henceforth men no longer remain sinful and dead according to their own passions but, being raised by the power of the Word, they remain forever immortal and incorruptible. In consequence also, since the flesh is generated from Mary the Theotokos, the very one is said to have been born who bestows on others their birth into existence, in order to take our birth into himself, and so that we may no longer, as mere earth, depart to the earth, but being conjoined to the Word from heaven may be led up to heaven by him. Therefore it is not inappropriate that he has taken into himself in this way the other passions of the body as well, so that we, no longer as men but as belonging to the Word, may come to share in eternal life. For no longer do we all die in Adam, according to our former origin, but now that our origin and every fleshly weakness has been taken into the Word, we are raised from the earth, since the curse because of sin has been abolished because of the one who in us 'became a curse for our sake'.[69]

The Same, from the *Letter to Epictetus*[70]

(5) How did those who are called Christians venture even to doubt that the Lord who proceeded from Mary is both the Son of God in essence and

65 Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* [CPG 2093] III. 33.

66 Jer 1:5.

67 Luke 1:44.

68 Rom 5:14.

69 Gal 3:13.

70 Athanasius, *Letter to Epictetus* [*CPG* 2095]; the first quotation is from §2, the second from §7. This letter (written *c.* 370) anticipated many of the issues in the Christological controversy of the fifth century and was widely cited. It was already held up as a guide to

nature and also (as regards the flesh) of the seed of David and of the flesh of holy Mary? And who have been so presumptuous as to say that the Christ who suffered and was crucified in the flesh is not Lord, Saviour, God, and Son of the Father? Or how do they wish to be called Christians who say that the Word has come into a holy man as upon one of the prophets, and has not himself become man, taking his body from Mary, but that Christ is a different person[71] from the Word of God who, before Mary and before the ages, was the Son of the Father? Or how can they be Christians who say that the Son is a different person from the Word of God?

(6) *And further down*: This did not come to pass putatively (God forbid!), as some again have supposed; but the salvation of the whole man took place through the Saviour becoming man in reality and truth. For if the Word was in the body putatively, in their view, and by putative is meant imaginary, then also the salvation and resurrection of mankind would turn out to be in mere appearance, following the most impious Mani. But our salvation is not imaginary, nor is it of the body only that salvation has truly taken place, but of the whole man, soul and body. That which was from Mary according to the divine scriptures was human by nature and yet truly the Saviour's.

Julius the most holy Bishop of Rome, from the *Letter to Prosdocius*[72]

(7) [41] To complete the faith, the Son of God is proclaimed to have become flesh from the Virgin Mary and to have dwelt among men, not acting in a man, as was the case with the prophets and apostles, but being perfect God in the flesh and perfect man in the spirit – not two sons, one a genuine son who assumed a man and the other a mortal man who was assumed by God, but one God only-begotten in heaven and only-begotten on earth.[73]

Christology in the discussions concerning the union of 433 (Graumann (2003)) and was for that reason sent by Cyril to various addressees; see, for instance, Cyril's *Letter to John of Antioch* (CV 127,11; ACO I.1.4, 20,9–13). For an analysis see Moutsoulas (1974).

71 'Person' does not occur in the Greek, but is implied by the use of the masculine pronouns ἕτερον in this sentence and ἄλλον in the next.

72 This and the following extract are from writings of Apollinarius (*c.* 315–*c.* 390) that were attributed by his followers to reputed fourth-century fathers of the church.

73 The extract breaks off mid-phrase. The original runs, '... but one [Son] only-begotten in heaven and only-begotten on earth, God in truth and man in fleshly formation' (Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* 284).

Felix the most holy Bishop of Rome and Martyr, from the *Letter to Bishop Maximus and the Clergy of Alexandria*[74]

(8) Concerning the enfleshment of the Word and the faith, we believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, born from the Virgin Mary, that he is the eternal Son and Word of God and not a man assumed by God, so as to be another [person] apart from him; for the Son of God did not assume a man, so that there would be another apart from him but, being perfect God, he become also perfect man, enfleshed from the Virgin.

Theophilus the most holy Bishop of Alexandria, from the *Fifth Paschal Letter*[75]

(9) For there exist even now remains of the miracles of that time. They should not disbelieve that the power of God is able to make a virgin give birth, in whom the living Word of God came to be in our likeness, since otherwise it would have been impossible for him to enter into closer communication with us. But so that he should not take a body from pleasure and sleep, as happens with other men, he took a body in the likeness[76] of this from the Virgin, being born as man, appearing like us according to the form of a servant, but proved by his works to be the creator and lord of the universe, performing the works of God.

The Same, from the *Sixth Paschal Letter*[77]

(10) Just as the best artists not only display their art in precious materials to general admiration but often take cheap clay and soluble wax to show the power of their skill and gain far greater praise, so the supreme artist of all, the living and active Word of God, beautifying the universe

74 Apollinarius, fr. 186 (Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* 318).

75 Theophilus of Alexandria (385–412) was the uncle of Cyril of Alexandria; see for the letter CPG 2582.

76 'Likeness' (ὁμοιώματι) does not mean 'similar but different' but 'of one and the same nature', as at Phil 2:7.

77 CPG 2583.

with the harmony of order, did not come to us by taking as a precious material a heavenly body, but [42] showed the greatness of his art in clay, transforming man who was fashioned out of clay. He came forth as man from the Virgin in a novel manner, changing the mode of generation and choosing to become like us in all respects except sin.[78] In being born, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and suckled, and lying as a babe in a manger, he accepted for the reasons given the weakness of our nature. But while still a baby he confounded the enemy and his army, drawing the Magi to a change of mind and making them ignore the king who had sent them.[79]

Cyprian the most holy Bishop and Martyr, from *On Almsgiving*[80]

(11) Many and great, beloved brethren, are the divine benefits with which the lavish and abundant mercy of God the Father and Christ has both worked and is always working our salvation. Therefore the Father sent the Son to preserve us and give us life, in order to renew us; and the Son, on being sent, willed to become son of man so as to make us sons of God. He therefore humbled himself so that he might restore the people who were outcast,[81] he was wounded so that he might heal our wounds, he served so that he might lead from servitude[82] into freedom those who were in servitude, and he underwent death so that he might bestow immortality on mortals.

78 Cf. Heb 4:15.

79 Cf. Matt 2:12.

80 Cyprian, *De opere et eleemosynis* [CPL 47] 1. No Greek translation of the whole text is known. Here, as in the two passages of Ambrose that follow, we translate from the Greek text of the protocol. The Latin text of the Acts (ACO 1.3, 70–1) gives Cyprian's original wording.

81 Latin: 'raise up the people who before were prostrate'.

82 'From servitude' is not in the original Latin.

Ambrose the most holy Bishop of Milan[83]

(12) If they do not believe me, let them believe the apostle when he says, 'But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born from woman, born under the law.'[84] He said '*his* Son', not one of many, not an ordinary one, but indicating the special character of the eternal generation of his own Son. He presents him as having been subsequently 'born from woman',[85] in order to attribute the birth not to the Godhead but to the body assumed, since he was 'born from woman' through the assumed flesh, and 'born under the law' through observance of the law. For his divine generation was before the law, while this one was after the law.

The Same[86]

(13) Let therefore vain questions about words fall silent, because the kingdom of God, as scripture says,[87] consists not in persuasive human words but in the demonstration of power. Let us preserve the recognition of[88] the Godhead and the flesh. [43] The Son of God who speaks in each is one, because each nature is in him. It is the same [person] who speaks, but he does not always converse in one way. Note in him now the glory of God and now the sufferings of man, that as God he teaches divine things, because he is the Word, and that as man he says human things, because he spoke in my essence. 'This is the living bread which came down from heaven.'[89] This bread is flesh, as he himself said: 'This bread which I will give is my flesh.'[90] This is he who came down, this is he whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world. Scripture itself teaches us that sanctification was needed not by the Godhead but by the flesh.

83 *De fide ad Gratianum* [CPL 150] I. 94. This work (written 378–80) was primarily directed against Arianism. The Greek rendering we follow is imperfect, as the following notes indicate.

84 Gal 4:4.

85 Latin: 'He afterwards added that he was "made from woman"...'.

86 *De fide ad Gratianum* II. 77–8.

87 1 Cor 2:4.

88 Latin: 'the distinction between'.

89 John 6:51.

90 John 6:52.

Gregory the Great, the most holy Bishop of Nazianzus[91]

(14) Do not let men deceive or be deceived, supposing that the 'man of the Lord', as they call him, who is rather our Lord and God, is a man without a mind. For we do not separate the man from the Godhead, but we teach as doctrine that he is one and the same, who was formerly not man but God, and the only and pre-eternal Son, unmixed with body and the things of the body, but who finally [became] a man, assumed for our salvation, passible in the flesh, impassible in the Godhead, finite in the body, infinite in the spirit, the same both earthly and heavenly, seen [by the eyes] and grasped by the mind, comprehensible and incomprehensible, so that by the same [person], who was both complete man and also God, the complete man who had succumbed to sin might be fashioned anew.

If anyone does not hold that Mary is Theotokos, he is severed from the Godhead.

If anyone [should say] that he passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and was not formed in her at once divinely and humanly – divinely because without a man, humanly because in accordance with the laws of gestation, let him be anathema.

If anyone should say that the man was formed and afterwards put on God, he is to be condemned, for this would not be a generation of God but an avoidance of generation.

If anyone introduces two sons, one from the God and Father and a second from the mother, but not one and the same, may he be deprived of the adoption promised to those with orthodox beliefs. For God and man are two natures, just as soul and body are; but there are not two sons or two Gods, just as there are not two men in the latter case, even if Paul spoke in this way of that which is within a man and that which is outside him.[92] And, to put it concisely, there are indeed different constituents that make up the Saviour, since the invisible is not the same as the visible nor the timeless the same as that which is subject to time. Yet there is no difference of person (God forbid!),[93] for the two are one by being compounded, the Godhead

91 Gregory of Nazianzus, *ep.* 101 to Cledonius [CPG 3032], written in 382 against Apollinarianism.

92 Cf. 2 Cor 4:16, 'our outer man ... our inner man'.

93 The Greek expression for 'different constituents' is ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ('one [thing] and another'), and for 'different persons' ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ('one [person] and another'), the phrases differing in their gender.

having become man and the man having been 'deified' or however one might express it. And I say different constituents, which is the opposite of what is the case as regards the Trinity; for there [we acknowledge] different persons so as not to confound the hypostases, but not different elements, for the three are one and the same in Godhead.

[44] If anyone says that he worked in him[94] by grace as in a prophet but was not conjoined and moulded with him in essence, may he be empty of the higher operation,[95] but rather full of the opposite.

If anyone does not worship the crucified one, let him be anathema and be numbered among the murderers of God.

If anyone says that he was made perfect by works, or that after his baptism or after his resurrection from the dead he was counted worthy of an adoptive sonship, as the pagans introduce supplementary [gods],[96] let him be anathema. For that which began, or progresses, or is made perfect, is not God, even if it is spoken of in this way on account of a gradual growth.[97]

Basil the most holy Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima[98]

(15) For heaven and earth and the great expanses of the seas, the creatures that live in the waters and the animals on dry land, plants, and the stars and the air, the seasons and the varied order of the universe, do not prove the supremacy of his might so well as the fact that the incomprehensible God was able, impassibly and by means of the flesh, to be bonded to death, so that by his own suffering he might bestow on us freedom from suffering.

94 That is, God the Word in [the man] Christ.

95 That of the Holy Spirit.

96 The reference is to the euhemeristic notion of some Greek philosophers who supposed that the gods were originally mortal men who were subsequently raised to divine status.

97 Gregory is thinking of such biblical texts as Ps 80:6, 'I said you are gods and sons of the Most High', which were understood to refer to the 'deification' (or union with God) attained by the worthy. He is arguing that this is a wholly inadequate way to explain the divinity of Christ.

98 *On the Holy Spirit* [CPG 2839] 18.

Gregory the most holy Bishop of Nyssa[99]

(16) Scripture says, 'Let this be thought among you which is also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, did not consider equality with God something to be snatched, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.'[100] What is more poverty-stricken for God than the form of servant? What is humbler for the king of the universe than to enter voluntarily into a share in our poverty-stricken nature? The king of kings and the lord of lords takes on the form of servitude, the judge of all things becomes subject to those in power, the lord of creation lodges in a cave, the one who controls everything finds no room in the inn but is relegated to a manger for animals, the pure and spotless one accepts the defilement of human nature and, proceeding through all our poverty, comes at last to experience death. Witness the extent of his voluntary poverty: life tastes death, the judge is led to judgement, the lord of the life [45] of all that exists is subjected to the verdict of one giving sentence, the king of all the powers above the cosmos does not reject the hands of the executioners. May this example, it is saying, provide you with a yardstick of humility.[101]

60.[102] Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'We also have [to hand][103] books of the blasphemies of the most devout Nestorius, from one of which we have selected chapters, which, if it please [this holy council], we shall read out.'

Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Let them be read out and inserted in the proceedings.'[104]

99 *Sermons on the Beatitudes* [CPG 3161] 1.

100 Phil 2:5–7.

101 Parts of the manuscript tradition add at this point those further excerpts from fathers that belong to the expanded list of the 'session' of 22 July (cf. doc. 86); see Schwartz ACO I.1.2, 44, *app. ad locum*.

102 CV 55–9 consist of the Nicene Creed, the appeal from Charisius of Philadelphia, and 'Canon 7' on the use of the Nicene Creed; all this material occurs in CA (at no. 74.3, the first sentence of 74.4, and 76–7; see doc. 86) as part of the 'session' of 22 July. As Schwartz argues ad loc. (ACO I.1.2, 44), they are out of place here. The blending of material from these two distinct records in some manuscripts points to the difficulty created by the substantial overlap and reuse of textual components between these two records. Cf. our comment on the 'session' of 22 July, pp. 433–4.

103 This phrase, and 'this holy council' a few lines down, are bracketed in ACO since they are lacking in several Greek MSS and the Latin version.

104 The following excerpts of Nestorian writings are the product of Cyril's earlier

From the Book of Nestorius himself, Quaternion 17, on Doctrine

(1) When the divine scripture is going to speak about either the birth of Christ from the blessed Virgin or his death, it is nowhere found to use the word 'God' but either 'Christ' or 'Son' or 'Lord', because these three words indicate the two natures, sometimes this one, sometimes that one, and sometimes both this and that. To give an example, when scripture relates the virgin birth to us, what does it say? 'God sent his Son.'[105] It does not say, 'God sent God the Word,' but uses the name which expresses the two natures. For since the Son is man and God, it says, 'He sent his Son, born of woman,' so that, when you hear 'born of woman' and then note the preceding name which indicates the two natures, you ascribe the birth from the blessed Virgin to the 'Son'. For the Virgin Christotokos[106] indeed gave birth to the Son of God – but since the Son of God is dual in respect of the natures, she did not give birth to the Son of God but gave birth to the manhood, which is 'the Son' because of the Son who is conjoined.

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 21

(2) Note, you heretic, the consequent. I do not envy the Virgin Christotokos this statement,[107] but on the contrary I know how venerable is the one who

engagement with his work and thought. Several parallel earlier uses can be identified in his treatise *Contra Nestorium* (of 430), while others feature in a Latin translation by Marius Mercator which is dependent upon Cyril's compilation, and preserved in the *Collectio Palatina* 29 (ACO I.5, 55–60); cf. Loofs, *Nestoriana* 34–44; 103–51; 151–5; see further the detailed index ACO IV.3.1, 355–81. The extracts are appended again to the record of the 'meeting' of 22 July (see doc. 86). That they were indeed read out at this session is conformed in a subsequent letter from the council to Theodosius II (doc. 66): 'To these latter [the doctrines of piety] we compared the teaching of Nestorius as revealed in his writings, both letters and sermons delivered in public.'

105 Gal 4:4.

106 'Mother of Christ' – a term used and apparently coined by Nestorius, as preferable in his view to Theotokos ('Mother of God'), which seemed to suggest that it was not the manhood but the Godhead that was born of Mary.

107 It is clear from what follows that the reference is to some scriptural passage telling of Christ 'coming forth' (προῆλθεν). The word is not used of the birth of Jesus directly in the Bible, but Nestorius is thinking of such passages as Isa 42:13, 'The Lord God of hosts will come forth [ἐξελεύσεται]'.

received God and from whom there came forth the Master of the universe and from whom [46] there shone forth the sun of righteousness.[108] But again I suspect the applause: how do you understand 'came forth'? 'Came forth' does not mean the same to me as 'was born', for I do not forget so quickly what distinguishes them. I was taught by divine scripture that God 'came forth' from the Virgin Christotokos, but nowhere was I taught that God was 'born' from her.[109]

(3) *And further down*: Now divine scripture nowhere says that God was born from the Virgin Christotokos, but that Jesus Christ Son and Lord was. This we all acknowledge, for wretched is he who does not at once accept what divine scripture has taught. 'Rise, take the child and his mother.'[110] This is an utterance of the angels; the archangels doubtless understood the character of the birth better than you do. 'Rise, take the child and his mother.' It did not say, 'Rise, take God and his mother.'

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 24

(4) As for our statement, 'Do not fear to take Mary your wife, for that which was generated in her ...',[111] the meaning is not distorted by using either one 'n' or two[112] (for what was engendered in her is from the Holy Spirit), but it would be if we were to say that God the Word was generated in the womb. For there is a difference between 'being with the one being generated' and 'being generated'. 'For that which has been generated in her,' it says, 'is from the Holy Spirit,' that is, the Holy Spirit created that which was in her. Therefore the Fathers, having a good knowledge of the divine scriptures, saw that if in place of 'was enfleshed' we were to put 'was generated', God

108 Mal 4:2 (3:20 LXX).

109 Nestorius distinguishes between 'coming forth', in other words the manifestation of the divine in the one who was born of Mary, and the actual 'being born' (or 'generation', γέννησις in Greek), a biological process that (in his eyes) cannot be directly attributed to God the Word. The following two passages develop the same point.

110 Matt 2:13.

111 Matt 1:20.

112 The Latin version helpfully adds the explanatory gloss: 'The Greek [for 'was generated'] is *gennethen* ... If in Greek you use two *n*'s it means *born*, but if you use one it means *made*.' The two words (and some of their cognates) were indistinguishable in pronunciation and often in meaning, and were constantly confused in manuscripts. The potential differentiation in meaning became crucial in the context of the Trinity, where the Nicene Creed insists that the divine Son is 'begotten not made'.

the Word would turn out either to be the son of the Spirit or to have two fathers, or, with one 'n', God the Word would turn out to be the creation of the Spirit. Therefore they avoided the term 'generation', and put 'who for us men and for our salvation came down and was enfleshed'.[113] What is meant by 'was enfleshed'? They did not say that he was changed from Godhead into flesh; in saying 'was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit'[114] they followed the evangelist. For the evangelist, when he came to the incarnation, avoided speaking of 'generation' in relation to the Word and put 'enfleshment'. How? Listen: 'The Word was made flesh.' He did not say, 'The Word was generated through the flesh.' For wherever the apostles or the evangelists mention the Son, they put that he was generated from woman.[115] I ask you to attend to what is being said. Wherever they say the name of the Son and that he was generated from woman, they put that he was generated; but wherever they mentioned the Word, none of them dared to speak of generation through the incarnation. Listen: when the blessed evangelist John came to the Word and his incarnation, hear what he says, 'The Word became flesh,' that is, he took flesh, 'and tabernacled among us,' that is, he put on our nature and dwelt among us, 'and we beheld his glory,' that of the Son. He did not say, 'We beheld the generation of the Word.'[116]

[47] Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 15, on doctrine

(5) And so we also give the name 'God' to Christ according to the flesh because of his conjunction with God the Word, while knowing the appearance to be man. Listen to Paul preaching both: 'From the Jews,'

113 Nestorius is discussing the wording of the Nicene Creed, 'one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, generated from the Father as only-begotten ..., who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man'. He is insisting that talk of the 'generation of the Word' must be restricted to his pre-eternal birth from the Father.

114 The words 'from the Holy Spirit' are not in the original text of the Nicene Creed, but occur at this point in the creed of 381. As Kelly (1972) 309 shows, Nestorius used a version of the creed that was closely akin, but not identical, to the latter. The significant range of 'Nicene' credal texts and allusions around the time is apparent from their assemblage in Kinzig (2017).

115 The Pauline phrase is γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός (Gal 4:4) – using γίνομαι with one *n*, typical of the way in which this verb and γεννάω were confused.

116 The passage analyses John 1:14, 'The Word became flesh and dwelt [lit., 'tabernacled'] among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten by the Father.'

he says, 'is Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all.'[117] He first acknowledges the man and only then applies divine language to the appearance in virtue of its conjunction with God, lest anyone should suspect Christianity of worshipping a man.[118]

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 27

(6) But just as we said that God is the creator of all things and that Moses is God (for scripture says, 'I made you God over Pharaoh'),[119] and that Israel is the son of God (for it says, 'my first-born son Israel'),[120] and just as we said that Saul is the Christ[121] (for it says, 'I shall not place my hand on him, because he is the Christ of the Lord'),[122] and Cyrus likewise (it says, 'Thus says the Lord to Cyrus my Christ'),[123] and that the Babylonian is holy (for it says, 'I shall command them; they are sanctified and I myself lea them'),[124] so too we say that Christ the Lord is God and Son and holy an Christ.[125] But although there is a similar sharing of names, there is not the same dignity.

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 15

(7) 'Have this mind among yourselves which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.'[126] It did not say, 'Have this mind among yourselves which was also in God the Word, who, being in the form of God, took the form of a servant,' but taking 'Christ' as the name that indicates the two natures, it calls him

117 Rom 9:5.

118 Nestorius did not deny worship to the humanity of Christ, but insisted that we worship it only in virtue of its conjunction with the Godhead; see extracts 8–10, 14–15.

119 Exod 7:1.

120 Exod 4:22.

121 In the sense of 'the anointed one'.

122 1 Sam 24:6.

123 Isa 45:1 ('my Christ' means 'the one anointed by the Lord').

124 Isa 13:3.

125 This was understood by Nestorius' opponents to assert that these titles are assigned to Christ in the same sense in which they are assigned to ordinary human beings, a misreading that the following sentence was intended to exclude.

126 Phil 2:5–7.

without danger both 'the form of a servant', which he took, and 'God', the expressions being assigned severally beyond our comprehension to the duality of the natures.

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 16

(8) 'So that at the name of Jesus,' it says, 'every knee should bend of those above the heavens, on the earth and under the earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.'[127] I venerate the one borne for the sake of the bearer; [48] I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who is hidden. The Godhead is inseparable from the one who appears; therefore I do not separate the honour of the one who is not separated. I separate the natures, but I unite the worship.[128]

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 17, on Doctrine

(9) For even before the incarnation God the Word was Son and God and existed with the Father,[129] but he took in the last times the form of the servant. But since he was, and was called, Son even before this, he cannot after the assumption [of the human nature] be called a separate son, lest we teach two sons; but since he was conjoined to the one who was Son in the beginning and is conjoined to him, it is impossible to accept distinction as regards the dignity of sonship – I say as regards the dignity of sonship, not as regards the natures. This is why God the Word is also called Christ, since he enjoys uninterrupted conjunction with Christ.

127 Phil 5:10–11.

128 The continuation of this extract is provided at 15. Like the preceding extract, it comes from Nestorius' *First Sermon against the Theotokos*, which survives complete, Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 249–64, trans. Norris (1980) 123–31.

129 Cf. John 1:1.

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 15, on Doctrine

(10) Let us therefore keep the conjunction of natures without confusion. Let us acknowledge God in man; let us venerate the man who is worshipped together with God Almighty because of the divine conjunction.

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 6

(11) Note what follows this immediately: it says, 'so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in relation to God, for in that he himself was tried and suffered, he is able to help those who are tempted.'[130] Therefore the one who suffered is a merciful high priest; it is the temple that was passible, not the life-giving God of the one who suffered.

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 27

(12) So that you may learn (it is saying) that there was a distinct conjunction of the Godhead, which was seen even in the babyhood of the Lord's flesh.[131] For the same was both a baby and the lord of the baby. You praised the saying, but do not applaud it without examination. For I said: the same was a baby and dwelt in a baby.

[49] **Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 1**

(13) For the operations of the Trinity are shared, and are distinguished only in the hypostases. Indeed the glory of the Only-begotten was sometimes assigned to the Father (for it says, 'It is my Father who glorifies me'),[132] sometimes to the Spirit (for it says, 'The Spirit of truth will glorify me')[133] and sometimes to the sovereignty of Christ.

130 Heb 2:17–18.

131 Nestorius is discussing the worship paid by the Magi to Christ when still a baby (Matt 2:11).

132 John 8:54.

133 John 16:13–14.

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 16

(14) *Speaking about the Son*: This is he who says, 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?'[134] This is he who underwent a three-day death. I worship him together with the Godhead, as sharing in the exercise of divine authority.

(15) *And further down*: I venerate the one borne for the sake of the bearer; I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who is hidden. God is inseparable from the one who appears; therefore I do not separate the honour of the one who is not separated. I separate the natures, but I unite the worship. That which was formed in the womb is not in itself God; that which was created by the Spirit is not in itself God; that which was buried in the tomb is not in itself God; for if it were, we would unmistakably be worshippers of man and worshippers of the dead. But since God is in the one assumed, so the one assumed, as conjoined to the one who assumed, is also reckoned as God, because of the one who assumed.

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 3, against heretics

(16) *Speaking about the Spirit*: How, he says, could the one who works together with the Son and the Father be a servant?[135] If one investigates the activities of the Spirit, one will not find them to fall short in any respect of those of the Son and Father – not that the one Godhead is divided, but the divine scripture assigns what belongs to a single power to each hypostasis in order to show the likeness of the Trinity. Observe with me the same phenomenon in those of the works that occur in time. God 'the Word became flesh and dwelt among us'.[136] The Father made the assumed manhood sit beside himself; for it says, 'The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand.'[137] The Spirit descending applauded the glory of the one assumed: for it says, 'When the Spirit of truth comes, he will glorify me.'[138]

134 Matt 27:46.

135 The reference is perhaps to 2 Cor 3:17, 'The Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom'.

136 John 1:14.

137 Ps 109:1.

138 John 16:13–14.

[50] **Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 6**

(17) *Speaking of Christ*: 'He was sent to preach release to captives',[139] to which the apostle adds, 'This is he who was made a high priest faithful to God'[140] (for he came into being and did not pre-exist eternally); this is he, you heretic, who advanced little by little to the dignity of high priest. Hear a statement that proclaims this to you even more clearly: 'In the days of his flesh,' it says, 'he offered up petitions and supplications to him who was able to save him from death, with powerful cries and tears, and was heard because of his devotion. Although he was a son, he learned obedience from what he suffered; and being made perfect, he became for all who obey him the cause of eternal salvation.'[141] It is that which progresses little by little that is perfected, you heretic. On this topic John proclaims in the gospels, 'Jesus advanced in age and wisdom and grace.'[142] Speaking in agreement with this, Paul too says, 'Being made perfect, he became for all who obey him the cause of eternal salvation, being addressed by God as high priest according to the order of Melchizedek.'[143]

(18) *And further down*: And he was called high priest. So why do you misinterpret Paul, mixing the impassible God the Word with the earthly likeness and making him a passible high priest?

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 7

(19) 'Wherefore, brethren, sharers in a heavenly call, consider the apostle and high priest of our confession, Jesus, who was faithful to the one who made him'.[144]

(20) *And further down*: Since we have only this high priest, sharing our sufferings, of the same stock,[145] and steadfast, do not reject faith in him. For

139 Luke 4:18.

140 Cf. Heb 2:17.

141 Heb 5:7–9.

142 Luke 2:52. The misascription to John must be a slip by the editor rather than Nestorius (who probably wrote, 'It is also proclaimed in the gospels') and is corrected in the Latin version.

143 Heb 5:9–10. For contrasting Antiochene and Alexandrian interpretations of the high priesthood of Christ in this epistle see Young (1969).

144 Heb 3:1–2.

145 See Heb 2:14–18, 4:15.

because of the blessing promised us from the seed of Abraham he was sent to offer the sacrifice of his body on behalf of himself and his race.

It is to be noted that, having acknowledged that every high priest needs a sacrifice and having excepted Christ as not needing one, he says here that he offers the sacrifice on behalf of himself and his race.

[51] Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 4

(21) So listen attentively to what is said. 'He who eats my flesh,' he says[146] – remember that the statement is about the flesh and that it is not I who added the word 'flesh', lest they think I am interpreting wrongly. 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood'. Did he say, 'He who eats my Godhead and drinks my Godhead'? 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.'

(22) *And further down*: But to return to the subject, 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.' Remember that the statement is about the flesh. 'As the living Father sent me'[147] – 'me' being the one who appeared. But [they say that] I sometimes misinterpret; let us hear the sequel. 'As the living Father sent me.' My opponent says this is the Godhead, I say the manhood; let us see who is misinterpreting. 'As the living Father sent me.' The heretic says, 'Here it says the Godhead – he sent me (it says), God the Word.' 'As the living Father sent me, and I live' – according to them this is God the Word – 'because of the Father'. There then follows, 'And he who eats me, even he will live.' Whom do we eat, the Godhead or the flesh?

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 16

(23) In all (he says), if you were to search the whole New Testament, you would not find it anywhere attributing death to God, but either to Christ or the Son or the Lord. For 'Christ' and 'Son' and 'Lord', when used by scripture in relation to the Only-begotten, signify the two natures and are indicative sometimes of the Godhead, sometimes of the manhood, and sometimes of both. For example, when Paul declares in a letter, 'When we

146 John 6:56.
147 John 6:57.

were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son,'[148] he proclaims the manhood of the Son, and when again he says to the Hebrews, 'God spoke to us in a Son, through whom he also made the ages,'[149] he indicates the Godhead of the Son. For the flesh is not the creator of the ages, being itself created after many ages.

(24) *And further down*: Neither did the Godhead have James as a brother, nor do we proclaim the death of God the Word when we feed on the Lord's blood and body.[150]

[52] **Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 23**

(25) I notice (he says) that our congregations have great devotion and most fervent piety, but are misled by their ignorance of the doctrine about God. This is not a criticism of the laity, but (how can I say it tactfully?) arises from the fact that the teachers did not have the opportunity to present to you any of the more precise doctrines.[151]

Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'See how clearly he admits here that none of the teachers before him said to the laity what he has said.'

Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Since Nestorius' statements are dire and blasphemous and our ears cannot bear being polluted any further, let each section of his blasphemy be inserted in the proceedings as a charge against the one who taught them.'

61. Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'The most devout and most pious Capreolus, metropolitan and bishop of

148 Rom 5:10.

149 Heb 1:2.

150 Cf. 1 Cor 11:26.

151 This passage had been quoted before by Cyril of Alexandria in a pre-conciliar letter to his *apocrisiarii* at Constantinople (p. 106 above). In the letter, the citation has Nestorius' criticism of the teachers in the present tense (ἔχειν; ACO I.1.1, 111,13), and this form will recur in the quotation of the passage in the minutes of 22 July. However, in the original text of the letter the context makes clear that the reference is indeed to the past, for it proceeds immediately to mention Atticus and John Chrysostom. To make this clear, the verb is here put in the aorist (σχεῖν; ACO I.1.2, 52,4), in order to clarify the inference from this statement that Nestorius had in fact been innovating and deviated from earlier, traditional teaching, an essential plank in Cyril's case against him.

Carthage, has through Bessulas the deacon written a letter to this holy council which, if your religiousness so bid, I shall read out. I shall also read a translation of it.'[152]

To the most religious and most blessed and most holy fellow ministers who have come together to the council from everywhere, Capreolus.

I prayed, most devout brethren, that your venerable council would be convened in such circumstances that we too, after our brothers and fellow bishops had been selected by a common decision, would send not a most regrettable apology but rather a properly equipped embassy, were it not the case that various causes have hampered our resolution. First, there came into our hands a letter from our master and most pious son the emperor Theodosius that asked specially for the presence of our brother of blessed memory and fellow bishop Augustine; this letter wholly failed to find him in this life. Therefore I, who received the imperial notification that had been sent out, even if ostensibly it had been sent primarily to the aforesaid, decided to convoke a council from all the provinces of Africa by appropriate letters and the customary colloquies, so that men chosen from the number of our brothers and bishops [53] might be sent to the venerable council of your blessedness. But embarking on the journey has not been feasible, because ease of travel has been curtailed by the influx of a host of enemies and the widespread ravaging of the provinces, which through the extinction or flight of the inhabitants extends far and wide a miserable spectacle of desolation.[153] As a result of these impediments the bishops of the region of Africa have been quite unable to meet together in common. In addition, the imperial letter reached us in the days of Easter, when till the venerable convocation of all there was left an interval of barely two months, which would scarcely suffice for the African council to assemble, even if the present problem of enemies had not occurred. The consequence has been that, even if, first and foremost, we have been quite unable to send envoys, nevertheless, because of the respect due to ecclesiastical discipline, we have sent my son Bessulas the deacon with this letter of apology, most venerable brothers.

152 The Latin version preserved in the *Collectio Veronensis* (ACO I.2, 64–5) is a retroversion from the Greek. The Greek contains a number of obvious errors, some of which were recognized and corrected by the Latin translator.

153 The Vandal invasion of the North African provinces started in 429. Hippo was under siege in May–June 431. For the Byzantine expedition's failure to relieve it see p. 637 below.

Since above all I trust in the help of our God that such a council of venerable priests will in every way confirm the catholic faith, so that through the operation of the Holy Spirit, whom we believe will be present in your hearts throughout your proceedings, I entreat your holinesses to reject by the power of ancient[154] authority teachings that are new and hitherto unknown to ecclesiastical ears, and thereby to oppose new errors of whatever kind, lest those that the church formerly warred against – and which, at the time of their origin, were routed by the authority of the apostolic see and a unanimous priestly vote – should, through the pretext of a second discussion, appear to recover the voice that had previously been silenced. If anything happens to arise newly, it requires discussion, so that it may either be accepted and approved or condemned and rejected; but if anyone allows to be recalled for a second examination matters on which judgement has already been made, he will seem to be himself in doubt about the faith that he held until now. Then, as an example for future generations, so that what is now defined in support of the catholic faith can have lasting confirmation, it is essential to uphold what has already been defined by the fathers; for whoever wishes what he has laid down in support of catholic order to endure perpetually must confirm his beliefs by reference not to his own authority but to the decision of the ancients. [54] It is by testing what is affirmed by observing in this way that this comes from the ancients and that from the moderns, that he will teach himself to affirm and uphold the unique truth of the catholic church, which has come down from past times to our own in simple purity and with invincible authority. This, for the time being, is what I have sent for the hearing of your reverences in place of a present embassy from Africa, which has been prevented by the pressures I have mentioned. I strongly beseech you, as you observe the calamitous state of current affairs, to be so good as to attribute our absence not to any arrogance or negligence, but rather to these obvious pressures.

Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'Let the letter of the most devout and most religious Capreolus bishop of Carthage that has just been read be inserted in the guarantee of the minutes, since its message is clear. For he wants the ancient doctrines of the faith to be confirmed and the novel ones, perversely concocted and impiously uttered, to be rejected and condemned.'

All the bishops exclaimed: 'These are the words of all. This we all say. This is the wish of all.'

154 The Greek word is ἀρχαίας. Note the Latin translation – *provincialis* – as if the Greek had been ἀρχικῆς, which would in fact in this context mean 'pre-eminent'.

Verdict of deposition pronounced on Nestorius

The holy council said: 'Since in addition to other things the most honourable Nestorius refused to comply with our summons and did not even receive the most holy and most religious bishops whom we sent, we proceeded of necessity to an examination of his impieties, and discovered from his letters and writings that were read out and from his recent statements in this metropolis, which have been confirmed by witnesses, that he holds and preaches impiety. After shedding many tears, we are obliged of necessity by the canons and by the letter of our most holy father and fellow minister Celestine bishop of the church of Rome to proceed to this melancholy sentence against him:

62. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, having been blasphemed by him, has decreed through the present most holy council that the same Nestorius is expelled from episcopal dignity and the whole priestly fellowship.'

(1) [55] Cyril bishop of Alexandria: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(2) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(3) Flavian bishop of Philippi: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(4) Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(5) Memnon bishop of Ephesus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(6) Acacius by the mercy of God bishop of Melitene: Being in agreement with the holy council over the verdict recorded above, I hereby sign.
(7) Theodotus bishop of the holy church of Ancyra : Being in agreement with the holy council, I hereby sign.
(8) Palladius by the grace of Christ bishop of Amaseia: Being in agreement with the holy council over the verdict recorded above, I hereby sign.
(9) Amphilochius bishop of Side: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(10) Iconius bishop of Gortyna in Crete: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(11) Felix bishop of the city of Apollonia and Byllis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(12) Daniel bishop of Colonia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(13) Perigenes bishop of Corinth: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(14) Hellanicus bishop of Rhodes: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(15) Cyrus insignificant bishop of Aphrodisias: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(16) Dynatus bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(17) Eucharius bishop of Dyrrachium: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(18) Senecion bishop of the city of Scodra: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(19) Epiphanius bishop of Creteia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(20) Eusebius bishop of Heraclea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(21) Anysius bishop of the holy church of God at Thebes in Hellas: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(22) [56] Domninus bishop of the holy church of God at Opus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(23) Agathocles bishop of the city of Coronaea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(24) Gregory by the grace of God bishop of Cerasus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(25) Paralius by the mercy of Christ bishop of Andrapa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(26) Callicrates bishop of the holy church of God at Naupactus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(27) Nicias bishop of Megara: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(28) Docimasius bishop of the city of Maronea in the province of Rhodope in the diocese of Thrace: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(29) Lucian bishop of the city of Topirus in the same province: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(30) Ennepius bishop of the city of Maximianopolis in the same province: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(31) Reginus bishop of the city of Constantia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(32) Sapricius bishop of Paphos: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(33) Themistius insignificant bishop of Iasus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(34) Perrebius bishop of the Thessalian Saltus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(35) Aphthonetus insignificant bishop of Heraclea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(36) Spudasius bishop of Ceramus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(37) Philetus insignificant bishop of Amyzon: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(38) Archelaus insignificant bishop of Myndus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(39) Apellas insignificant bishop of Cibyra: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(40) Phanias insignificant bishop of the city of Harpasa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(41) Promachius insignificant bishop of Alinda: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(42) Anderius bishop of the city of Chersonesus in the province of Crete: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(43) [57] Paul insignificant bishop of the city of Lappa in the province of Crete: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(44) Zenobius bishop of the city of Cnossus in the province of Crete: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(45) Theodore bishop of Dodona in Epirus Vetus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(46) Dio bishop of [Thebes in] Thessaly: Being in agreement with everyone, I hereby sign.
(47) Secundianus bishop of the holy church of God at Lamia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(48) Theodore bishop of Echinus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(49) Heracleon also [called] Theophilus bishop of Tralles: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(50) Euporus bishop of Hypaepa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(51) Rhodo bishop of Palaeopolis in Asia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(52) Tychicus insignificant bishop of the city of Erythrae: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(53) Nestorius bishop of Sion: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(54) Eutychius bishop of the holy, catholic and apostolic church of God in Theodosiopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(55) Modestus bishop of the city of Anaea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(56) Theosebius the most insignificant of the bishops of the city of Priene: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(57) Theodotus bishop of Nysa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(58) Maximus insignificant bishop of Assus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(59) Maximus insignificant bishop of Cyme: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(60) Alexander bishop of Arcadiopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(61) Theodore bishop of the city of Aninetus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(62) Eusebius insignificant bishop of Magnesia by Sipylus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(63) Eusebius bishop of Clazomenae: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(64) Theodosius bishop of Mastaura: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(65) [58] Eutropius insignificant bishop of Euaza: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(66) Philip bishop of the city of Pergamum: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(67) Aphobius insignificant bishop of Coloe: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(68) Dorotheus insignificant bishop of Myrina: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(69) Euthalius insignificant bishop of the city of Colophon: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(70) Timothy the most insignificant of the bishops of Briulla: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(71) Athanasius insignificant bishop of the island of Paros: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(72) Hesychius bishop of the city of Parium in the province of Hellespontus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(73) Eusebius bishop of Aspona: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(74) Philumenus bishop of the city of Cinna: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(75) Zeno bishop of the city of Curium in Cyprus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(76) Tribonianus bishop of the holy church in Primopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(77) Nunechius bishop of the holy church in Selge: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(78) Evagrius bishop of Soli: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(79) Caesarius *chorepiscopus* of the city of Arca: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(80) John bishop of Proconnesus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(81) Nesius bishop of the holy church of God at Colybrassus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(82) Acacius bishop of the holy church of God at Cotenna: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(83) [59] Solon bishop of Carallia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(84) Nectarius bishop of the catholic and apostolic church at Sennea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(85) Matidianus bishop of the city of Coracesium: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(86) Tarianus bishop of the [church] at Lyrbe: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(87) Theodulus bishop of Elusa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(88) Philadelphus bishop of the city of 'Gratianopolis':[155] I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(89) Theoctistus bishop of the city of Phocaea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(90) Rufinus bishop of the city of Gabae: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(91) John bishop of Augustopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(92) Romanus bishop of Raphia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(93) Fidus bishop of Joppa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(94) Aeanes bishop of the city of Sycamazon: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(95) Paulianus bishop of Maiuma: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(96) Theodore bishop of Arindela: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(97) Peter bishop of Parembolae: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(98) Paul bishop of Anthedon: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(99) Natiras bishop of Gaza: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(100) Saidas bishop of Phaeno: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(101) Erennianus bishop of the city of Myra: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(102) Cyril bishop of Coela: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council. Hellespontius, presbyter and *periodeutes*: I hereby sign on his behalf, since he has an affliction of the hand.
(103) Hermogenes bishop of Rhinocolura: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(104) Eusebius bishop of Pelusium: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

155 This is probably an error for Traianopolis in Phrygia Pacatiana. See p. 482, n. 150.

(105) Euoptius bishop of Ptolemais: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(106) Phoebammon bishop of Coptos: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(107) Paul bishop of Phlabonis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(108) Macedonius bishop of Xois: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(109) [60] Peter bishop of Oxyrhynchus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(110) Adelphius bishop of Onuphris: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(111) Athanasius bishop of Paralus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(112) Heraclius bishop of the diocese of Thinis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(113) Silvanus bishop of Coprithis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(114) Cyrus bishop of Achaea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(115) Marinus bishop of Heliopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(116) Macarius bishop of Metelis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(117) Adelphius bishop of Sais: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(118) Metrodorus bishop of Leontopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(119) John bishop of Hephaestus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(120) Strategius bishop of Athribis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(121) Lampetius bishop of Casium: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(122) Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(123) Eusebius bishop of Nilopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(124) Chrysaorius bishop of Aphroditopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(125) Alexander bishop of Cleopatris: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(126) Theon bishop of Heracleopolis Sethroites: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(127) Theonas bishop of Psinchos: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(128) Heraclides bishop of Upper Heracleopolis:[156] I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(129) Aristobulus bishop of Thmuis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(130) Ammon bishop of the city of Buto: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(131) Andrew bishop of Hermopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(132) Macarius bishop of Antaeopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(133) Sabinus bishop of Panopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(134) Heraclius bishop of Tamiathis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(135) Isaac bishop of Helearchia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(136) Zenobius bishop of the city of Barca in Pentapolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(137) Zeno bishop of the city of Taucheira: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(138) Abraham bishop of the city of Ostracine: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(139) Hieracis bishop of Aphnaeum: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(140) Samuel bishop of Dysthis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(141) [61] Daniel bishop of Darnis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

156 This is Heracleopolis Magna in Arcadia.

(142) Sopater bishop of Septimiace in Libya: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(143) Alypius bishop of the city of Sele: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(144) Ammonius bishop of Panephysis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(145) Bosporius bishop of Gangra the metropolis of the province of Pamphylia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council. I, Hypatius, presbyter, signed on his instructions because he was unwell.

(146) Arginus bishop of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council. Synesius, presbyter, signed on his behalf because he was indisposed.

(147) Helladius bishop of the holy church of God at Adramyttium: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(148) Stephen bishop of the city of Teos in Asia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(149) Idduas bishop of Smyrna: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(150) Aristonicus insignificant bishop of the metropolis of Laodicea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(151) Venantius bishop of the holy church of God at Hierapolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council. Paul, presbyter: I signed on his behalf in his presence and at his bidding.

(152) Silvanus bishop of the holy, orthodox church of God at Ceretapa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(153) Constantius bishop of Diocleia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(154) Hermolaus insignificant bishop of the city of Attuda: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(155) Asclepiades insignificant bishop of the holy church of God at Trapezopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(156) John bishop of Lesbos: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(157) [62] Peter insignificant bishop of the city of Prusa: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(158) Eugenius insignificant bishop of the city of Apollonia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(159) Callinicus bishop of Apamea: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(160) Athanasius bishop of the holy church of God at Deultum and Sozopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(161) Valerianus bishop of Iconium: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(162) Pius bishop of the city of Pessinus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(163) Thomas bishop of the city of Derbe: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(164) Martyrius bishop of the city of Ilistra: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(165) Ablabius bishop of the city of Amorium: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(166) Diogenes bishop of Ionopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(167) Letoeus bishop of Livias: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(168) Severus bishop of Synnada in the province of Phrygia Salutaris: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(169) Domninus bishop of Cotiaeum in the province of Phrygia Salutaris: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(170) Eustathius bishop of Docimium in the province of Phrygia Salutaris: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(171) Dalmatius bishop of the holy church of God at Cyzicus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.[157]
(172) Timothy bishop of the province of Scythia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(173) Athanasius bishop of the city of Scepsis in the province of Hellespontus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(174) Maeonius bishop of the city of Sardis in Lydia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

157 Dalmatius, as also Maeonius (174) and Verinianus (192), and apparently Cyrus of Aphrodisias (15), all signed Nestorius' letter of protest against his condemnation (doc. 49, pp. 309–12). The present subscription list includes the names of bishops who moved over to the Cyrillian camp after 22 June, whether soon after or weeks later, whence its length (197 names) compared to the 155 names in the attendance list.

(175) Theophanius bishop of the city of Philadelphia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(176) Fuscus bishop of the city of Thyatira: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(177) Timothy bishop of the city of Germe in the province of Hellespontus: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(178) [63] Commodus bishop of the city of Tripolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(179) Eutherius insignificant bishop of the city of Stratonicea in Lydia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(180) Paul insignificant bishop of the city of Daldis in Lydia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council, using the hand by written instructions of my brother and fellow minister Fuscus, because I am laid low by sickness.

(181) Limenius insignificant bishop of the holy church of God of Saittae in the province of Lydia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(182) John insignificant bishop of Aureliopolis in the province of Lydia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(183) Theodore insignificant bishop of the city of Attaleia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(184) Paul bishop of the city of Erymna: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(185) Timothy bishop of the city of Termessus and Eudocias: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(186) Aedesius bishop of the city of Isinda: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(187) Thomas bishop of Valentinianopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(188) Libanius bishop of the city of Palaeopolis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(189) Euprepius bishop of Bizye: I hereby sign and pronounce with the holy council.

(190) Theodore bishop of Gadara: I hereby sign and pronounce with the holy council. Aetherius, archdeacon: I hereby sign on his instructions, because he is illiterate.

(191) Daphnus bishop of Magnesia on the Maeander: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.

(192) Verinianus bishop of Perge: I hereby sign this verdict of the holy council.
(193) Paviscus bishop of Apollonopolis: I hereby sign and pronounce with the holy council.
(194) Eulogius bishop of Terenuthis: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(195) [64] Isaac bishop of Tava: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council. Adelphius bishop of Onuphris: At his request I hereby sign on his behalf, because he is unwell.
(196) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Choma in the province of Lycia: I hereby sign, pronouncing with the holy council.
(197) Aristocritus bishop of Olympus: I hereby sign the preceding verdict of the holy council and give my assent.

And other bishops, who came to the holy council after these had signed the deposition of Nestorius, signed the preceding verdict.

There were more than two hundred bishops, for some represented other bishops who were not able to came to the metropolis of Ephesus.

3. AFTER THE SESSION OF 22 JUNE

1. THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE SESSION OF 22 JUNE

Cyril and his Allies

40.	CV 63	Notification sent to Nestorius of his deposition (23 June)
41.	CV 65	Notification of Nestorius' deposition to the clergy of Constantinople
42.	CV 69	Letter of the council to the clergy and laity of Constantinople
43.	CV 28	(Third) Letter of Cyril to the clergy and laity of Alexandria
44.	CV 29	(Fourth) Letter of Cyril to the clergy and laity of Alexandria
45.	CV 68	Cyril to the monastic fathers

Candidianus and Nestorius

46.	CC 84	Protest by Count Candidianus to the council (22 June)
47.	CC 85	Protest by Candidianus after the deposition of Nestorius (23 June)
48.	CC 86	Instructions from Candidianus to the council (23 June)
49.	CV 146	Report of Nestorius to Theodosius II after the session of 22 June

Repercussions in Constantinople

50.	CV 66–67 (a)	Memorandum of the bishops in Constantinople (including): Letter by Cyril to the bishops Comarius and Potamon and others

51. Letter of Dalmatius of Constantinople to the council
52. Letter of the council to Dalmatius

2. AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE JOHN OF ANTIOCH AND HIS TRAVELLING PARTY

53. CV 151 Session of the Easterners of 26 June
54. CV 153 First Report of the Easterners to Theodosius II
55. CV 155 Letter of the Easterners to the clergy of Constantinople
56. CV 156 Letter of the Easterners to the senate of Constantinople
57. CV 157 Letter of the Easterners to the laity of Constantinople
58. CV 101 Letter of Memnon of Ephesus to the clergy of Constantinople

Preaching in Ephesus

59. CV 80 Homily of Cyril against Nestorius (? 28 June)
60. CV 70 Homily of Reginus of Cyprus (? 28 June)

Further Activities of the Eastern Bishops

61. CC 95 Second Session of the Easterners (? 29 June)
62. CC 96 Letter of the eastern bishops to the clergy of Hierapolis
63. CV 152 Letter of the Easterners to the [Cyrillian] council

3. THE FIRST IMPERIAL INTERVENTION AND BOTH PARTIES' RESPONSES

64. CV 81 (First) Report from the council to Theodosius II
65. CV 83 Theodosius to the council (29 June)
66. CV 84 Reply of the council to Theodosius (1 July)
67. CV 154 (Second) Report of the Easterners to Theodosius II (1 July)

4. ARRIVAL OF THE ROMAN LEGATES AND FURTHER SESSIONS OF CYRIL'S COUNCIL

68.	CV 106.1–25	Session of 10 July
69.	CV 106.26–39	Session of 11 July
70.	CV 107	(Second) Report from the council to Theodosius II
71.	CV 85	Letter of the council to the clergy and laity of Constantinople
72.	CV 87–89.12	Session of 16 July
73.	CV 89.13–21;90	Session of 17 July
74.	CV 91	Conciliar encyclical
75.	CV 92	(Third) Report from the council to Theodosius II
76.	CV 82	Letter of the council to Celestine
77.	CV 78	Homily of Cyril against John of Antioch

5. REPORTS AND ACCOUNTS BY THE EASTERNERS

a. Before the Cyrillian Sessions of 16–17 July

78.	CV 158	(Third) Report of the Easterners to Theodosius II
79.	CV 159	(Fourth) Report of the Easterners to Theodosius II
80.	CV 160	Report of the Easterners to the empresses
81.	CV 161	Letter of the Easterners to the prefect and the *magister*
82.	CV 162	Letter of the Easterners to the *praepositus* and Scholasticius

b. After the Sessions of 16–17 July

83.	CV 163	(Fifth) Report of the Easterners to Theodosius II
84.	CV 164	Letter of Count Irenaeus to the Easterners
85.	CC 103	Letter of Nestorius to the eunuch Scholasticius

INTRODUCTION

After the session of 22 June and over the following days and weeks we witness the activities and communications of a number of separate constituencies, in Ephesus and in the capital Constantinople. The lines of communication intersect and overlap; however, the bishops and officials on opposing sides hardly ever interact with each other directly. We group the documents accordingly, while retaining an approximate chronological sequence where this is possible. Immediately after the session we see, first, the reports and letters sent by the council, and by Cyril personally, informing the relevant parties in the capital and the congregations and allies back in Egypt of the events and the decisions taken. Secondly, Nestorius and the bishops supporting him respond to the news of his deposition by complaints to the emperor. Third, the imperial representative Candidianus tries to regain some kind of control over events in the city and repeats his instructions and prescriptions against the bishops' activities (already violated by the session on 22 June), and at the same time reports events to his superiors and the emperor, emphasizing his determined effort to prevent partial meetings, and thus by implication excusing his failure to control events. With the arrival on 26 June of John of Antioch and the eastern bishops accompanying him, the situation becomes even more complicated and tensions mount. John instantly convenes the bishops of his group; they condemn the illegitimate action – as they see it – of Cyril and his allies. The counter-council decrees the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, as the ringleaders chiefly responsible, and invites the other bishops who attended the session of 22 June to join them instead for the convention of a 'proper' council – after first anathematizing Cyril's Chapters – and suspending them until such time. From then on, the 'Cyrillians' and the 'Easterners' led by John of Antioch are locked in irreconcilable confrontation. Each side attempts to disseminate their understanding of the events of 22 June (and of the surrounding days) and to advocate their position, while denouncing their opponents; the documents created reflect this intent and the conflicts that resulted.

John's counter-council was made up, first, of the bishops who had travelled with him; these hailed mainly from Syria-Mesopotamia. They were joined by those bishops from what we may already call the patriarchate of Antioch and several more from other parts of the empire, who had arrived earlier, as is evident from their signatures on the protest note of Sunday 21 June (doc. 37). John's group described themselves in a document later that summer as bishops 'of the diocese of the East and those assembled

together with them from various dioceses and provinces, Bithynia, Pisidia, Cappadocia Secunda, Paphlagonia, Europa, Moesia, Rhodope, Thessaly, and Dacia'.[1] This shows the range of representation. It has become conventional to speak of this group as the Easterners (or the Orientals). The provinces listed show that other imperial dioceses were also represented; conversely, not the entire administrative diocese of the East was on John's side. Juvenal of Jerusalem and his group of Palestinian bishops for instance – also part of the diocese – were firm supporters of Cyril, as were also the bishops of Cyprus, keen to secure their independence from Antiochene oversight.[2] At the same time, a large number of those protesting on the Sunday did not attend the counter-council; they must have pledged allegiance to Cyril's council in the intervening days.[3] This rapid movement may be explained by a combination of factors: there are reports of violence and intimidation, which will have played a role; on the other hand, the presence at the session of 22 June of an impressive number of bishops, far surpassing the dissidents, inevitably exerted a gravitational pull on those who had harboured procedural concerns but were uncommitted about the theological differences between Cyril and Nestorius.

The first imperial response to news from Ephesus arrives with the *magistrianus* Palladius, probably on 1 July. He carries an imperial *sacra* issued on 29 June, and takes back with him to Constantinople the separate reports of both sides along with other documents, among them, importantly, the proceedings of the session of 22 June.

The belated arrival of the Roman delegates gives occasion for two further sessions of the bishops in alliance with Cyril (10–11 July). And another two-day meeting of the same group, on 16 and 17 July, formally annuls the 'depositions' decreed by the eastern bishops (of 26 June) and moves to retaliate by excommunicating in their turn John of Antioch and the bishops around him. A number of reports and letters, to the emperor and imperial officials, as well as to bishops, clergy, and the laity, particularly

1 Doc. 109, p. 550. Similarly, in the address of doc. 62 John's group designates itself as 'the holy council of the Easterners and of those who by the grace of God have convened at Ephesus from various regions and provinces'.

2 For a full discussion of the allegiances and their geographic distribution as evident from the various lists produced at the time, see Vogt (1993), esp. 448–50; Price (2012b) esp. 396–404.

3 All the bishops from Syria-Mesopotamia who had arrived before John remained loyal to him, but three-fifths of the protesters from other provinces did not join John's rival synod; Price (2012b), 406–8.

in Constantinople, relay information about these events from the opposing vantage points of the two increasingly embittered camps.

The parallel attempts of either side to convey messages and documents to Constantinople and gain a hearing for their side of the case cannot be ordered into a tidy narrative sequence. What makes treacherous any attempt at chronological order is the fact that the likely dates of composition may differ considerably from the dispatch and receipt of a document or set of documents. The grouping of documents attempted here therefore cannot avoid reproducing at least in part the separation between the parties represented in their communications and activities. It must also be remembered that no late antique or medieval reader interested in this council ever had in front of him an assemblage of documents representing both sides equally and giving their texts in something approaching chronological sequence; the modern historian will need to go back to the shape of individual collections edited by Eduard Schwartz and examine the implications and effects of their distinct presentations.

With this precaution in mind, the many documents preserved from this contentious period are grouped into seven main sections roughly matching the unfolding of events just sketched; several cannot be dated with any certainty.

1. THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE SESSION OF 22 JUNE

Cyril and his Allies

The session deposing Nestorius had finished late at night on 22 June. The following day notifications addressed to Nestorius and to the administrators of the Constantinopolitan church were sent (docs 40 and 41). Only generalizing justification for Nestorius' deposition is given in each case: he is guilty of impious preaching and violation of the canons. A third, slightly more rhetorical note conveys the essential information to the clergy and laity of the capital (doc. 42).

Probably around the same time Cyril also sends reports back to Alexandria (doc. 43), sketching briefly the events of the decisive day and meeting, and envisaging his speedy return, once the paperwork has been completed. A further letter (doc. 44) in the same vein, written a little later, perhaps at the end of the month or in early July, refers to the labour required

in the defence of orthodoxy; it could be an echo of the increasingly fraught situation in Ephesus after the arrival of the eastern bishops (on 26 June) and the 'deposition' they declared against the leaders of the Cyrillian council. Another letter to the monastic fathers and ascetics (doc. 45), important allies of Cyril from the earliest phase of the controversy, calls for their prayers in support of the continued fight for the faith and against the exponents of heresy. The letters in their variety show the range of rhetorical and stylistic choices available to Cyril, ranging from brief recapitulation of events to a highly strung and emphatic style replete with the use of topical anti-heretical imagery and frequent allusions to holy scripture.

(40) NOTIFICATION SENT TO NESTORIUS OF HIS DEPOSITION[4]

[64] The holy council assembled at Ephesus by the grace of God according to the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, to Nestorius the new Judas.

Be informed that, because of your impious preaching and violation of the canons, you have been deposed by the holy council in accordance with the laws of the church on the twenty-second of the present month of June, and that you are stripped of every ecclesiastical rank.

(41) NOTIFICATION OF NESTORIUS' DEPOSITION TO THE CLERGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE[5]

[64] Letter sent to the clergy and administrators of the church of Constantinople on the same day on which he [Nestorius] too was notified.

The holy council assembled at Ephesus by the grace of God according to the decree [65] of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, to Lamprotatus and Eucharius the most devout presbyters and administrators and the other most devout clerics of the holy church of God in Christ-loving Constantinople.

4 CV 63, ACO I.1.2, 64; Latin version in CC 26, ACO I.3, 83. In the Greek version this document is followed by the annotation, 'On the day following the deposition of the same Nestorius this letter was sent to him by the holy council' (CV 64).

5 CV 65, ACO I.1.2, 64–5; Latin version in CC 28, ACO I.3, 84.

May your devoutness be informed that the blasphemous Nestorius, because of his impious preaching and violation of the laws of the church, was deposed by the holy council in accordance with the ecclesiastical canons yesterday, which is the twenty-second of the present month of June, and that he is stripped of every ecclesiastical rank. Guard therefore all church property, since you will have to render an account to whoever will be consecrated for the holy church of Constantinople according to the will of God and by command of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors.

(42) LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF CONSTANTINOPLE[6]

[70] To the most pious clergy and laity of Constantinople[7] from the holy council.

No one who dared to oppose his own Creator has escaped divine retribution, but immediately, in so far as human eyes could see it, he was punished in part, since the more complete punishment due to him is reserved for the time of the Judgement. So too Nestorius, the renewer of impious heresy, having arrived at Ephesus, where are John the Divine and the holy Virgin Mary the Theotokos,[8] separated himself from the assembly of the holy fathers and bishops and did not dare to appear because of his bad conscience, but after a third summons was condemned by the just decree of the holy Trinity and of their divinely inspired judgement, and stripped of every priestly dignity, [as is recorded] in writing in the minuted proceedings. Therefore 'rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, rejoice'.[9] For the stumbling block has been removed, and the weed has been uprooted from the field of the spiritual harvest. You for your part are to be rekindled and, taking the shield of faith, must drive out the makers of the abominable and profane innovation. For your reward will be the same as that of those who have laboured here. Those here with us who are your genuine brethren send greetings to you all.

6 CV 69, ACO I.1.2, 70. There is no Latin version.

7 The words 'of Constantinople' are lacking in the MSS of the *Collectio Vaticana*, but present in the copies of this letter in the *Collectio Seguierana* (ACO I.1.7, 13, 104) and the *Collectio Atheniensis* (ibid., 166, §142).

8 The reference is to the two great churches at Ephesus dedicated to them.

9 Phil 4:4.

(43) (THIRD) LETTER OF CYRIL TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF ALEXANDRIA[10]

[117] Cyril to the beloved and most dear presbyters, deacons, and laity of Alexandria sends greetings in the Lord.

Even though I ought to acquaint your religiousness with the course of events at greater length, yet because the bearers of this letter are in a hurry, I have written summarily. Know, therefore, that on the twenty-eighth of the month of Pauni the holy council met at Ephesus in the great church of the city, which is called [after] Mary Theotokos.[11] [118] After completing the whole day, we finally subjected to deposition and expelled from episcopal office the blasphemous Nestorius, who was convicted and did not dare to come to the holy council. We the assembled bishops were more than two hundred. The whole population of the city remained there from dawn till dusk, waiting for the verdict of the holy council. When they heard that the blasphemer has been deposed, they all with one voice began to praise the holy council and give glory to God, because the enemy of the faith had fallen. When we came out of the church, they escorted us with lamps to our lodgings (for it was already evening), and there was great rejoicing and lighting of lamps in the city, so that we were even escorted by women carrying thuribles. The Saviour revealed to those blaspheming against his glory that he can do all things. Therefore, once we have completed the documents that accompany his deposition, we shall then, with God's help, speed on our way to you.

We are all in good health and spirits through the grace of the Saviour. I pray that you be in good health in the Lord, beloved and most dear [brethren].

10 Cyril, *ep.* 24, CV 28, ACO I.1.1, 117–18; Latin version in CC 29, ACO I.3, 84–5.

11 At the beginning of the Acts of the session of 22 June this church is said to be 'called [after] Mary'. The addition of the title Theotokos must be Cyril's own.

(44) (FOURTH) LETTER OF CYRIL TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF ALEXANDRIA[12]

[118] Cyril to the beloved and most dear presbyters, deacons, and laity of Alexandria sends greetings in the Lord.

Great and glorious achievements are not brought to completion without labour, and every good thing must certainly be preceded by exertion. It is not surprising if we observe this sequence in great matters, when even ordinary and humble ones are fraught with anxiety and require labour. However, even in the case of labours we have been taught to say, 'Be courageous and strong in heart; wait for the Lord.'[13] For we are confident that a glorious harvest follows on virtuous endeavour, and we find that the Lord bestows a reward on spiritual courage. A most dire heresy, which had already attempted to ascend above the whole earth under heaven, and was raising its horn on high and uttering iniquity against God,[14] like flames seeking to consume the orthodox doctrines of the church, has been destroyed and extinguished by the only-begotten Word of God; he has at the same time thwarted its inventor and progenitor and put an end to his priesthood by a vote of the holy council, with the result that we declare in our joy, 'The Lord has done great things for us; indeed we are glad.'[15] The teachers and leaders of the congregations have cause to rejoice when the orthodox faith is confirmed and God the Saviour of the universe is everywhere glorified – through the thwarting of Satan, the removal of his stumbling blocks, and the overcoming of lies by the doctrines of the truth. As a result, we may all proclaim with one unanimous voice, 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism.'[16]

This I am now writing to you as my children, [119] recounting the marvels of the Saviour, so that you may pray with yet greater fervour that through the will of God we, rejoicing, may be restored to you rejoicing, and in sound health.

I pray that you be in good health in the Lord.

12 Cyril, *ep.* 25, CV 29, ACO I.1.1, 118–19. There is no Latin version. It is dated by Schwartz, conjecturally, to the first half of July (ACO I.1.8, 11).

13 Ps 26:14.

14 Cf. Ps 74:6.

15 Ps 125:3.

16 Eph 4:5.

(45) LETTER OF CYRIL TO THE MONASTIC FATHERS[17]

[69] To the most devout and most religious monastic fathers and those with you who practise the solitary life and are firmly established in the faith of God, beloved and most dear, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.

Our Lord Jesus Christ when he suffered outrages from the unholy Jews, being slandered and struck in the face, scourged and finally, because of us and for our sake, nailed on the cross, seeing all those offending against him shaking their unholy heads at him, said, 'I waited for one to grieve with me, and there was none, and those to comfort me, and not one did I find.'[18] We have seen something of the sort happening even now; but rather, lest I should insult the zeal of the faithful and sincere, he has had many to grieve with him over the blasphemies of Nestorius, even if some of those enrolled in priesthood have rejected him, by cooperating with the heretic and ranging themselves with those who are making war on him. However, Christ will frustrate their ignorance, or rather has done so already. For the blasphemous mouth has been stopped, and the abominable tongue has been silenced, and no longer utters blasphemies against Christ with the authority of a priest and teacher, while those who had been seduced by his friendship and neglected love for Christ have faces covered with shame, for this was their due. But even if our enemy has now been defeated and we are at the tail end of our worries, yet even so we need your intercession with God, and it is necessary that you who have dedicated your lives to God should raise holy hands and do so constantly on our behalf. Reflect that Joshua the son of Nun with the elect of Israel opposed Amalek, and that the blessed Moses raised his hands and sought from God that those at war and in battle should be able to prevail.[19] Let therefore your religiousness persevere in prayer and, as true children, cooperate with your fathers who have extirpated Nestorius' heresy like some pestilential disease, so that with a faith that is spotless, unimpeachable, and free from all blame we may be able to please Christ who endured everything because of us and for our sake.

Gladden us [70] by a letter also, for we shall receive such a thing as the greatest consolation. I pray that you be in good health, beloved and most dear brethren.

17 Cyril, *ep.* 26, CV 68, ACO I.1.2, 69–70; Latin version in CC 32, ACO I.3, 89–90.

18 Ps 68:21.

19 Cf. Exod 17:9–13.

Candidianus and Nestorius

Note

While the meeting from which Candidianus had been expelled was still ongoing (on 22 June), he posted notices (doc. 46) in the city to denounce the assembly as illegitimate and in violation of imperial orders. This text, his formal protest against the opening of a session, is addressed to Cyril, and it is possible that the document was delivered to him on the day (or that such a delivery was at least attempted); in addition, a copy or copies were posted publicly in the city. Such public posting was the normal procedure for official pronouncements.

The protest narrates the events that took place at the start of the meeting, which the minutes purposely avoided. Candidianus recalls his ineffectual efforts to convey orally to the bishops the full force of the imperial instructions about the proper procedure to achieve the intended settlement of the doctrinal issue. He had pointed out the emperor's wish for a joint meeting of all, conducted in peace and concord (echoing the instructions of the imperial *sacra*, which he was subsequently persuaded to read out to the convened bishops; cf. CV 31, doc. 38), and had unequivocally proscribed any partial council meetings. He reports at some length his exhortations and warnings, lamenting the unwillingness of bishops to heed his instructions before they drove him out 'with violence and insult'. Candidianus thus supplements our picture of the earliest part of the meeting, which is not represented in the session's protocol, and reveals the conflict over the legitimacy of holding a formal session before the arrival of John of Antioch and his travelling party. His infelicitous decision to read out the imperial *sacra* containing instructions for the council was cleverly exploited by Cyril; the reading – in Cyril's interpretation – effected the council's official opening. After reporting the circumstances of his earlier intervention in the morning, Candidianus' protest renews the imperial instructions that the bishops were to wait until all of them had arrived and threatens severe consequences for disobeying the emperor.

The document sent to Cyril (and posted in the city) was accompanied by copies of the imperial *sacra* addressed to the council (doc. 31) and of the instructions Candidianus had personally received from the emperor (of these no record survives). The appending of these documents to the protest note provided Cyril and the council around him with the missing copy of the imperial *sacra*, which Candidianus had read to the bishops in

the morning but had not at that time handed over to them. It allowed the council's secretariat to include a version of it in its paperwork. In addition to the copy sent to Cyril and the council, Candidianus dispatched a further exemplar to the emperor. We would not go wrong to assume that the passages portraying at some length his strenuous but ultimately fruitless efforts to halt the assembly were intended for the emperor's perusal and aimed at excusing his failure.

(46) PROTEST BY CANDIDIANUS TO THE COUNCIL (22 JUNE)[20]

[31] Contestation by Count Candidianus, which he posted publicly in Ephesus, on hearing in the morning that the council was being held.

To the most holy Cyril bishop of the metropolis of Alexandria and the most devout bishops assembled with him, from Flavius Candidianus the most magnificent count of the hallowed *domestici*.

Your religiousness is well aware that from the time of my arrival in the city of Ephesus, all I have asked of your general and holy council is that matters relating to the faith and our orthodox doctrine[21] should be settled in peace and concord, in accordance with the orders of our lord and most pious emperor. I have sufficient evidence, supplied by the truth itself, that we have done nothing other than this. Because I learnt that you were to meet in the most holy church, contrary [32] to the will of the other bishops,[22] since the most holy John bishop of the metropolis of Antioch and his companions had not yet arrived, I did not cease from pressing that what I have said above be done, and I adjured each [of the bishops] not to hold a partial council. And finally, when despite this you assembled in the most holy church, I hastened to go there and [make known] what had been decreed by our lord and most pious prince, even though this was superfluous, since you had learnt it once for all from the letters addressed to you by his divinity. Nevertheless I informed you that the instructions of the same our lord and most pious prince were these: I said that it was

20 Extant in a Latin version, CC 84, ACO I.4, 31–2.

21 The Latin word is *glorificatio*, but it probably translates δόξα, which can mean either 'glory' or 'doctrine'.

22 See the protest against the premature opening of the council signed by many of the bishops the day before (doc. 37, pp. 209–13).

his will that our faith be confirmed without any discord but by all in agreement, and that he had banned any partial councils, which he knew to be the main cause that turns our religion and orthodox faith into heresies and schisms.

In addition, when your reverences demanded a reading of the *sacra* of our lord and most pious prince addressed to the holy council, I at first refused to do this (though I did not decline to speak), because not everyone summoned to the most holy council was present. But because your religiousness professed ignorance of the instructions from our lord and most excellent prince, I judged it necessary, despite the absence of the other most devout bishops, that the divine and venerable letter should be read to all. Nevertheless, even after I had made the divine decree known to you, I continued to make the same request, entreating your reverences and demanding that no fresh step be taken before all the most holy fathers and bishops came together at the council, but that for a mere four days you should wait for the most holy bishop of the metropolis of Antioch and the others with him, and also for those with the most holy bishop Nestorius, so that, with your religiousness equally assembled and the entire holy council convened as one, if there were any matters perchance in doubt, and lying outside my remit,[23] they could be settled by all of you present together, and then, with the consent of you all, it would become clear if anyone had wrong beliefs contrary to the canons of the church, or indeed you would all make a common and orthodox profession according to the religion of the holy fathers. I exhorted and besought you to this effect not merely once but repeatedly; yet I achieved nothing.

Because nothing that I said was followed, but you drove me out with violence and insult, I have judged it necessary in this my solemn adjuration to make plain to you and to say unambiguously in this declaration that none of you is to take any fresh step, but you are to await the arrival of all the holy bishops and then, by common deliberation, to determine what pertains to the holy catholic faith. But if anyone, seduced by his own wilfulness, chooses to upset what has been ordained by the immortal and most excellent head, let him know that he must bear responsibility for whatever ensues, but will not inflict prejudice on another.[24]

23 The emperor's instructions to the council had laid down that Candidianus was to take no part in the discussions of doctrine; see doc. 38.

24 We follow the reading of one of the two MSS (*alio*) rather than that preferred by Schwartz (*ab alio*).

I am not reluctant to repeat this yet again, because, as your holinesses know, our lord and most pious prince decreed that it is in the presence together of all the holy bishops convened by his divinity that the questions in doubt are to be resolved. For this reason I have placed at the head of this declaration the *sacra* addressed to your most holy council and also the one written by his divinity to myself, so that, fully informed of the instructions from our lord and most excellent emperor, you may cease from your presumptuous behaviour. Know therefore that a copy of this document has also been sent to our lord the most pious emperor.

Published ten days before the Kalends of July in the city of Ephesus.[25]

(47) PROTEST BY CANDIDIANUS AFTER THE DEPOSITION OF NESTORIUS

Note

When his objections and protestations on the day of the session had no effect, Candidianus attempted to gain back some control of events and issued a number of additional documents, starting on the following day, and in response to learning of the deposition of Nestorius. He repeated the prohibition – already obsolete – on doing anything before the arrival of the Easterners. A detail of interest is his claim that some bishops were allegedly compelled to attend Cyril's council and others signed the proceedings (or decisions) after the event. This marks the inception of a process by which some 30 bishops joined the Cyrillian council over the days following the meeting on 22 June, and signed its decisions.[26]

The following 'edict' of 23 June (doc. 48) lays bare Candidianus' anger and incomprehension that the bishops had passed a decree the previous day in spite of his repeated proscriptions and instructions forbidding the meeting and against imperial orders. He warns the council that such decisions lacked all validity.

25 22 June 431.

26 For other bishops switching sides and signing Nestorius' deposition, see CV 62 (doc. 39) and compare CV 146 (doc. 49, with note 36), and Price (2012b), 406–10. Vogt (1993) 450 concentrates on metropolitans only (cf. also his discussion under individual names).

Text[27]

[33] Another adjuration by the most magnificent count Candidianus, after the council.

I have been informed by many most devout bishops that some of them, after the first partial meeting of the council had been held, were taken there by compulsion, and some are even reported to have signed the proceedings of those who had assembled there on the first day. For this reason I am writing by letter to all those who at the very least convened on that day, adjuring you by almighty God and by his Christ and by the Holy Spirit and the safety of the master of the world, that you should do nothing contrary to the instructions from our lords the most pious emperors, but wait for the entire council and the arrival of the most holy bishops and also the judgement of our lords and most pious princes. For your religiousness should know that they have been sent a report about everything.

(48) INSTRUCTIONS FROM CANDIDIANUS TO THE COUNCIL (23 JUNE)[28]

[33] An edict to the council from the most magnificent count.

Flavius Candidianus, magnificent and most glorious count of the most devoted *domestici.*

As I observe the turmoil and commotion of the whole city, I am struck with no slight amazement. For it is not irrational[29] for the mind of anyone to be perturbed by yesterday's proceedings. Nor does my devotion suppose that any of the most devout bishops are unaware that not merely once or twice but even more frequently, on the matter of the instructions from the divine and inviolable head, I informed everyone that all of the most devout bishops should meet together and hold a common inquiry into the precision of the pious and orthodox faith. Accordingly, both by word of mouth and in writing I affirmed to those who needed to be informed that no one should hold a partial council and that no one should convene with anyone who presumed to take such a step contrary to reason. For it is obvious that the

27 Extant in a Latin version, CC 85, ACO I.4, 33.

28 Extant in a Latin version, CC 86, ACO I.4, 33.

29 This must be the meaning, but the extant Latin text has 'It is excessively contrary to reason'.

proceedings of a single group, contrary to the procedure that was laid down by the masters of the world, will be deemed neither valid nor lawful. For this reason I now again admonish each of them to await the arrival of the in all respects most God-beloved John bishop of Antioch and those who are reported to be coming with him, and also of those who, it is related, will come from the West. It is impossible for any partial proceedings of any kind to be considered worthy of any respect, for the reason that they have been conducted contrary to the instructions from the masters of the world.

(49) REPORT OF NESTORIUS TO THEODOSIUS II AFTER THE SESSION OF 22 JUNE

Note

Nestorius and sixteen metropolitans complained against the Cyrillian meeting, which – to them – was held in violation of imperial orders and against ecclesiastical convention. Nestorius further denounces the violence in the city, stirred by the local Bishop Memnon, who prevented his group's access to local churches. He petitions the emperor either to take the necessary steps to assure a lawful assembly or to allow the bishops to return home, thereby dissolving the council.

Text[30]

[13] The letter from Nestorius and the bishops with him to the emperor about the proceedings of the holy council, written before the arrival in Ephesus of the bishop of Antioch.[31]

(1) After being summoned to the city of Ephesus by your piety and coming without delay, we wanted in accordance with your pious letters to await the most God-beloved bishops arriving from every quarter, especially the most holy bishop of the great city of Antioch and the most God-beloved metropolitans accompanying him and also the bishops from Italy and Sicily, and so to hold a joint session of all and by a joint decree confirm the faith of the holy fathers convened at Nicaea. For the many councils that

30 CV 146, ACO I.1.5, 13–15; Latin version in CC 83, ACO I.4, 30–1.

31 Hence between 22 and 25 June. Should the fact that his 'deposition' is not mentioned indicate an early date, before he learned of it?

took place subsequently did not presume to innovate in its regard, but laid down complete fidelity to it.

(2) When we noticed that those from Egypt were discontented and thought that we were using delaying tactics, we promised to meet in session together whenever the most magnificent Candidianus count of the hallowed *domestici*, who was sent for this reason by your piety, [14] chose to convene us; this we communicated to him through most God-beloved bishops. When his magnificence learnt that both the most holy John bishop of the great city of Antioch and his companions were near (for the *magistriani* dispatched by him informed [Candidianus] of the fact) and that other most God-beloved bishops were announced from the West, he instructed everyone to await the arrival of all according to the instructions from your pious headship.

(3) We for our part embraced quietude, submitting to the letters of your piety, but the Egyptians and the Asians,[32] neither taking into account what is of common benefit to the churches nor accepting the peaceful and law-abiding intentions of your piety but instead trampling on both the ecclesiastical and imperial ordinances, shunned a fitting and concordant profession of the faith. Choosing (it appears) to fracture the body of the church, they assembled on their own and acted in contravention both of ecclesiastical procedure and the recent letters of your piety; for in the letters dispatched by your piety you gave instructions that a single, concordant statement of the faith should be issued by all, corresponding to the writings of the evangelists and the apostles and to the doctrines of the holy fathers.

(4) But the aforesaid persons, taking none of this into account, transacted on their own what they transacted, of which everyone will inform your authority. Sending out the rabble-rousers with them round the market square, they filled the city with confusion, publicly[33] surrounding our residences, invading and disrupting our shared session, and uttering dire threats, while Bishop Memnon, the leader of the riot, shut us out of the holy churches, the holy *martyria*, and the holy church of the Apostle,[34]

32 The 'Asians' will be the 25 bishops from the province of Asia, who were unanimously on Cyril's and Memnon's side, not the bishops of the other provinces in the diocese (group of provinces) of Asiana, who were equally divided between the two factions. See Price (2012b) 396–401.

33 That is, with posted guards.

34 The church of St John the Apostle.

to prevent us taking refuge from our harassment, while he opened up the great church[35] to our opponents and made them hold council there, while threatening all of us with death.

(5) We therefore entreat, beseech, and implore your piety, since we came to Ephesus in obedience to the letters of your Christ-loving headship and in ignorance of these barbaric methods, *either* to give orders that we are to be protected from maltreatment and the sessions take place according to law, and also that none of the clerics or monks, whether ours or those of the Egyptians, nor any of the bishops who have come uninvited are to force their way into the meetings in order to disrupt the holy council, but that two bishops from each province, with their metropolitan, approved and competent to conduct such an investigation, are to assemble in session and confirm the faith of the holy fathers in peace and harmony, *or* to give orders that we are to return home safely, for they are threatening to deprive us of life itself.

(6) These are the signatories:[36]

(1) Nestorius bishop of Constantinople: I hereby sign.
(2) Phritilas bishop of the metropolis of Heraclea in Thrace: I hereby sign.
(3) [15] Helladius bishop of the metropolis of Tarsus: I hereby sign.
(4) Verinianus bishop of the metropolis of Perge: I hereby sign.
(5) Maeonius bishop of the metropolis of Sardis: I hereby sign.
(6) Dexianus bishop of the metropolis of Seleucia in Isauria: I hereby sign.
(7) Himerius bishop of the metropolis of Nicomedia: I hereby sign.
(8) Alexander bishop of the metropolis of Apamea: I hereby sign.
(9) Dalmatius bishop of the metropolis of Cyzicus: I hereby sign.
(10) Eutherius bishop of the metropolis of Tyana: I hereby sign.
(11) Peter bishop of the metropolis of Traianopolis: I hereby sign.
(12) Julian bishop of the metropolis of Sardica: I hereby sign.
(13) Basil bishop of the metropolis of Thessaly: I hereby sign.

35 The church dedicated to Mary.

36 This is the full list preserved in the Latin Acts (the numbers are not in the MSS). The Greek version omits Verinianus, Maeonius, Dalmatius, Peter, Julian, and Cyrus. Of these, Verinianus, Maeonius, Dalmatius, and Cyrus (of Aphrodisias) appear in the Acts of 22 June as signatories, doubtless belated signatories, to Nestorius' condemnation (nos 192, 174, 171 and 15 respectively), which explains their excision here.

(14) Cyrus bishop of the metropolis of 'Aphrodisias':[37] I hereby sign.
(15) Maximin bishop of the metropolis of Anazarbus: I hereby sign.
(16) Alexander bishop of Hierapolis: I hereby sign.
(17) Dorotheus bishop of the metropolis of Marcianopolis in Moesia: I hereby sign.

And all the others accompanying them signed in the same form.[38]

Repercussions in Constantinople

Note

The following three documents illustrate the reception of news from the council in Constantinople, the role of monks and ascetics, and the importance of popular opinion in influencing the stance of the court and the emperor. The reports illuminate – in a perspective distinctly favourable to Cyril's council – the involvement and sentiments of the local monks and clergy as well as large sections of the congregations. They also witness to the process by which the emperor Theodosius began to distance himself from Nestorius. Included in the first document, a 'memorandum' by bishops staying in the capital, is a letter written by Cyril to two bishops (50a) who had in late November of 430 delivered his third letter to Nestorius and had remained in the capital, evidently lobbying and working there on his behalf. Cyril's letter must have been written shortly after the session of 22 June since transcribed minutes had not yet been completed. Towards the end, the letter highlights the difficulty for the Cyrillian side of getting information about their activities to the people of Constantinople and representing their side of the dispute in the capital. The surrounding narrative of the memorandum expands on this. Only surreptitiously did the Cyrillian council manage to have the letter smuggled into the city rolled up in a beggar's staff. Cyril's letter, delivered in this way, retells the council's summonses of Nestorius and the subsequent examination of his errors

37 But elsewhere in the Acts, Cyrus of Aphrodisias is always listed as a supporter of the Cyrillian council, and even appears in the attendance list of the session of 22 June (as no. 10) and high up in the list of signatories to Nestorius' condemnation (no. 15). The entry here is probably an error for Cyrus of Tyre, for whose membership of the eastern council see CV 96,1 (doc. 109); see Vogt (1993) 441, no. 33 and 445–6, no. 51.

38 This final reference to the suffragan bishops is also lacking in the Greek version.

on 22 June. It addresses in particular, however, the thorny issue of John of Antioch's late arrival and the challenges against the legitimacy of the council arising from the fact that he and a significant number of bishops in his train had not been in attendance. In Cyril's interpretation, John had chosen not to participate in proceedings because of Nestorius' links to Antioch and the embarrassment it caused him, but had in effect given Cyril the go-ahead in the messages conveyed by bishops sent in advance. John and the Easterners always vigorously disputed this interpretation of his communications.

The memorandum's narrative is significant, furthermore, in its portrayal of the emergence of the archimandrite Dalmatius from his monastery after 48 years of seclusion. His appearance made a great impression on crowds of monks, clergy, and lay people in Constantinople. He led them in prayer and procession through the city and to the imperial palace. There Dalmatius, on the invitation of the emperor and together with other archimandrites, attended an audience at which he was able to present the Cyrillian case and perspective about the events in Ephesus and hand over relevant documents – previously, it is claimed, withheld from the emperor – and so to convince Theodosius of the legitimacy of Cyril's council. How credible is such an assertion and at what time might the audience have taken place? Nestorius himself provides a fuller and rhetorically ornamented narrative of Dalmatius' audience in the *Liber Heraclidis*, including therein direct speech of the emperor.[39] His report confirms the meeting's historicity, even if the details of the conversation with Theodosius were doubtless literary elaboration. That the emperor had allegedly chosen to 'follow God and the holy council', as Dalmatius claimed, is difficult to reconcile with other material from this period; for Theodosius did not alter his stance on Nestorius before late August. The imperial missives sent to the council at the end of July via Count John in particular (but arriving in August) are still very critical of Cyril's activities (and of those with him) and accepts his and Memnon's 'deposition' (doc. 87). If, however, Dalmatius is overstating his success in persuading the emperor of the Cyrillians' cause, an earlier date is conceivable and even probable. Theodosius could have chosen simply not to openly contradict one of the most venerated monks of Constantinople, out of a prudent desire not to alienate the monks, and by extension the populace, of the city. The reported public reading of Cyril's

39 Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* II.1 (374–82 Bedjan/241–6 Nau; trans. Driver/Hodgson, 272–8).

letter, the emperor's audience with Dalmatius, and the anti-Nestorian celebrations of the crowds could have happened, on that assumption, during the second half of July. A significantly later date is made improbable by Dalmatius' claim that accurate information or 'proper documentation' – as he puts it – (that is: the Cyrillian presentation of events) had not yet reached the emperor. The protocol of 22 June had been dispatched to him on 1 July. The suggestion that this material had been suppressed and the emperor had been given different documents instead is not credible. Is it possible that Dalmatius is referring not to the protocol but to further, more clearly propagandistic, writing from Cyril's side, of which the letter by Cyril included in the 'memorandum' is an example? When might this letter smuggled into the city in a beggar's cane have reached the city? Similar letters and documents could have been intercepted by the imperial administration and not allowed to become public knowledge – in which case the narrative shifts blame away from the emperor by suggesting he did not know of them. Dalmatius even speaks of information not fully put in writing, suggesting that the 'truth' he conveyed (of which the council credits him in doc. 52) did not rely on documentation alone.

Yet reconstruction remains hypothetical. For the chronology of the emperor's change of attitude towards Nestorius and the time of the first public demonstrations in Constantinople against him the text offers no firm guidance. Two observations about the creation of the document, however, are possible: while Cyril's letter included in the report (as having been read on the occasion) belongs to the immediate aftermath of the session of 22 June and even before the confection of minutes (dispatched on 1 July), the composition of the memorandum narrating the events in Constantinople must be dated later, allowing for the delayed arrival of news from the Cyrillian council (and could in its final literary arrangement, as it is found in the *Collectio Vaticana*, be a later product still, since the order and arrangement of the different elements – though not the text – differs in the Latin version in the *Collectio Casinensis*). The text's designation as a 'memorandum of the bishops in Constantinople' in the rubrics could be an inference from the text itself.

Two short pieces of correspondence between Dalmatius and the council (docs 51 and 52) belong to the same context. The council's letter to Dalmatius presupposes knowledge of the events narrated in the memorandum having reached Ephesus.

(50) MEMORANDUM OF THE BISHOPS IN CONSTANTINOPLE[40]

[65] Memorandum of the bishops present in Constantinople.

The holy council assembled at Ephesus according to the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, when it found the enemy of Christ persisting in the same things and preaching impiety, deposed him, in order to remove henceforth the stumbling blocks from the whole world. When this became common talk in Constantinople, all his supporters, having received from him [charge of] all church affairs, tried to circumvent the truth; we mean that they watched the ships and the roads, and did not allow anyone to come to Constantinople from the holy council or to go there, and only the correspondence of the enemy of Christ was brought and dispatched.[41] But since no one has power over God (for what is a human being?), by divine dispensation a letter came from Ephesus, written to the holy bishops and monks, and delivered by means of a beggar who tied it up inside a rod, and so brought it by begging and carrying the stick. And all the monasteries rose up and together with their archimandrites went off to the palace, singing psalms antiphonally. One of the archimandrites was the holy Dalmatius,[42] who for 48 years had not gone outside his monastery but remained enclosed within – our most pious emperor used to come and visit him – to the extent that, although there had often been earthquakes in Constantinople and the emperor had often besought him to come out and lead public prayer,[43] he had never been induced to do so. But when he prayed about this matter, a voice came down to him from heaven, telling him to go out; for God did not want his flock to perish utterly. They were accompanied by a great congregation of the orthodox. [66] So when they reached the palace, the archimandrites went in on the invitation of the emperor, while the crowd of monks and laypeople waited outside, singing

40 The first part of this document is CV 66, ACO I.1.2, 65–6; Latin version in CC 33, ACO I.3, 90–1. The letter of Cyril (*ep.* 23) and the continuation of the narrative is CV 67, ACO I.1.2, 66–9; Latin version in CC 31, ACO I.3, 87–9. The reference in Cyril's letter to the as yet incomplete state of the minutes implies a date before CV 84, sent on 1 July.

41 Millar (2006) 232 comments: 'The claim, if true at all, cannot apply to official communications, for Theodosius had received a report from Candidianus by June 29, and then wrote in stern terms to the Cyrillian side refusing to assent to their proceedings' (CV 83, ACO I.1.3, 9–10).

42 See Caner (2002) 219–20.

43 The word is λιτανεύω, referring to leading prayer during a procession.

psalms antiphonally. Then they came out, having received a just reply, and all cried out, '[Read out] the emperor's mandate!' They replied, 'Let us go to the *martyrium* of Saint Mocius,[44] where we shall read the letter and you will learn the emperor's response.' So the monks and laypeople all set off. In the procession they formed a single band of those chanting the very final psalm in the final locality of the city;[45] and there the people were met by monks with candles chanting psalms who, when they saw the crowds, cried out against their enemy. They came to the *martyrium* of Saint Mocius, where the letter was read out to them:

'To the bishops Comarius and Potamon,[46] to the archimandrite of the monasteries lord Dalmatius, and to the beloved and most dear presbyters Timothy and Eulogius, sanctified in Christ, Archbishop Cyril sends abundant greetings in the Lord. We were expecting the most honourable Nestorius to come and repent the blasphemies he has uttered from the time he was consecrated, and ask forgiveness from the holy council, even if to grant him forgiveness in this way would be particularly dangerous; for it is not possible to grant forgiveness to a man who has preached such things, since he has perverted the whole world and undermined the faith venerated in the churches. For if one who dares to utter a single insulting remark about our most pious and Christ-loving emperors is justly subjected to the rigour of the laws, should not this all the more be true of the impious one who subverts the whole of our sacred mystery and abolishes the dispensation that was fulfilled by the holy and benevolent only-begotten Son of God the Father, who deigned to become man for our sake, so that he might save us all and rescue the world under heaven from sin and death? But we have been amazed at the man's hardness of heart; for he has neither repented nor wept over what he had the temerity to say against the glory of Christ the Saviour of us all, but when he arrived at Ephesus he used the same language and again showed himself to hold perverted beliefs. For when eminent and most religious metropolitan bishops[47] initiated discussion with him and then pressed him close with inspired scripture and told him that the one born in the flesh from the holy Virgin is God,

44 In the west of the city, see Janin (1969) 354–8.

45 In the preceding sentence we follow the Latin text. The wording in the Greek is similar, but corrupt.

46 These are two Egyptian bishops who had gone to Constantinople late in 430 to deliver Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* (see p. 255) and clearly remained there as Cyril's agents.

47 Theodore of Ancyra and Acacius of Melitene (p. 257).

he uttered the following unlawful statement, "I do not call [an infant] two or three months old 'God',"[48] and also other things in addition to this, rejecting the incarnation of the Only-begotten. Holy Pentecost was set as the date for the holy council by our most God-beloved emperors (for the original letter in which we were summoned contains this command),[49] [67] and we reached the city of Ephesus before the appointed day; for it is not permissible to disregard our sovereigns' decrees. When we heard that the most devout and most God-beloved Bishop John of Antioch was on his way, we waited for sixteen days,[50] even though the whole council was protesting and saying, "He does not want to join us in session"; for he was afraid that the most honourable Nestorius, who had been taken from the church under him, would suffer deposition, and was presumably ashamed of the matter. Subsequent experience gave authentic proof of this, for he delayed his arrival, while some of the most devout bishops who were his colleagues in the East, who had arrived before him, said, "The lord Bishop John instructed us to tell your religiousness, 'If I am delayed, do what you have to do'."[51] Accordingly, the holy council assembled on the twenty-eighth of the month of Pauni in the Alexandrian calendar [22 June] in the great church called [after] Mary, and sent most devout bishops to summon him [Nestorius] to come and defend himself and give satisfaction for what he had taught and written. The first reply he gave was to say, "I shall think about it and see." He was then summoned by a second written message from the holy council, which again sent most religious bishops to him. But he did something outrageous: he took soldiers from the most magnificent Count Candidianus and stationed them in front of his residence with staves to prevent anyone from going in to see him. When the most holy bishops who had been sent persisted, saying, "We have not come to say or hear anything burdensome, but the holy council is summoning him," he had recourse to various excuses, since, pricked by his conscience, he was unwilling to come. Then we had recourse to

48 The construction of this famous remark is unclear and has been taken variously by modern historians: is Nestorius saying that 'God was not an infant' or that 'an infant was not God'? The latter is the more natural interpretation of this remark as related in *oratio obliqua* at the session of 22 June (p. 257 above), and is supported by the report in doc. 71, p. 384 of a similar remark about the one who fled to Egypt not being God.

49 See p. 198 above.

50 From 7 till 22 June.

51 Literally, 'do what you do'. Cyril was to claim, implausibly, that this gave him *carte blanche* to try Nestorius before John arrived.

a third written message, but when again bishops from various provinces were sent to him, he again used [as an excuse] the force exercised by the soldiers and refused to come. So the holy council went into session and followed the rules of the church: it read out his letters and sermons, and found them full of blasphemies, while eminent and most devout metropolitan bishops testified, "In Ephesus itself, when discussing with us, he had said plainly that Jesus is not God." And so the council deposed him, and delivered a just and lawful verdict against him. It was essential that your religiousness should hear of these things and inform those who ought especially to hear of them, lest they be misled by either Nestorius himself or his supporters; and so I had to inform you of them. We also have a letter written to him by the most devout and most religious Bishop John, in which he firmly rebukes him for introducing new and impious doctrines into the churches and undermining the teaching handed down to the churches from the holy fathers and apostles.[52] Since he had no defence to make against his blasphemies, he produced the excuse, "I requested a postponement of four days until the arrival of the bishop of Antioch, and they did not grant it," even though the most holy Bishop John [68] had declined to arrive. For if he had wanted to be present, why did he tell us though bishops under his authority, "If I am delayed, do what you have to do"? But, as I have said, he had no wish to be present, knowing that the holy council would most certainly decree the deposition of Nestorius for uttering impious and blasphemous things against Christ the Saviour of us all. Because, as I have learnt, a report has been dispatched by the most magnificent Count Candidianus, be on your guard and explain that the minutes of the proceedings of his deposition have not yet been completed on paper, which is why we have not been able to send the report due to be sent to our pious and victorious emperors.[53] But with God's help, be it said, the report will come together with the minutes, if anyone allows us to send someone able to deliver them. So if the arrival of the minutes and the report is delayed, know that we have not been allowed to send them. Farewell.'

The whole congregation in Constantinople joined together in uttering the acclamation, 'Anathema to Nestorius!' The holy Dalmatius ascended to an elevated place and said, 'If you want to hear, keep quiet and learn; don't

52 This letter is given in doc. 23.

53 For the dispatch of the minutes to the emperor soon after the sending of this letter, see CV 81 and CV 84 (docs 64 and 66).

interrupt what I say, but be patient, and hear the words accurately. The letter that has just been read to your reverences was read to the emperor and convinced him. I said to the emperor, when he came to me, what he ought to write to the holy council, about what had been related to him and not fully put in writing. He had sent to me, [his message] had been read, and in order to spare him vexation I had sent him the proper documentation, but the bearers did not show it to him, but produced other letters instead. So I told him what was proper and fitting, which it would not be right for me to repeat to your reverences; for I do not want you to think me proud or boastful, since God will crush the bones of hypocrites. Our sovereign gave due hearing to all that had happened, gave joyful thanks to God, and expressed, as befits his reign, his approval of the procedure followed by the holy council as recounted, heeding not my words but the faith of his father and grandfather. As was fitting, he took it, read it, and was convinced. This is what he said: "If this is so, let the bishops who attended come here." I said to him, "No one lets them come." He said, "No one is preventing them," and I said, "They are restrained and prevented from coming." And I said again, "Many of that man's party come and go without hindrance, but no one is allowed to report the proceedings of the holy council to your piety." With reference to the other party, namely that of our lord [Cyril], I said to the emperor himself in front of all, "Who do you want to hear, bishops who are six thousand in number[54] or one impious man? (I meant the six thousand who are under the authority [69] of the holy metropolitan bishops.) This has taken place[55] so that a message may be sent and those may come who are bringing information about the proceedings, I mean the most holy bishops who are now coming from the holy council." And he said, "Your request is a fair one." To this again he added a single remark: "Pray for me." And I know that the emperor has chosen to follow God and the holy council instead, and no longer those perverted men. Pray, therefore, for the emperor and for us.'[56]

54 Six hundred (the total number of bishops whose names were appended, many in absentia, to the Chalcedonian Definition) would have been a more sensible number.

55 The reference must be to the whole demonstration and visit to the emperor.

56 A more literary, and less historical, account of Dalmatius' famous interview with Theodosius II is given in Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* (374–82 Bedjan; see n. 39 above, and Millar (2006) 233).

(51) LETTER OF DALMATIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE COUNCIL[57]

[x] A letter sent to the holy council in the city of Ephesus by Dalmatius the most holy archimandrite.

I have received the letter sent to me by the holy council. On discovering what it contains, I am first of all greatly distressed at the trials and tribulations you have experienced. For it was written in the letter that some of the holy fathers staying there have died as a result of the cramped conditions. For the rest, be aware that I am ready to fulfil your every command, and that I have in no respect neglected or overlooked them, or do overlook them, particularly because the cause is the defence of the orthodox faith and relates to God, for no one can withdraw from the living God and plan something quite other. Those who 'shape aright the word of God's truth'[58] have life both in this age and in that to come, while those who withdraw from the grace of God are accursed and cast into outer darkness,[59] as is the case with Nestorius and, together with him, those who share his beliefs. For the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has enlightened and edified the entire holy council, and has accepted your toil and exertion. We therefore give thanks to God for having so guided you and granted you victory in defence in the faith.

I ask your holinesses to pray for me.

(52) REPLY FROM THE COUNCIL TO DALMATIUS[60]

[x] Reply sent by the holy council to the lord Dalmatius.

The holy ecumenical council assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus by command of the most pious and Christ-loving emperors Theodosius and Valentinian has received the letter sent by Dalmatius the most holy archimandrite and father of monks, and has learnt how, spurred by zeal,

57 This and the following letter were published by J. Garnier in an edition of Marius Mercator published in 1673, as coming in a codex in the Vatican. Schwartz was unable to find them, but accepted their authenticity and gives Garnier's text in ACO I.1.7, x–xi with the comment, 'I have decided to reprint them here out of that edition, lest anyone should have to consult a book that is now virtually useless by a man who deserves to be forgotten'.

58 2 Tim 2:15.

59 Cf. Matt 8:12.

60 ACO I.1.7, x–xi.

he came out of his cell after 48 years and went off to the most devout and Christ-loving emperor, and informed him of all that had ensued and been transacted by the holy council over the deposition of the unholy Nestorius. The council has given thanks to Christ our true God for spurring you in this way to come to the assistance of the orthodox doctrine of our faith, by making our toil and exertion known not only to the most devout emperors but also to the most holy archimandrites and the whole Christ-loving clergy and laity. For who else among men came to our assistance save only your holiness? For the truth was made known by no one else save you, the lord Dalmatius. In thanks for this we all raise our hands to the good and benevolent [xi] God on behalf of the well-being and preservation of our most pious emperors and your holiness. We urge you to support us all the more and to represent us among those in that place who are coming forward about the faith. As we have learnt, even before the arrival of Nestorius in Constantinople God revealed to you what was in his heart, and you used to say to all who came to your cell, 'Be on your guard, brothers, because an evil beast has arrived in this city who has the power to harm many through his teaching.'

May the holy and consubstantial Trinity keep you strong in soul and body as you give praise to Christ our God. Pray for us, most sacred brother.

2. AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF JOHN OF ANTIOCH AND HIS TRAVELLING PARTY

Introduction

On 26 June Bishop John of Antioch arrived with his travelling company of bishops, mainly from Syria and Mesopotamia in the civil diocese of Oriens (and for this reason commonly referred to as 'the Orientals' in the literature; they are called 'the Easterners' in our edition). Joining with those bishops from the sphere of his influence (and some from other parts of the empire) who had already arrived earlier, John instantly convened a counter-council. We have outlined above the composition of the council of bishops in alliance with John.[61]

The bishops around Cyril of Alexandria had assembled to welcome the arriving Easterners (as we learn from a letter by Bishop Memnon,

61 See pp. 296–7.

doc. 58); they sent a delegation to greet them, warn them of conversing with the 'deposed' Nestorius, and presumably to invite them to accept the decision taken on 22 June. Could they really have hoped to conduct a reading and signing of the minutes of that meeting in a joint session, similar to the proceedings later conducted on the arrival of the Roman delegates (doc. 68 below)? This meeting of the majority council is not otherwise attested, and Memnon's claims leave many open questions. Given the protests on the eve of their session a few days earlier, and knowing of the theological attacks on Cyril's Chapters waged by the Easterners in treatises written before the council, the Cyrillians cannot really have expected John's group to fall into line. In fact, the haste of their convention *before* John's arrival has traditionally been interpreted as a sign of their expectation of determined opposition from his group. In the account given by Bishop John, at any rate, their attempts to establish contact have an air of harassment rather than fraternal welcome. The bishops around John avoided meeting the Cyrillians and instead assembled almost instantly in John's lodgings. Here they heard Count Candidianus' report of what had transpired in the days around 22 June, and responded by declaring the deposition of Cyril and Memnon for their reckless and illegal actions.

The following minutes provide the record of this meeting (doc. 54). Without much formality, the record starts directly with Candidianus' report. He describes his failed attempts to prevent the formal opening of a session by the bishops around Cyril on 22 June. Much of his initial account concentrates on the need to read out the imperial *sacra* to the bishops, which, he must have realised in the meantime, had offered Cyril the pretext for considering the session officially opened. It is apparent that he had been duped. On John's request he goes on to read out the same imperial *sacra* to the assembled bishops. Candidianus' further narrative highlights his surprise when learning of the deposition of Nestorius and its public announcement in the city the following day. Repeatedly Candidianus draws attention to the various documents and injunctions he had issued during these events and the reports he sent to the emperor, keen to put on record the 'paper trail' documenting his activities; indirectly he invited the eastern bishops to acquaint themselves further with the course of events on the strength of these documents.

Bishop John's studious concern (he is the only bishop identified as speaking) is to inquire about the procedural propriety and legal basis of Cyril's actions. Had the canons and imperial instructions been followed,

had all bishops been present, had Nestorius been interrogated in person and afforded the opportunity to respond? Since none of these procedural expectations had been met, John called for the assembly's verdict on what he described as the Cyrillians' blatant 'contempt' for the imperial letters and instructions. Besides Candidianus' report, the council's gathering of further information, presumably from reports by a number of bishops, is presented only in summary. The council's collective verdict (individual voices are not recorded) adds to the offences learnt from Candidianus' report allegations of violence committed by the supporters of Cyril and Memnon in the city. Most importantly, however, they interpret the irregular activities of the Cyrillians as an attempt to prevent an examination of the 'heretical' doctrines of Cyril's Twelve Chapters. John proposes the deposition of Cyril and Memnon on account of their lawless behaviou and, crucially, in denunciation of the heresy of the Chapters. The othe bishops attending Cyril's council are excommunicated until they anathe matize the Chapters, declare their adherence solely to Nicaea, and meet with the Easterners for an orderly investigation. This verdict the bishops approved and formalized as their decree. More than 50 bishops signed it.

John and his supporters went on to produce four letters (docs 54–57), which present their perception and assessment of the events that had unfolded in Ephesus before their arrival, and announce their verdict of deposition against Cyril and Memnon in consequence of their scandalous and uncanonical actions. Letters were sent to the emperor (doc. 54), the clergy of Constantinople (doc. 55), the senate (doc. 56), and to the laity of Constantinople (doc. 57), respectively. They all portray the events in a similar way but with a distinctive rhetorical flavour in each case, accommodated to the addressees, with an emphasis on those elements of their opponent's misdemeanours that would be considered especially damning. Of particular interest in this regard is the elaborate narrative intended for a lay audience, which provides evocative detail of the violence and intimidation allegedly employed by Cyril's and Memnon's supporters in their attempt to compel others into joining their council.

A letter from Bishop Memnon (of uncertain date) in turn accuses the Antiochene party of acts of violence (doc. 58).

(53) SESSION OF THE EASTERNERS OF 26 JUNE[62]

[119] Minutes of the proceedings of the eastern bishops in which they depose the most holy Cyril and Memnon, and excommunicate all [the members] of the holy council.

(1) In the presence, in their own lodgings, of the most holy and most God-beloved John bishop of the metropolis of Antioch in the diocese of Oriens and the holy council with him, the most magnificent and most glorious Candidianus count of the hallowed *domestici* said: 'It was the object of my prayer, in the presence of your[63] religiousness and together with the whole council assembled as one, to deliver the letter of our masters and most pious emperors,[64] so that with the whole council being assembled, as I have said, their orders would then be carried out. But four days ago the most devout Bishop Cyril, Memnon bishop of this city, and the most devout bishops with them assembled in the holy church. I tried to prevent them convening on their own contrary to the decrees of our masters and most pious emperors, and urged them to wait for the arrival of you all, but they pressed me to read out the *sacra*. Although I was reluctant to do this, since your holiness was not present and many other bishops and metropolitans had not yet come, they compelled me by saying that they did not know what our masters had written. Since they were assembled for this purpose, I was compelled by the need not to give an excuse for indiscipline, and read the *sacra* to them. Both when present and when about to leave, I adjured them to do nothing precipitate, as is known to many most holy bishops who had gone in to them together with myself. But not even this deterred them from doing what they pleased.'

(2) The most God-beloved bishop John said: 'It is the object of our prayer to hear the pious words, for it is necessary not to anticipate matters, but proceed to the truth itself and learn the pious purpose of our most God-beloved emperors, who take great pains for the churches of Christ and give this priority. So may your magnificence inform us of what followed the reading to them of this most God-beloved letter.'

62 CV 151, ACO I.1.5, 119–24; Latin version in CC 87–8, ACO I.4, 33–8.

63 'Your' is singular (σῆς), as it is in 'your holiness' below.

64 The constant use of the plural when referring to Theodosius II followed the convention of referring to him and Valentinian III in the West as co-emperors. Cf. the issuing of the *Letter of Convocation* (doc. 28) in their joint names.

(3) The most magnificent Count Candidianus said: 'When the *sacra* was read, they all commended it, so that I thought that they would sincerely comply with everything decreed by our pious emperors, and I in my turn was delighted by this. But when I then urged them all to comply with the letter, no one was ready to listen to me, but they drove out with insult the most devout bishops sent by the most holy Bishop Nestorius and those with them. When I exhorted them at length again, they drove me out as well from the assembly, on the grounds that I ought not to take part in their decisions. And quite apart from this, they did not even allow a reading of the communication sent to them by the most pious bishops,[65] as the most holy bishops who accompanied me know, and who can testify [120] that I acted according to the proper procedure. All this we have brought to the knowledge of the masters of the world, informing them that we were waiting for the arrival of your holiness and the most holy bishops with you.'

(4) The most God-beloved archbishop John said: 'Let the pious letter be read to us as well.'

(5) The most holy bishops stood up, and the most magnificent Count Candidianus read it out. When this had been done and the most God-beloved bishops had prayed for the pious rule of the emperors, the most God-beloved Archbishop John said: 'The serenity of the pious letter should have been sufficient to recall them to orderly behaviour, even if they had not been of priestly rank. But while they, after the reading of the letter, excited a general tumult and disorder, as your magnificence has related, and heaped insults on the most God-beloved bishops and your magnificence, we stood to attention in due good order and listened to the letter, and are willing to put into effect the purpose of our most God-beloved emperors, God permitting. I request, if they did anything else, to learn of it from your magnificence.'

(6) The most magnificent Candidianus said: 'Since your holiness asks about everything with precision and propriety, it is right that I should relate the rest as well. On the following day, when I was still in complete ignorance as to what had been transacted, I suddenly heard that they had deposed the most holy Bishop Nestorius. Getting hold of the letter of deposition that had been issued, I read it and sent it to our most pious emperors. A short time afterwards I heard the public criers going round the marketplace and blazoning abroad the deposition of the most holy Bishop Nestorius. When I heard this, I sent them an injunction to do nothing contrary to the orders

65 CC 82 (doc. 37).

from our most pious emperors. And in addition I took steps to ensure that the most holy bishops who had not convened with them would wait for the arrival of your holiness.'

(7) The most God-beloved Archbishop John said: 'Was it in accordance with the canons, the laws of the church, and the imperial letter, and after discussion in the presence of all, appropriate interrogation, and receiving a reply, that they proceeded to this, after finding proofs, or did they condemn the man without proofs?'

(8) The most magnificent Count Candidianus said: 'All the most religious bishops who have come with me[66] know that they issued their verdict without any hearing, examination, or investigation.'

(9) The most God-beloved Archbishop John said: 'Their treatment of us was emphatically no more appropriate. For although they should have given a fraternal welcome to those who had just arrived from so long a journey and were still covered with dust, and treated them with kindness and refreshed them in a fraternal spirit, they came at once harassing and molesting us and showing their usual lack of discipline. Nevertheless, the holy council now present with me did not give them even a hearing. [121] It is for the holy council to decide what has to be decreed about those who have caused general disruption in so lawless and violent a fashion.'

(10) At this juncture, and after the departure of the most magnificent Candidianus count of the hallowed *domestici* after his reading of the pious letter and the testimony of his account given above, the most God-beloved Archbishop John said: 'Your religiousness has heard the pious letter of our most God-beloved emperors and the testimony of the most magnificent Count Candidianus, and have been informed of the aims of the most pious emperors. [You have heard] that, exercising every forethought for the peace of the church, for the sound and immutable faith, and the apostolic doctrines, they summoned the holy council hither, with orders that this was to be held in a manner worthy of their God-beloved authority, to the effect that all should come together and probe the matters under investigation in a fraternal spirit and as is fitting for priests, by means of proposal and solution, of question and answer, without any disruption or disturbance, and without the investigation of any other charge, either criminal or civil, prior to an exact examination and confirmation of the pious faith of the

66 This refers to the bishops present who had been in Ephesus on 22 June and had accompanied Candidianus to this meeting called by the newly arrived John of Antioch and the bishops who had come with him.

holy and blessed fathers who assembled at Nicaea in Bithynia. So what does your religiousness decree should be done about such contempt of the pious letter?'

(11) The holy council said:[67] 'The most devout Bishop Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon the most devout bishop of this city, his accomplice in everything, stand exposed. We have received precise information about this by coming before the presence of your religiousness and beholding, so to speak, all the outrages he has committed. For he has closed the holy churches, the holy shrines of the martyrs, and the holy church of the Apostle, not even permitting the most God-beloved bishops to celebrate holy Pentecost. Gathering a mob of rustics, he has convulsed the city, sending his clerics to the houses of the most God-beloved bishops and uttering countless dire threats if they did not convene in their disorderly assembly. Out of a bad conscience they have disrupted and confounded everything, filled the affairs of the church with confusion, treated the pious letter with contempt, and trampled on the laws of the church – and this in order to prevent an examination of the heretical false doctrine that we found in the chapters sent previously to the imperial city by the most devout Bishop Cyril, of which most are in agreement with the impiety of Arius, Apollinarius and Eunomius. It is therefore necessary for your holiness and all of us to fight zealously on behalf of piety, lest any be seduced by the heretical chapters of the most God-beloved Bishop Cyril, and the faith of the holy fathers be corrupted. We must condemn the originators of this heresy and their indescribable indiscipline by means of a decree worthy of their lawlessness, and impose an ecclesiastical penalty on the most devout bishops who have been seduced and suborned by them.'

(12) The most God-beloved Bishop John said, 'It was the object of my prayers that none of those set apart for priestly ministry to God should be expelled from the body of the church. But since the excision of the incurable members is necessary for the health of the whole body, it is right that, as the originators of the lawlessness that has taken place and of the trampling upon [122] the laws of the church and the pious decrees of our most pious emperors, and because of the heresy of the aforementioned chapters, Cyril and Memnon be subjected to deposition, and that those seduced by them be excommunicated, until such a time as, acknowledging their offence, they

67 This statement by 'the council' reads like a summary report of the information obtained presumably by the reports of a number of bishops present in Ephesus before John's arrival.

anathematize the heretical chapters of Cyril, profess adhesion to the creed issued by the most holy fathers assembled at Nicaea, introducing nothing different from it or alien to piety, and finally that, in accordance with the pious letter of our most God-beloved emperors, they meet together with us, carry out in a fraternal spirit an examination of the matters under investigation, and confirm the pious faith.'

(13) The holy council said: 'The verdict of your holiness is right and lawful. The deposition of Cyril and Memnon and the excommunication of the others must therefore be recorded in a joint letter and confirmed by the signatures of us all.'

(14) The most God-beloved Archbishop John said: 'This resolution must now be put into effect. I, Bishop John of Antioch, have so pronounced.'

The Decree

(15) The holy council convened at Ephesus by the grace of God in accordance with the letter of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors issues the following resolution.

It was our wish that the council be held peacefully according to the canons of the holy fathers and the letter of our most pious and most Christ-loving emperors. But because, showing insolence, indiscipline, and a heretical mentality, you have assembled on your own, even though we were at the gates in accordance with the letter of our most pious emperors, and since you have filled the city and the holy council with tumult of every kind, to prevent the examination of the chapters that agree with the heresy and impiety of Apollinarius, Arius, and Eunomius, and did not wait for the arrival of the most holy bishops from all parts summoned by our most pious emperors, and this despite a charge both oral and written from the most magnificent Count Candidianus to attempt no such thing but to wait for a joint meeting of all the most holy bishops – for this reason you are to know that you, Cyril of Alexandria and you Memnon of this city, have been deposed and stripped of episcopal office and excluded from every ecclesiastical ministry, as the authors and originators of all the indiscipline and lawlessness, and as those responsible for the fact that the canons of the fathers and the imperial decrees have been trampled upon.

As for all the rest of you who have given your assent to the perpetrators of indiscipline and lawlessness against the canons and against the imperial decrees, you are excommunicated, until such time as, acknowledging your offence, you repent and accept the creed of the holy fathers convened at

Nicaea, introducing nothing different or alien to it, anathematize the heretical chapters issued [123] by Cyril of Alexandria which contradict the teaching of the gospels and the apostles, and abide by the letter of the most pious and most Christ-loving emperors, which gives orders for a peaceful and meticulous examination of the faith.

(16) The signatories are:[68]

(1) John bishop of Antioch: I hereby sign.
(2) Alexander bishop of the metropolis of Apamea: I hereby sign.
(3) Phritilas bishop of the metropolis of Heraclea: I hereby sign.
(4) John bishop of the metropolis of Damascus: I hereby sign.
(5) Himerius bishop of the metropolis of Nicomedia: I hereby sign.
(6) Dorotheus bishop of the metropolis of Marcianopolis: I hereby sign.
(7) Helladius bishop of the metropolis of Tarsus: I hereby sign.
(8) Alexander bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis: I hereby sign.
(9) Maximin bishop of the metropolis of Anazarbus: I hereby sign.
(10) Dexianus bishop of the metropolis of Seleucia in Isauria: I hereby sign.
(11) Eutherius bishop of the metropolis of Tyana: I hereby sign.
(12) Julian bishop of the metropolis of Sardica: I hereby sign.*
(13) Basil bishop of the metropolis of Larissa: I hereby sign.
(14) Cyrus bishop of the metropolis of Tyre through Marcellinus: I hereby sign.*
(15) Asterius bishop of the metropolis of Amida: I hereby sign.
(16) Antiochus bishop of the metropolis of Bostra: I hereby sign.
(17) Peter bishop of the metropolis of Traianopolis: I hereby sign.*
(18) Paul bishop of the metropolis of Emesa: I hereby sign.
(19) Macarius bishop of Laodicea: I hereby sign.
(20) Apringius bishop of Chalcis: I hereby sign.

68 We give the list in the Latin version (CC 88, ACO I.4, 37–8), which gives an additional eleven names absent from the Greek (indicated by an asterisk). All of these bishops appear as signatories either to the protest of 21 June (doc. 37) or to the second session of the Easterners (doc. 61). The Greek list (which gives the names in virtually the same order) ends with the note 'In all 43', but this is a scribal annotation without authority. Generally the lists in CC are superior, and the inclusion in the Latin list of 'Cyrus of Tyre through Marcellinus' and 'Petronius of Neve through Zosys of Esbus' points to genuine subscriptions during a session, rather than the addition of further names subsequently.

(21) Theosebius bishop of Cius in Bithynia: I hereby sign.
(22) Pausianus bishop of Hypata: I hereby sign.*
(23) Polychronius bishop of Heraclea: I hereby sign.
(24) Gerontius bishop of Claudiopolis: I hereby sign.
(25) Cyril bishop of Adana: I hereby sign.
(26) Theoctistus of Caesarea in Thessaly: I hereby sign.*
(27) Ausonius bishop of Hemerium: I hereby sign.
(28) Aurelius bishop of Irenopolis: I hereby sign.
(29) Polychronius bishop of Epiphaneia: I hereby sign.
(30) Meletius bishop of Neocaesarea: I hereby sign.
(31) Musaeus bishop of Aradus and Antaradus: I hereby sign.
(32) Helladius bishop of Ptolemais: I hereby sign.
(33) Hesychius bishop of Castabala: I hereby sign.
(34) Tarianus bishop of Augusta: I hereby sign.
(35) Sallustius bishop of Corycus: I hereby sign.
(36) Valentinus bishop of Mallus: I hereby sign.
(37) James bishop of Durostolum: I hereby sign.
(38) Marcianus bishop of Abrittus: I hereby sign.
(39) Zosys bishop of Esbus: I hereby sign.
(40) Daniel bishop of Faustinopolis: I hereby sign.
(41) Philtatius of Theodosiopolis: I hereby sign.*
(42) Eustathius bishop of Parnassus: I hereby sign.
(43) Julian bishop of Larissa: I hereby sign.
(44) Diogenes bishop of Seleucobelus: I hereby sign.
(45) Heliades bishop of Zeugma: I hereby sign.
(46) Placo bishop of Laodicea: I hereby sign.
(47) Marcellinus bishop of Arca: I hereby sign.
(48) Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus: I hereby sign.
(49) Olympius bishop of Carpasia in Cyprus: I hereby sign.*
(50) Maximus bishop of Demetrias: I hereby sign.*
(51) Theophanius bishop of Philadelphia: I hereby sign.*
(52) Rabbula bishop of Edessa: I hereby sign.*[69]

69 Rabbula's name appears here and in two later lists (CC 96 and 116), but it is doubtful whether he was present at the council. His name could have been added simply to complete the tally of Syrian and Mesopotamian metropolitans (see Price (2012b) 402, n. 13 and the discussion in Phenix and Horn (2017) clxiv–clxxiii). If, however, he had indeed participated, his swift about turn to become an avid defender of Cyril and a vigorous attacker of the heritage of Theodore of Mopsuestia is all the more remarkable. See Behr (2011) 88–91; cf. p. 443, n. 22.

(53) Petronius bishop of Neve through Zosys bishop of Esbus: I hereby sign.*
(54) Cyrus bishop of Marcopolis.[70]

(54) (FIRST) REPORT OF THE EASTERNERS TO THEODOSIUS II[71]

[124] Report of the same to the emperor in which they relate their proceedings and the cause of the lateness of the arrival of the bishop of Antioch.[72]

As commanded by your pious letter, we came to the metropolis of Ephesus and found the affairs of the church teeming with total confusion and intestine war. Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon had conspired together and assembled a crowd of rustics; they did not permit celebration of the feast of holy Pentecost or of either the evening or the morning liturgy, and in addition to this they closed the holy churches and the holy shrines of the martyrs, while they held session on their own with those they had deceived. They committed innumerable lawless acts and trampled on both the canons of the holy fathers [125] and your decrees, and this even though the most magnificent Count Candidianus, who had been sent by your Christ-loving head, charged them both by word of mouth and in writing to await the arrival from all quarters of the most holy bishops and then to hold a joint session in accordance with the letter of your piety, and although Cyril of Alexandria had himself written to me, the [bishop] of Antioch, two days before the session he held to say that the whole council was awaiting my arrival.

For this reason we have deposed both the aforementioned Cyril and Memnon and excluded them from all church ministry, and we have excommunicated the rest who joined with them in this lawlessness, until they reject and anathematize the chapters issued by Cyril that are full of the heresy of Apollinarius, Eunomius, and Arius, and until, in joint session with us in accordance with the letter of your piety, they examine the questions together with us calmly and with precision and confirm the pious doctrine of the fathers.

70 This name is taken from the Greek list (CV 151.16, 23), the only place where it occurs.
71 CV 153, ACO I.1.5, 124–5; Latin version in CC 90, ACO I.4, 39.
72 This report had not been received by Theodosius when he sent missives to the council on 29 June.

Concerning my slowness, may your piety know that throughout the journey on dry ground (for our journey was by land) we went very quickly; for we travelled for 40 stages without taking any rest on the journey, as your Christ-loving rule can learn from the inhabitants of the cities along the road. In addition, the famine that occurred at Antioch, the daily riots of the people and the heavy and unseasonable rain, which threatened the city with flooding, had kept us in this city for not a few days.

(55) LETTER OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE CLERGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE[73]

[127] Your reverences must be well aware of what has been done against canon and statute by Cyril of Alexandria, Memnon of Ephesus, and those who have sat in session with them contrary to the letter of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors. We have therefore judged it necessary to inform your religiousness that all the things they have perpetrated are 'a spider's web',[74] in the words of the prophet, while those who perpetrated them, Cyril and Memnon, as responsible for the disorder and illegality, have been deposed by us and stripped of the episcopacy, while those who chose to join them in session we have excommunicated until, recognizing their own offence, they anathematize the heretical chapters of Cyril of Alexandria and sincerely accept the creed of the holy fathers who convened at Nicaea in Bithynia. Do not let any of those in the habit of doing such things perturb your reverences for, as we have already stated, the outrages they have committed contrary to law have no validity. We have made this known to our pious and Christ-loving emperor and to the most magnificent and most glorious officials.

73 CV 155, ACO I.1.5, 127; Latin version in CC 92, ACO I.4, 41. The preceding document in all the collections is CV 154, which was written later than CV 83, given below (doc. 65). But CV 155–7 read as immediate reports of the session of 26 June and make no reference to CV 83; they must, therefore, have been written earlier.

74 Is 59:5.

(56) LETTER OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE SENATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE[75]

[127] The holy council to the God-beloved and Christ-loving senate.

It much distresses us to have to inform your magnificence of the excision of our own members; for even when the amputation of the putrid members is necessary, it still causes bitter pain to the rest of the body. For, as the blessed Paul says, 'If one member suffers, all the members suffer together.'[76] Nevertheless, the excision of useless and harmful members is something that doctors have to perform. For a wise and prudent physician of bodies, looking to the health of the other members, rejects the one that is putrid, and thereby heals the whole body. This is what we too have done at the present time. For we found that Cyril bishop of Alexandria [128] and Memnon bishop of Ephesus, apart from their innumerable other outrages against God's church, had filled both the city and the holy council with uproar and tumult, using Egyptian sailors and Asian rustics as agents of their tyranny. They did not wait for the most holy and most God-beloved bishops who had been summoned, nor obey the letter of our most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors, nor heed the instructions and injunctions of the most magnificent and most glorious Count Candidianus. But they threw into utter confusion the sacred points of piety, did everything contrary to canon and statute, prevented the celebration of the holy feast of Pentecost, and closed the churches of God and the shrines of the victorious martyrs, so that it is impossible for those who so wish to pray, after making so long a journey, nor for those who so desire to embrace all the sarcophagi of the holy and victorious martyrs, especially that of the thrice-blessed John the divine and evangelist, who enjoyed such intimate access to our Saviour. We therefore had to depose the aforesaid Cyril and Memnon, and have stripped them of the episcopacy, while those who assisted their wilfulness and violence, whether as a result of deceit or fear, we have excommunicated. This punishment is to continue until they change their minds; for if they recognize their offence, renounce heretical misbelief, recover the faith of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea in Bithynia, and

75 CV 156, ACO I.1.5, 127–8; Latin version in CC 93, ACO I.4, 41–2. Schwartz (ACO I.1.8, 9) presumes that these letters were taken to Constantinople by Palladius on 1 July, together with the *Second Report of the Easterners to Theodosius II* (doc. 67, pp. 363ff.), but they were written a few days earlier.

76 1 Cor 12:26.

meet in session together with us in accordance with the letter from our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, in order to examine the matters under investigation with the calm proper to priests, they will be released from excommunication and restored to priestly ministry.

(57) LETTER OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE LAITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE[77]

[128] The council to the most devout, most faithful, and most Christ-loving laity of the holy church of God in Constantinople.

(1) There is an unwritten law for shepherds that they are to take great care of the sheep, lest a thief steal them, or wild beast devour them, or disease harm them. If those entrusted with the care of irrational sheep exercise such forethought over them as in the blessed Jacob's words to Laban, 'I was consumed by the heat of the day and the frost of the night, and sleep departed from my eyes, and what was caught by wild beasts I did not bring back to you,'[78] how great is the care that should be taken of the rational sheep of our Saviour, who bear the divine impress, having been baptized into Christ, put on Christ, and sealed with the light of the Lord's countenance.[79] For this reason we have judged it necessary to give your souls preventative treatment by letter, lest you be seduced by vain rumours, lose heart, and admit confusion into your minds.

(2) We came to the city of Ephesus, after God the protector of the universe prompted the minds of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors to this, and found the city full of utter turmoil, the whole council in a state of dire confusion, [129] and the holy church like the surf of the sea, with Cyril the former bishop of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus stirring up this dangerous storm like hurricanes. For because the Egyptian was afraid that we would investigate the chapters of his heretical false teaching, which agree with the impiety of Apollinarius, and condemn him as a heretic, while the other was afraid of the talk circulating in the city about his laxity in other respects, they came to an agreement and adopted a policy of joint tyranny. While the former had brought along 50 Egyptian bishops and the

77 CV 157, ACO I.1.5, 128–9; Latin version in CC 94, ACO I.4, 42–3.

78 Gen 31:40, 39a.

79 Cf. Rom 6:3, Gal 3:27, Ps 4:7.

latter more than 30 Asian ones,[80] and they won over others, some by deceit and others by intimidation, they refused to wait for the joint assembly of the most holy bishops who were arriving from all quarters, disregarded the laws of the church, and conducted all their transactions in a manner both outrageous and lawless. As if from a citadel, they ordered everyone to be impious;[81] and by sending Egyptian sailors and clerics and Asian rustics into the houses of the bishops, threatening them with violence, intimidating the less resolute, and writing on the outside of their houses to make them marked men who were to be besieged, they forced them to assent to what they had perpetrated contrary to law.[82]

(3) Having grasped this and learnt of their tyrannical unruliness by experience, we have judged it wholly improper that those who have reache such a pitch of wickedness should remain in divine and major priesthoo Accordingly we had to depose these [two] men, as the initiators of these evils, and have excluded them from the episcopacy, while those who assisted them we have subjected to the penalty of excommunication, not ruling out repentance, but opening the door of mercy to them. For if they speedily agree to anathematize the chapters sent by Cyril that are alien to the teaching of the gospels and apostles, to return to the faith of the holy fathers who convened at Nicaea in Bithynia, and to discuss the matters under debate calmly and precisely and ratify pious doctrine, in accordance with the letter of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, then we will receive them back at once as our own members and restore their episcopal sees to them.

80 The exact figures are 47 Egyptian bishops and 25 Asian ones. See Price (2012b) 400–404.

81 That is, to assent to the heresy of the Twelve Chapters.

82 It is striking that, out of the 68 bishops who signed a protest on 21 June at the planned opening of the council on 22 June, 29 later moved over to Cyril's side, almost certainly before the arrival of John of Antioch, since they never attended his council. See Price (2012b) 406–10.

(58) LETTER OF MEMNON OF EPHESUS TO THE CLERGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Note

The following letter written by Memnon is a document impossible to place in a precise relation to any other during this period. It is placed here as a mirroring counterpoint to the accusations of violence levelled by the Easterners in the preceding document. Also addressed to a readership in the capital, it presents the turmoil in Ephesus from the perspective of the local bishop and lays blame firmly at the door of the opponents of Cyril's council. Just as the Easterners had accused Cyril's and Memnon's henchmen of violence, Memnon in his turn brings exactly the same charge against Count Candidianus, Nestorius' supporters, and the eastern bishops. In his description, the activities of Candidianus and his soldiers, Nestorius' incitement of violence, the actions in his support by Count Irenaeus, and the arrival of the eastern bishops all add up to a reign of violence and terror by the pro-Nestorian side. The Coptic Acts appear to corroborate their part in violent local confrontations.[83]

Text[84]

[46] Copy of a letter written by Memnon bishop of Ephesus to the clergy of Constantinople.

What we endure every day at Ephesus on behalf of the true faith of orthodoxy cannot be expressed in words, for tumult follows tumult without cease. The confession and strength of the faith inspire us with great determination to bear these things courageously. At one time the most magnificent Count Candidianus set soldiers upon us, filled the city with tumult, used a guard to prevent delivery of all the necessities, and allowed many people to rain violence upon us and the entire holy council, since those of Zeuxippus[85]

83 As for Candidianus' alleged dictatorial conduct in particular, the Coptic Acts contain a plaint against him by the Cyrillian bishops (Bouriant, 18–23; Kraatz, 15–20). This is translated and discussed in Appendix 2, pp. 631–6.

84 CV 101, ACO I.1.3, 46–7; Latin version in CC 43, ACO I.3, 115–16. Schwartz (ad loc.) refers to the 'oratio inconcinna' (awkward style) of the letter, in which syntax and meaning are not always clear. Its account of the visit by the Syrian bishops to the shrine of John the Apostle needs to be compared to those in the documents just given.

85 The Baths of Zeuxippus were 'the most famous public baths in Constantinople' (*ODB*

stood fast by the deposed Nestorius, and in addition fed a large number of rustics at the church's expense, and used them to rain down violence upon us. The disorder just described, and also the daily deceit of the more gullible by the most magnificent Count Irenaeus, were followed by the arrival of the bishop of Antioch. The holy council, when it learnt that his arrival was imminent, as a sign of respect and to fulfil what is due to the priesthood, sent some of the most God-beloved bishops together with most devout clerics to meet him, in order to perform two tasks – that of paying due honour, and that of explaining that a meeting with Nestorius ought to be shunned, since he had been deposed by the holy council because of the impiety he practised. The soldiers who accompanied him prevented them from meeting him on the road, but they followed him nonetheless and came to the house where he took up his quarters. They persevered for many hours, but were not allowed to meet him; and there they waited, while being subjected to violence. After many hours he [the bishop of Antioch] made this decision: he sent for the most religious bishops and the most devout clerics, and got soldiers to lead them in. When they relayed to him the message from the holy council, he allowed the most magnificent Irenaeus and the bishops and clerics with him to inflict insufferable blows on our fellow ministers and the clerics, with the result that they were in real danger.

After these events, the most religious bishops who had been sent returned to the holy council, displayed their bruises, and recounted what had happened during a minuted session with the holy gospel book lying displayed.[86] They roused the holy council to indignation, and after briefly admonishing him, they declared him[87] excommunicate, and he was informed of the excommunication. For we knew [47] that something anonymous and unsigned had been posted in a part of the city, revealing his indiscipline and uncanonical will, while every day he summoned the venerable city council and the notables and pressingly demanded a decree to enable him to consecrate someone in my place, with the result that all the inhabitants of

III, 2226). The Coptic Acts of Ephesus preserve a memory of these assistants of Nestorius when they describe how men from these baths (*Zeuxippitai*) 'go round the city and insult people for no reason, so that an affray may occur and the cause be attributed to us' (those of Cyril's party), p. 634 below.

86 This appears to be the sole mention of a meeting of the majority council on 26 June. The minutes are not preserved.

87 This can only be John of Antioch, but a more considered decree of excommunication against both him and many of his supporters was approved two weeks later, on 17 June (see CV 91 and 92; docs 74 and 75).

the city, being orthodox, occupied the places of prayer and took up residence in them, to prevent the impetuosity and uncanonical insolence of his public notices from being put into effect according to the report. As a result, he went to the church of the holy apostle John and declared that he had to carry out a consecration there.[88] He caused a tumultuous riot in the place, going there as he did with a mass of undisciplined armed men, with the result that he left some of the beggars there half dead; yet he sent in a report claiming, out of malice towards the holy council, that he had himself been attacked by those who were there.[89] Be so good, therefore, most sacred ones, as to make every exertion to publicize the madness and uncanonical will of John and those with him, so that the most magnificent counts,[90] who day after day disturb both the city and the faith, may [be made to] depart from here, lest the faith be corrupted by their brigandage.

Preaching in Ephesus (28 June?)

Note

From the meeting of the Easterners on 29 June (doc. 61) we learn that the Cyrillians had celebrated the eucharist on the previous Sunday, 28 June. It is tempting to ascribe two sermons, by Cyril and Rheginus of Cyprus, to this service (see our note 92 below). Cyril's sermon still rings raw with the turmoil and triumph of the recent deposition of Nestorius less than a week before. It also speaks of his relief and joy that so many had chosen to join the service. The 'deposition' issued against him and Memnon by the Easterners on 26 June – if accepted as valid – made any cultic activity by them illegal. The presence, then, of the other bishops affirmed their allegiance to Cyril and their readiness to shun communion with the Easterners. With the celebration of the synaxis, the confrontation of both groups changed into a schism.

Cyril's sermon (doc. 59) employs an arsenal of highly strung polemic to warn of the dangerous thinking and teaching by Nestorius, lament

88 When reporting this episode to the emperor (as in the following document), John of Antioch avoided mention of the fact that he had gone to the church in order to consecrate a successor to Memnon.

89 See the *Fourth Report of the Easterners to Theodosius II*, doc. 79, pp. 416f.

90 Counts Candidianus and Irenaeus.

his inevitable ruin, and praise the bishops' courageous and successful protection of orthodoxy by casting him out. Rheginus' shorter address (doc. 60) – in an example of sequential preaching – castigates Nestorius with biblical examples and tropes as the dangerous heretic and rejoices in his downfall. Other examples of preaching (e.g. by Theodotus of Ancyra) contained in the collections of Acts might conceivably belong to the same service, others at least to the same period.[91]

(59) HOMILY OF CYRIL AGAINST NESTORIUS[92]

[102] Resplendent is the assembly I see, with all the holy men eagerly assembled, summoned by holy Mary, Theotokos and ever-Virgin. Even

91 On Theodotus' preaching, cf. Frenkel (2015) 209–18. It is equally apparent that other sermons contained in the Acts (trans. ibid., 18–45) cannot be dated to the conciliar period in Ephesus; this caution does not only apply to Theodotus.

92 Cyril, Homily 4, CV 80, ACO I.1.2, 102–4. There is no Latin version. It appears also in the *Collectio Seguierana*, where its title is simply 'By the same [Cyril], against Nestorius' (ACO I.1.7, p. 11, §82). The codices of the Vatican Collection add 'when the seven returned to [the church of] holy Mary', presumably a deduction from the reference at the beginning of the sermon to 'the arrival [or presence] of the holy fathers'. 'The seven' are the bishops sent from the Cyrillian council to Chalcedon (cf. the heading to CA 90; doc. 128). This reference to their return to Ephesus would imply a date at the very end of October (if not later), in the immediate context of the dissolution of the council. This problem led Schwartz to question Cyril's authorship (ACO I.1.4, xxv), since Cyril arrived back in Alexandria on October 31. Santer (1975) 144–50 argues that the heading is an error, and that the most likely date for the sermon is the Sunday (28 June) after Nestorius' deposition; a different date during the summer, after the arrival of papal legates, is suggested by Wessel (1999) 6–8 [cf. eadem (2004) 310–16, translation with notes]; see following note. However, Bevan (2016) 340–3 has recently made the case for a different sequence of events at the end of October and reaffirmed the homily's place after the return of delegates from the consecration of Maximian (on 25 October), according to which reconstruction he prefers a date of 30 October. Bevan's reconstruction of the last days in October (ibid., 194–204) is unconvincing (for full discussion, see pp. 576–7). Furthermore, if Reginus' Homily (CV 70; doc. 60) is correctly dated – following Schwartz – to 28 June and its opening interpreted as indicative of sequential preaching, a preceding homily by Cyril still appears the most plausible scenario. We therefore leave the homily in the sequence of events from June. There is no real competition from Cyril's Homily 5 (CV 75, ACO I.1.2, 92–4; trans. Wessel (2004) 303–6) for the debated spot on the Sunday shortly after the deposition of Nestorius, despite its heading 'delivered at Ephesus, when the synaxis was being celebrated, after the deposition of Nestorius', for, since it makes no reference to Nestorius' deposition, the heading must be erroneous.

though I was in great distress, the presence of the holy fathers has changed that into joy.[93] There is now fulfilled in us that sweet saying of the psalmodist David, 'Behold! What is good or what is delightful, compared to brethren dwelling in unity?'[94] Rejoice with us, therefore, holy and mystic Trinity that has summoned all of us here to this church of Mary Theotokos. Rejoice with us, Mary Theotokos, the venerable treasure of the whole world, the inextinguishable lamp, the crown of virginity, the sceptre of orthodoxy, the indestructible temple, the container of the Uncontainable, the Mother and Virgin, through whom in the holy gospels is called blessed 'he who comes in the name of the Lord'.[95] Rejoice, you who contained the Uncontainable in your holy and virginal womb, through whom the holy Trinity is glorified and worshipped throughout the world, through whom heaven is glad, through whom angels and archangels exult, through whom demons are put to flight, through whom the devil the tempter fell from heaven, through whom the fallen creature is received back into heaven, through whom the whole creation, caught in the madness of idolatry, has come to the knowledge of the truth, through whom holy baptism comes to those who believe, through whom is the oil of gladness, through whom churches have been founded throughout the world, through whom nations are led to repentance. Why should I say more? Through whom the only-begotten Son of God [103] has shone as a light 'to those seated in darkness and in the shadow of death',[96] through whom the prophets spoke, through whom the apostles proclaim salvation to the nations, through whom the dead are raised, through whom kings exercise their rule.[97] Through the holy Trinity (and who among men[98] is able to describe

93 παρουσία, here translated as 'presence', could mean 'arrival'. Wessel (1999) 6–8 and (2004) 311 takes it to refer to the arrival of the Roman envoys, but the brevity and vagueness of the phrase makes this unlikely. More probably the meaning is simply that, after two days of furious protests from both Candidianus and the newly arrived Syrian bishops, Cyril was relieved to find that most of the bishops had chosen to attend his and Memnon's Sunday liturgy.

94 Ps 132:1.

95 Matt 21:9.

96 Luke 1:79.

97 The meaning is simply that all these blessings have resulted from the incarnation; no role is being ascribed to the Virgin beyond that of having given birth to Christ. And yet this text has been called 'the most famous Marian sermon of antiquity' (O'Carroll (1983) 113). For contrasting presentations of Cyril's Mariology see Price (2008) and Atanassova (2008).

98 ACO prints ἄνθρωπον, which can only be an error for ἀνθρώπων, the reading of all the MSS.

the much-hymned Mary?) ...[99] the virginal womb. Oh the miracle! I am amazed by the miracle. Who ever heard of a builder who built his own temple and yet was prevented from dwelling in it? Who is reviled for calling his own servant his mother?

Behold, the universe rejoices. The sea recognized its fellow servants and submitted to them, and the passage of the saints on the wild and leaping waves reduced them to a calm;[100] the servant was rising up, but then remembered the words of the Saviour, 'Silence! Be still!'[101] And the land, formerly beset by brigands, was changed by the journeying of the fathers to a state of peace, for 'how beautiful are the feet of those who proclaim the gospel of peace'.[102] What peace? Jesus our Lord, to whom Mary gave birth according to his will. Why should I examine scripture minutely, rather than treat it with honour? But will you mention to me the denial by the Jews? The prophets denounced them from the beginning, and from the first accused those who had practised denial of being the murderers of Christ. But [will you mention] the dire plague of Arius? That arose from a pestilential ambition for episcopal office. And the unspeakable and godless notions of pagan insolence? That was habitual ignorance. What then should one mention? For this man has surpassed in viciousness every nation that has unlawful festivals and processions. For even nations ignorant of scripture are often reluctant to blaspheme against God; but he, while having the whole of scripture at his disposal, and yet (I venture to say) practising seemingly the delusions even of magic, did not with sincerity look closely into inspired scripture, but looked closely for silver and gold, having been blinded and ensnared by a mania for wealth. Through your readiness to lose your see through blasphemy, you deleted yourself from the list of your brethren,[103] failing to acknowledge the one who had bestowed on you the office of high priest. Were you unpersuaded by the words of Paul, 'Even if an angel from heaven were to preach a gospel different from the one we preached, let him

99 The Greek could mean 'Through the holy Trinity is the virginal womb', but one may suspect a brief lacuna.

100 Cf. the letter of Cyril (doc. 34, p. 206) mentioning the calm and easy crossing from Alexandria to Ephesus.

101 Mark 4:39.

102 Rom 10:15.

103 We amend ACO's punctuation, following Wessel (2004) 313. As punctuated in ACO, the text runs: 'Having been blinded and ensnared by a mania for wealth, and so being ready to alienate yourself through blasphemy, you even expunged yourself from your see and from the list of your brethren'.

be anathema'[104]? Even if Paul did not put a stop to your vain notions, what of the words of Isaiah, 'Behold, a virgin will conceive in her womb and will give birth to a son, and they will call his name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, means "God with us"'?[105] But neither did he [end your vain notions], for you have a mind of dire perversity. Listen at least to the demons saying, 'What have you to do with us, Son of God? Have you come to torment us before the time?'[106] Who advised you to preach this paltry logic? Who laboured with you to bring about this untimely plague? You were not ashamed of making God like a Persian kingship; you did not hesitate in your desire to abolish the traditions of the fathers, the evangelists, and the prophets. In thinking to lord it over all the churches, you forgot the one who raised you up from the dung heap to the heights of heaven,[107] and when attending to the works [of creation], you lost sight of the Creator. In your wish [104] to ravage the world with your deceitful words, insult the temple of God,[108] and separate [from her] the one conceived of the Virgin Mary (a wicked doctrine that stirs up madness in the world), you imitated Belial, who has not been let loose nor manifested and should not be sought out before his time.[109] For you thought by the noose of your lawless ideas to win over an emperor who loves orthodoxy and worships the consubstantial Trinity. It is through the Trinity that he reigns without cease, that hostile nations have been crushed, that the choir of the ever-virginal reigns,[110] that he keeps the world at peace – and yet him you thought by your deceitful words to make an apostate. You planned to despoil a laity devoted to God, and you troubled the multitude of fathers when they were in repose. You were not satisfied with ruining yourself by blaspheming against God, but you filled the whole world with babble. But see, you have fulfilled the words, 'The sinner has been ensnared in the works of his hands'.[111] You excommunicated a holy clergy of deacons and priests, because they refuted your untimely madness [and urged you] not to hold the opinions of Arius.[112] And so at this present

104 Gal 1:8.
105 Isa 7:14 as cited at Matt 1:23.
106 Mt 8:29.
107 Cf. 1 Kgs (= 1 Sam) 2:8.
108 The Virgin Mary.
109 Cf. 2 Thess 2:7–10.
110 A reference to Pulcheria and the other sisters of Theodosius II.
111 Ps 9:17.
112 Schwartz suggests a different supplement to fill the lacuna, producing the meaning 'your untimely madness, as being nothing other than the beliefs of Arius'.

juncture I am not striking someone who has fallen or drowning someone buffeted by the waves, but I am simply deriding the futile calumnies of his lawless advisers. Who ever saw a ship suffer shipwreck, when lying becalmed in a peaceful harbour? Who ever saw an athlete falling at the finishing line and not being helped up again? So when you fell or 'suffered shipwreck over the faith',[113] did we not extend a hand? Take as a witness the holy and honourable Celestine archbishop of great Rome, who wrote to you repeatedly, urging you to renounce your futile, profitless, and incoherent doctrine; take also ourselves in our penury, who in brief letters exhorted you in the same way to accept our words about God. But you did not take us into account, wrapping yourself in heartlessness and arrogance, taking pride in wickedness, as one wielding power, and in lawless thoughts; when intending to practise deceit, you became a razor, sharpened against yourself. Because of this the God whom you discounted has destroyed you and torn out your root from the land of the living, because you showed no sense about God.

Let this be enough from us about this man: God is the judge, and 'will requite each person according to his works'.[114] May it be for us to fear and worship the Unity, to be obedient to the most God-beloved emperor, 'to be submissive to the authorities and powers',[115] and to fear and adore the undivided Trinity, as we hymn the ever-Virgin Mary (meaning the holy church) and her Son and spotless bridegroom,[116] for to him is the glory forever and ever. Amen.

(60) HOMILY OF REGINUS OF CYPRUS[117]

[70] A homily by Reginus of Cyprus delivered at Ephesus after the deposition of Nestorius.

I thought it best to keep silent, to honour the fathers in this way, and not to leave an address as a monument to sheer illiteracy.[118] But since,

113 1 Tim 1:19.

114 Rom 2:6.

115 Tit 3:1.

116 A piece of very compressed Mariology: Mary is the type of the church, and Christ is at once the Son of Mary and the bridegroom of the church.

117 CV 70, ACO I.1.2, 70–1. There is a variant, and somewhat fuller, Latin version in CC 58, ACO I.3, 168–9. Schwartz (ACO I.1.8, 11) dates this sermon to the first Sunday after Nestorius' deposition, i.e. 28 June.

118 To the preceding sentence the Latin version adds: 'and then in addition to speak in the

despite my wishes, you will not let me keep silent, my shrewd fellow, I must begin my address. For scripture says somewhere, 'A wise man heeds advice.'[119]

Since the mystical teacher knew how to describe you [Nestorius] when he said,[120] 'How is the morning star that rises early fallen from heaven!'[121] and 'How is Babylon fallen!',[122] I need no other comparison. Or should I compare you to the Jews who killed the Lord, whose impiety you have rekindled?[123] For they were once the portion of God: they received the law and the privilege of adoption as sons, and enjoyed countless blessings.[124] Yet they raged against these benefits and heard God say, 'I gave birth to sons and raised them up, but they have rejected me.'[125] How should one rightly address you? As the wretched Cain? But his behaviour was less unbearable than yours. As the pitiable Ham, who mocked his father's nakedness?[126] Or should I measure the behaviour of the Sodomites against your blasphemies and say, 'Sodom has been justified by you'?[127] [71] For a short time you shook the world and intended to confound the faith; you endeavoured (as far as was in your power) to destroy the ineffable dispensation of the coming of the Only-begotten in the flesh, with the result that the scripture applies to you, 'There is no emollient to place on your wounds nor oil nor dressings.'[128] Indeed as a refutation of your impiety you and your host should long ago, in requital for just a small part of your

presence of such men [as are here present] about a matter that is so great and terrible that anyone would tremble even at the mere thought of it'.

119 Prov 12:15.

120 In place of the preceding clause the Latin runs: 'Such things [as the following] have already been said about you by many, but nevertheless should also be said by me'.

121 Isa 14:12.

122 Cf. Rev 18:2.

123 To the preceding sentence the Latin adds 'and whom you compelled to mock [Christ], as if they had [till then] done nothing'.

124 Cf. Rom 9:4.

125 Isa 1:2. The Latin version cites two different passages at this point: 'Even if the number of the sons of Israel was as the sand of the sea, [only] a remnant will be saved' (Isa 10:22) and 'God is able to graft them in again' (Rom 11:23), followed by 'But about you, you abominable man, what should I say?'

126 Cf. Gen 9:22. The Latin adds: 'But Cham's outrage was trivial; these cannot be compared to those [yours]. You have also surpassed the transgressions in the time of Noah' (cf. Gen 6:11–13).

127 Cf. Ezek 16:48–52. The Latin adds: 'That was committed in one part of the world, and the impiety was restricted to those of the same tribe, but ...'.

128 Isa 1:6.

outrages, have been consumed by fire or swallowed up in a chasm, so that even the more simple-minded would have seen you pay the penalty; for in our eyes you have already paid it. God the Word, who came forth in flesh from Mary the Theotokos and whom you split into two, will decree for you an inescapable penalty of torment on the day of judgement.[129] But what would you say, you who are more mindless than both sea and death? For on seeing the Lord, the sea lowered its crests, while death returned Lazarus to his blood relatives by a novel law.[130] I refrain from mentioning the veiling of the sun in awe at the Lord's passion, the shattering of rocks, and the opening of tombs.[131] Even if these things appear insignificant to you,[132] be ashamed before the testimony of the dead who were raised,[133] the panic of the doorkeepers of Hades, the rending of the veil, the change in the light, and the darkness by day.[134] Yet at all these things the wretch remained unmoved, having an evil character that was inflexible. So much for him! But let us, obeying the divine commands, worship God the Word who deigned to live in the flesh with us, without renouncing his Father's essence, being 'the radiance of his glory and the imprint of his being, and upholding all things by the word of his mouth'.[135] To him be glory forever and ever. Amen.

129 The Latin version of the preceding sentence runs: 'God the Word, who endured becoming flesh on your account as well and whom you divide into two, is already preparing for you the torment of fire, knowing that you will not improve, and getting ready for you an ineluctable penalty'.

130 Cf. Matt 8:26, John 11:44. The Latin runs: 'Death restored Lazarus after the customary law, since both [the sea and death] recognized the precepts of the Lord, both the old one and the new'.

131 Cf. Matt 27:45–52.

132 To the preceding phrase the Latin adds 'in comparison with [the works of the] Godhead'.

133 After this point the Latin version continues, and concludes, as follows: 'Therefore, brethren, knowing that the rotten and broken bones of the limbs are food for worms, because of death, those people should be left in a most wicked heresy to be fed by the like; but let us be fed by the divine words, we who confess that the only-begotten God became flesh and lived with us, without renouncing his Father's essence. For he was the image of the Father's benignity, at this time descending [to earth], to whom be glory forever. Amen'.

134 Cf. Matt 27:45–53.

135 Heb 1:3.

Further Activities of the Eastern Bishops

Note

The celebrations of the synaxis on Sunday 28 June by the bishops around Cyril, of which the sermons above are testimony, further aggravated the conflicts in Ephesus. Probably on the following Monday (29th)[136] – the date is hypothetical – the eastern bishops convened again to hear the report of Candidianus about events on the Sunday (doc. 61). The brief protocol informs us that John had asked Candidianus to deliver a message to the bishops around Cyril protesting at the lawlessness and uncanonicity of conducting liturgical celebrations. Bishops deposed and excommunicated (as they were in the eyes of the Easterners on account of their decision on 26 June) could not exercise any clerical functions, least of all celebrating the eucharist. Candidianus explains that bishops had in fact refrained from doing so in the run-up to the initial meetings, including during the feast of Pentecost. This restraint was surely an attempt to avoid celebrating a joint eucharist, and thereby entering into communion, with other bishops whose theological positions were suspect; celebrating the eucharist while denying access to others would have meant an open breach of communion before theological questions were even examined. Either action could have been seen to pre-empt the imminent debate in council. The readiness of Cyril's allies to celebrate the eucharist at this point, after the formal 'deposition' by the eastern bishops, was not simply an act of defiance against a 'council' they did not recognize, but a measure which introduced actual schism. This was a consequence that Candidianus (as he narrates) had also pointed out to them explicitly. John's further questions establish that the verdict of deposition had been communicated to the bishops around Cyril (taking away any excuse of ignorance), and had also been publicly posted. Candidianus further reports statements by Bishop Memnon that clearly attested his knowledge of the depositions but denied their legitimacy and authority.

A letter to the clergy of Hierapolis (doc. 62) signed by 53 bishops (immediately following the meeting's minutes in the *Collectio Casinensis*) belongs to the same period but cannot be exactly dated; it could have been

136 The meeting is not dated, but it is manifest that it took place soon after Sunday 28 June. The convention for synodical meetings to take place on Mondays further suggests this date.

written any time after the session of 26 June. The letter informs the clergy and people of Hierapolis of the deposition and excommunication of Cyril and his allies, and warns against trusting reports in letters they might receive from them. Similar letters were presumably written to other places, but have not been preserved.

A further note to the bishops around Cyril (doc. 63) berates them for their failure to repent and seek reconciliation. It must have been written at least some days after the initial depositions.

(61) SECOND SESSION OF THE EASTERNERS[137]

[43] Here begins the second set of minutes of the council that met with Bishop John of Antioch at Ephesus.

(1) The most holy John, in the presence of the holy council and the most magnificent and most glorious Count Candidianus, said: 'On Saturday afternoon, when evening was already drawing in,[138] when we learnt that the ones who do everything wrongly and lawlessly intended at this juncture, with their customary rashness and obstinacy, to celebrate the synaxis of the eucharist, we presented a written plea, asking your magnificence to go to them and forbid both the trampling on the laws of the church and on the pious decrees and the celebration of the synaxis by men of whom some have justly been deposed and others excommunicated because of their heretical madness, their lawless, unquenchable turbulence, and their contempt of the pious commands. We therefore ask your magnificence to inform the holy council if indeed your magnificence has informed them of this.'

(2) The most magnificent Count Candidianus said: 'After receiving the plea from your religiousness, I made absolutely no delay, since there was no reason for one. But I made my way to the most devout Bishop Cyril and Memnon and the others. There I found many assembled with them, and I asked them not themselves to celebrate eucharists, because on the preceding days, even before I arrived and [44] up till this Sunday, they had declined to celebrate both the holy synaxis of Pentecost and the other ones, and in fact clerics had taken the services. I also asked them to await the reply of our most pious princes and lords on the subject of their actions. It

137 Extant in a Latin version, CC 95, ACO I.4, 43–4.

138 This must be the first Saturday after Cyril and Memnon's 'deposition' by the eastern bishops, that is, 27 June.

is my wish that neither party celebrate the synaxis, lest by chance this lead to a schism in the holy orthodox church.'

(3) The holy council said: 'We also ask your magnificence to inform us if the deposition of Cyril and Memnon and the excommunication of the others, of which we notified your magnificence in a plea, have been communicated to them. The reason we posted it throughout the city was so that it might come to the knowledge of all the bishops with them.'

(4) The most magnificent Count Candidianus said: 'If your holy religiousness were to make a proposal on some trivial matter, this too would be publicized. How much more so in the case of the deposition of these men, which has been so extensively published and posted throughout the city! For it is the talk of the whole city, and a great number of people have transcribed it. Moreover, when I asked them not to celebrate the eucharist on the Sunday, Memnon bishop of this city actually said in the presence of all, "As far as I have ascertained, the most holy Bishop John together with the council that is with him has deposed us. As for him – I shall not say that anything lacking the power has authority over this council[139] – believe me,[140] he had no authority over me, even on my own without the council." Since he said this, how could he be unaware of his deposition? There is no need to ask me.'

(5) The holy council said: 'We request to hear from your magnificence whether they have heeded your guidance and instructions and have not celebrated.'

(6) The most magnificent Count Candidianus said: 'I asked them on the evening of the Saturday itself, and on the following day at dawn, that is, on the Sunday, I went to the most devout Bishop Cyril and continued to ask and beseech him to comply with my request; but they did not agree to it, and went off and celebrated the synaxis. There was nothing more I could do to put pressure on them.'

(7) The holy council said: 'The insolent and lawless actions that they have repeatedly committed are blatant. At the appropriate time we shall communicate this to the hearing of the pious and Christ-loving [emperors].'

139 That is, over the bishops assembled with Memnon.

140 *crede* (singular): Memnon is addressing Candidianus.

(62) LETTER OF THE EASTERN BISHOPS TO THE CLERGY OF HIERAPOLIS[141]

[44] To the honourable lords the presbyters, deacons and other clerics, and the Christ-loving people of Hierapolis in Euphratesia, greetings in the Lord from the holy council of the Easterners and of those who by the grace of God have convened at Ephesus from various regions and provinces.

Because it would be in character if those who have turned everything upside down for the destruction of the orthodox faith and filled the affairs of the church with confusion, uproar, and wrongdoing, in despair of their own salvation, were to send to you their lawless and criminal letters, in order to alarm your reverences as well, be informed that, because of the heretical opinions of Cyril, which they had the presumption to confirm with their signatures, and because of their other wicked acts, some of them have been deposed, while all the rest have been excommunicated, and retain no priestly power to bind or unloose or perform anything else that pertains to priests. Let it, therefore, not alarm your reverences if they send any letters, for the proceedings of men deposed or excommunicated are frail and weaker than spiders' webs. Since you know that we value nothing as highly as the orthodox faith, which these men have tried to abolish by their novel expressions, it is the duty of your religiousness [45] not only to pray for us, but also to strive with courage and dedication of mind, in order to join with those who are labouring on behalf of piety, so that you may receive from the God of the universe a recompense for exertion in this world. Let us be zealous for the orthodox doctrines, for which the divine choir of apostles shed their blood, for which the martyrs, each in his own time, bore in their bodies all manner of torments and underwent a variety of forms of death, and which the council of the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea confirmed in a written confession and transmitted to us and those who will come after us.

(1) John bishop of Antioch: 'I pray that you remain safe in the Lord, most devout and most faithful [men].'
(2) John bishop of the metropolis of Damascus,[142] in the same form.

141 Extant in a Latin version, CC 96, ACO I.4, 44–6.

142 The Latin phraseology here and with the names that follow is 'metropolitan bishop', but the Greek original will have been 'bishop of the metropolis ...', which is how we translate it.

(3) Tranquillinus, bishop of the metropolis of Antioch in Pisidia
(4) Alexander bishop of the metropolis of Apamea
(5) Phritilas bishop of the metropolis of Heraclea
(6) Dexianus bishop of the metropolis of Seleucia
(7) Cyrus bishop of the metropolis of Tyre
(8) Himerius bishop of the metropolis of Nicomedia
(9) Helladius bishop of the metropolis of Tarsus
(10) Antiochus bishop of the metropolis of Bostra
(11) Alexander bishop of Hierapolis
(12) Julian bishop of the metropolis of Sardica
(13) Maximin bishop of the metropolis of Anazarbus
(14) Peter bishop of the metropolis of Traianopolis
(15) Eutherius bishop of the metropolis of Tyana
(16) Basil bishop of the metropolis of Larissa in Thessaly
(17) Rabbula bishop of the metropolis of Edessa
(18) Asterius bishop of the metropolis of Amida
(19) Bosporius bishop of the metropolis of Gangra
(20) Paul bishop of Emesa
(21) Dorotheus bishop of the metropolis of Marcianopolis
(22) Macarius bishop of Laodicea
(23) Gerontius bishop of Claudiopolis
(24) Musaeus bishop of Aradus
(25) Polychronius bishop of Epiphaneia
(26) Hesychius bishop of Castabala
(27) Placo bishop of Laodicea
(28) Theophanius bishop of Philadelphia
(29) Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus
(30) Valentinus bishop of Mallus
(31) James bishop of Durostolum
(32) Tarianus bishop of Augusta
(33) Olympius bishop of Carpasia
(34) Aurelius bishop of Irenopolis
(35) Heliades bishop of Zeugma
(36) [46] Meletius bishop of Neocaesarea
(37) Marcellinus bishop of Arca
(38) Anastasius bishop of Tenedos
(39) Marcianus bishop of Abrittus
(40) Theosebius bishop of Cius

(41) Eustathius bishop of Parnassus[143]
(42) Daniel bishop of Faustinopolis
(43) Helladius bishop of Ptolemais
(44) Ausonius bishop of Hemerium
(45) Diogenes bishop of Ionopolis
(46) Cyril bishop of Adana
(47) Cyrus bishop of Marcopolis
(48) Julian bishop of Larissa
(49) Evagrius bishop of Valentia
(50) Zosys bishop of Esbus
(51) Petronius bishop of Neve
(52) Sallustius bishop of Corycus
(53) Maximus bishop of Demetrias

(63) LETTER OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE COUNCIL[144]

[124] The holy council makes the following declaration and admonition to the bishops we have excommunicated.

It is truly a terrible thing to transgress and to anger the Lord God, but it is far more terrible and more dangerous not to atone for transgression by repentance. This is how you have acted up till now, by cooperating with the lawless and disorderly actions of Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus. Even though you have been excommunicated by us accordingly, and can see the door of mercy opened for you by our verdicts, you do not appeal and entreat to be released from the bonds of excommunication, but you still consort with men who have adopted heresy, trampled on the laws of the holy fathers and the decrees of the most pious emperors, committed countless lawless acts, and have for this reason been deposed by us and stripped of the episcopacy. Know therefore that, if you do not make the proper decision, and swiftly, by separating yourselves from that pernicious

143 Our manuscript says 'Eustathius of Myrina', but this must be a mistake. Cf. the listing of 'Eustathius of Parnassus' in CC 88 (42), ACO I.4, 38.

144 CV 152, ACO I.1.5, 124; Latin version in CC 89, ACO I.4, 38–9. The heading in CV, 'Letter of excommunication to the holy council', is misleading: it does not inform the bishops of their excommunication, but upbraids them for failing to seek reconciliation. It must have been written some days after the decree of excommunication (doc. 53, pp. 328f.).

fellowship, professing adhesion to the faith of the blessed fathers convened at Nicaea, and agreeing to assemble with us quietly and without any uproar in accordance with the letter of our most pious emperors, you will not be bringing accusations against us, but casting the blame on yourselves for lack of discretion.

3. THE FIRST IMPERIAL INTERVENTION AND BOTH PARTIES' RESPONSES

Introduction

Parallel to the escalation of events in Ephesus and at the same time as the second meeting of the eastern bishops took place, the emperor in Constantinople sent an envoy, Palladius, in a first official response to the reports he had received from Ephesus. Supplied with documents on 29 June, he seems to have arrived with extraordinary speed in Ephesus on 1 July (if we trust the date given for the Cyrillian bishops' response) and left again for Constantinople on the very same day, carrying with him the responses from both sides. We include the following report by the council (doc. 64) in this group of documents, even though it had been written a few days earlier, because it formed part of the dispatch handed to Palladius to take back to the capital. It is an example of the sometimes significantly diverging temporal sequence of documents with respect either to their original composition, their dispatch and delivery, or their eventual receipt by the intended addressees and even, occasionally, a wider public.

(64) REPORT FROM THE COUNCIL TO THEODOSIUS II

Note

The first document in this group precedes the issuing of the imperial *sacra* and the arrival of Palladius in Ephesus. It must have been written a few days after the session of 22 June and after the initial confection and signing of minutes for which it provided the cover letter. However, it had not been delivered to Constantinople; Palladius took it back to the capital on 1 July.

The bishops make the claim that the turmoil caused by Nestorius was the emperor's motivation for calling the council – a presentation on which

the emperor's angry letter to Cyril (doc. 29) casts serious doubt, for this letter rather implies that his motive may have been to bring Cyril's trouble-making (as he saw it) to an end. They further report the delay of John of Antioch and the bishops with him, causing hardship for many bishops in Ephesus. Eventually, they claim, John sent a message for them to proceed (doc. 36). There follows a detailed account of the summonses issued to Nestorius, and the examination of his tenets conducted of necessity in his absence, since he refused to appear. The canonicity of their procedure at all times is particularly emphasized. The examination finds his views in contradiction to the faith of the fathers (two particularly damning recent statements are quoted) so that he had to be deposed. The minutes were appended to the letter.

Text[145]

[3] To the most devout and most God-beloved Theodosius and Valentinia triumphant victors, always Augusti, from the holy council assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus by the grace of Christ and the bidding of your authority.

(1) Christ-loving and most God-beloved emperors, your piety received the true faith from your forebears and augments it day by day, as you take great pains over the doctrines of the truth. It was for their sake that, when not only in that great city but in the whole world turmoil resulted from the doctrines taught and preached by Nestorius, which are alien to the tradition of the holy fathers and of the most holy apostles and evangelists, your authority did not overlook the turmoil in the holy churches and the corruption of the doctrines of the faith and of true piety, but your piety gave orders that the most God-beloved metropolitan bishops were to convene from every metropolis, bringing also some of the bishops of other cities, and you laid down as the appropriate time for assembling the period till Pentecost.

(2) When all of us had gathered in the metropolis of Ephesus according to the deadline laid down for us, it happened that the most holy John bishop of Antioch was delayed, but we, presuming that the difficulty of the

145 CV 81, ACO I.1.3, 3–5; Latin version in CC 30, ACO I.3, 85–7. We learn from CV 84.4 that Candidianus prevented the dispatch of the minutes of the 22 June session to the emperor, which means that this accompanying letter could not have been sent immediately either. The emperor's letter of 29 June (CV 83, doc. 65) shows no knowledge of it.

journey was the reason for this delay, postponed the hearing for a period of sixteen days after the deadline laid down by your authority. Some of the holy bishops, being weighed down by old age, found staying abroad hard to bear, and some were in danger from illness; some even expired in the metropolis of Ephesus, while others, being constrained by poverty, approached us and pressed for the hearing.

(3) After sixteen whole days, counting from holy Pentecost, we convened the hearing. The most holy John bishop of Antioch, through the most God-beloved bishops Alexander of Apamea and Alexander of Hierapolis who had preceded him, told us to keep to our plan, being unwilling to burden the holy council by a further delay.[146] And so [4] we assembled on 22 June according to the Roman calendar. On the previous day we summoned the wondrous Nestorius by most devout bishops to join us in session and to take part in the examination of piety and the faith. But we got no clear answer from him, for the only information he gave through our envoys was, 'I shall think about it, and if I think it right, I shall appear.'

(4) Assembling on the following day in the holy and great church called [after] Mary, with the holy gospel book lying on the midmost throne to indicate that Christ himself was present with us, we, in accordance with canonical procedure, again sent another three most holy bishops to summon him to appear at the holy council and present a defence of his teaching. But he, getting soldiers to surround his residence, even though there neither was nor developed any commotion in the city, did not vouchsafe any answer to our envoys. Since the canons lay down that in the case of non-compliance there must also be a third summons, we sent again another three most holy bishops to him, but he proved to be non-compliant and to dismiss our envoys with much insult and violence on the part of the soldiers stationed in front of his residence.

(5) Since it was not proper for such a holy council once assembled to remain inactive through his failure to appear (due to a bad conscience), we were compelled to bring up the doctrines concerning the faith and piety. We decreed that the minutes of the proceedings should be headed by the letter, dear to God, of your piety. After this we presented the exposition of the pious faith that was first transmitted to us by the most holy apostles and afterwards expounded by the 318 most holy fathers assembled in the city of Nicaea by the sainted Constantine, whose orthodox faith has been made

146 We translate the Latin of the preceding clause, which makes better sense than the Greek, which runs, 'By not being seen, he burdened the holy council by a further delay'.

yet more glorious by your authority. To this exposition we first compared the letter[147] on the faith by the most God-beloved and most holy Archbishop Cyril, which we found to be in harmony with the doctrines and notions of that pious exposition, and that his teaching was in complete agreement with it.

(6) This left for examination the doctrines taught by the most wondrous Nestorius, for they were not unknown, being expressly taught in his letters and books and openly proclaimed in his public sermons; and indeed he stated them openly in the metropolis of Ephesus itself to some of the most devout bishops. He did not stop saying, 'The one who became man for us should not be called God,' reproaching the Godhead for the human attributes which he assumed out of not weakness but love for us. In discussion with the most devout bishops, as if mocking our venerable and divine mystery, he had the temerity to say, 'I do not call [an infant] two or three months old "God",' and this just three whole days before the holy council, as [5˙ is contained in the guarantee of the minutes. We had to compare this a well to the exposition of the holy fathers, and we found it to be oppose and clean contrary to our catholic and apostolic faith, in such a way that a defence of Nestorius would have been pointless, since every day he was his own accuser, sticking to his corrupt doctrines that are wholly opposed to our catholic and apostolic faith.

(7) For this reason we terminated his priesthood and his corrupt teaching by decreeing his canonical deposition. We also gave credit to the most God-beloved and most holy Celestine bishop of great Rome, who had condemned the heretical doctrines of Nestorius even before our verdict and had issued a verdict against him before we did, for the protection of the churches and of the pious and salvific faith handed down to us by both the holy apostles and evangelists and the holy fathers. This he had tried to pervert by corrupt statements, which the man condemned was still pouring forth in great quantity.

We entreat your authority to give orders that his entire teaching be rooted out from the most holy churches and that his books, wherever found, be consigned to the flames, the books through which he tries to abolish the grace of God who became man out of love for mankind (which he thought to be not love but an insult to the Godhead), and that if anyone scorns this decree, he is to fear the wrath of your authority. For in this way the

147 The Greek word is in the plural (ἐπιστολάς), but this could be used of a single letter (LSJ 660).

apostolic faith will remain intact, confirmed by your piety, and we shall all utter assiduous prayer for your authority, through which Christ is glorified, the faith confirmed, and the grace of God made known to all mankind.

For a clearer and more complete knowledge of the proceedings, the minutes are appended, and all the most religious bishops who are listed in the minutes have signed.

(65) THEODOSIUS II TO THE COUNCIL (29 JUNE)

Note

Theodosius' letter relies exclusively on the information he had received from Candidianus about the events of 22 June (the reports do not survive). The report by the council and the protocol of the session had not yet reached him. The emperor expresses his displeasure at the one-sided, unauthorized meeting and nullifies the 'premature judgements' taken. He warns against additional breaches of his original instructions, repeats his insistence on the need for a proper examination of the faith and a common decision, and announces the sending of a further representative in due course (for the mission of Count John in August see pp. 489ff. below). He forbids the bishops to leave Ephesus and go home or attempt to visit the court at Constantinople, and informs them that provincial governors have been alerted to make sure that no one returns to his city. When the letter was drafted, it had already been overtaken by events in Ephesus, since the meeting of the eastern bishops had deposed Cyril and Memnon and excommunicated their followers until and unless they condemned Cyril's Chapters and joined their 'council' instead (doc. 53). The synaxis celebrated by the bishops around Cyril in defiance of this verdict had introduced a schism.

Text[148]

[9] Copy of the imperial letter sent to the holy council at Ephesus via the *magistrianus* Palladius.[149]

148 CV 83, ACO I.1.3, 9–10; Latin version in CC 34, ACO I.3, 91–2. The emperor appears not yet to have received the letter from Cyril about the deposition of Nestorius (CV 81; doc. 64).

149 'Palladius 5', *PLRE* II, 819–20, an *agens in rebus* (imperial courier).

The Emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, most great and ever-venerable Augusti, to the most holy council at Ephesus.

From information provided by the most magnificent Candidianus, count of the hallowed *domestici*, our piety has learnt that certain things have taken place in the metropolis of Ephesus in a manner improper and disorderly, without all the most religious bishops having assembled, as had been laid down, even though the bishop of the great city of Antioch was already drawing near together with other metropolitans, and without those who had already arrived having consulted together and reached agreement with one another or having examined the faith in the manner required, as [10] expressed in the divine letters we have constantly dispatched. In consequence, the hostility of some towards others is blatant, because those things decreed in whatever manner reveal the intense partisanship of those who were unable so to disguise it that one might suppose that what was done corresponded with reason.

It has accordingly seemed good to our divinity that there should be no scope for such high-handedness. Since these improper proceedings are invalid, the doctrines of piety should first of all be examined (as we laid down) and following the common decision of the whole council be valid for the future. Our piety does not tolerate the deliberate delivery of premature judgements, and is so displeased at what has taken place that – until the doctrines of piety have been examined by the whole council and someone is sent from our divine palace to join the most magnificent Count Candidianus in ascertaining (according to our instructions) what has been perpetrated and to prevent improprieties – we give orders that none of the bishops convened is to leave the city of Ephesus, or visit our divine court, or return to his own country. This letter is sufficient to warn your religiousness that no one is permitted either to act in this way or to hope to offend with impunity, nor, contrary to our orders, to add anything to what has been perpetrated. Your holinesses are to know that the most illustrious governors of the provinces have been instructed to deny entry to anyone who returns to his own country and city against our orders. For it is essential that everything be investigated without contentiousness and with regard for the truth, according to what will be pleasing to God, and then be confirmed by our piety, since the concern that is now being exercised by our divinity is not for men nor for the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Nestorius nor for anyone else, but for doctrine itself and truth itself.

Issued three days before the Kalends of July in the consulship of Flavius Antiochus and the one to be nominated.[150]

(66) REPLY OF THE COUNCIL TO THEODOSIUS II (1 JULY)

Note

The Cyrillian council responds in great haste to the *sacra*. Their letter was accompanied by the minutes of the session of 22 June to which it repeatedly refers. These minutes are said to demonstrate the propriety of their actions – briefly sketched in outline – showing concern only for sound doctrine and paying no regard to personal enmities. In contrast, Candidianus' report (mentioned CV 151.3; doc. 53), on which the emperor's assessment had so far relied, is discredited as prejudiced by personal friendship for Nestorius (and embarrassment over his personal failings). Likewise, Bishop John of Antioch and his group, in delaying their arrival, had given priority to human friendship over the requisite concern for sound faith. Not only are they insignificant in number, but doctrinal and disciplinary defects disqualify some of them from acting in a council, further depleting their numbers – a list is of 33 names is appended. In contrast, Cyril's side boast more than 200 bishops and empire-wide representation. The bishops also complain of the difficulty in dispatching 'accurate' information to the court and seek permission to send a delegation.

Text[151]

[10] Copy of the report of the holy council sent via the *magistrianus* Palladius on the Kalends of July, 7 Epiphi, in the fifteenth indiction.[152]

(1) To the most pious and most God-beloved Theodosius and Valentinian,

150 29 June 431. Since the letter shows no knowledge of the arrival of the Syrians and their meeting on 26 June, Kraatz (1904) 145 wished to date it a few days earlier.

151 CV 84, ACO I.1.3, 10–13; Latin version in CC 38, ACO I.3, 96–8.

152 1 July 431. In the Coptic version (ed. Bouriant, 37) this date appears within the letter itself (see n. 161 below), as it is likely to have in the original text, for how else would the compiler of CV have known it? Theodosius' letter of 29 June (CV 83; doc. 65) arrived with extraordinary speed, and the Cyrillian council responded instantly. The Easterners also used the opportunity to send letters to Constantinople (pp. 363ff. below).

ever-triumphant victors and Augusti, from the holy council assembled by the grace of God and at the bidding of your authority in the metropolis of Ephesus.

Your authority, wishing to confirm piety, charged the holy council to carry out a serious examination of doctrine, which we have done, in agreement with the ancient tradition of the holy apostles and evangelists and that of the 318 assembled at Nicaea. Interpreting this tradition in harmony and unanimity, [11] we have expounded it to your piety in the minutes in which we recorded that we found Nestorius indubitably holding different beliefs and duly deposed him. For not even in the metropolis of Ephesus did he hide his opinions and thereby make further proofs necessary, but he trumpeted them day after day, stating his heretical doctrine to many. We have made each of them individually, point by point, plain to your piety in the redacted minutes.[153]

(2) But when the most magnificent Count Candidianus, putting friendship with Nestorius before piety, tried to mislead the ears of your piety before your authority had been accurately informed about the proceedings, before you had received the minutes, and before you had learnt what had taken place, he endeavoured to teach your piety what was favourable to himself and flattering to Nestorius, and this before your authority had learnt the truth from reading the minutes of the proceedings. These prove that we displayed no animosity to Nestorius but simply set out the doctrines of piety; to these latter we compared the teaching of Nestorius as revealed in his writings, both letters and sermons delivered in public, and so issued our verdict, with the holy gospel book placed in our midst to remind us of the presence of Christ, the master of the universe. We therefore entreat your authority that none of those who put human friendship before piety be admitted [into your presence].

(3) For such, we perceived, was the disposition of the most God-beloved Bishop John of Antioch, since he wished to gratify friendship rather than attend to the interests of the faith. As a result, he was neither frightened by the threats of your authority nor moved by zeal for the faith revealed from above, but delayed the holy council for 21 days after the date appointed by your authority. As a result, all of us, the orthodox members of the holy council, whose sole love is for the faith, were compelled to investigate piety, since we could only suppose that the most God-beloved Bishop John suffers from the same affliction as the most magnificent Count Candidianus

153 The minutes of 22 June were sent to Theodosius with this report.

has been found to suffer from, for it does not fall to everyone to put piety before friendship with men. Our suspicion of the most God-beloved Bishop John was neither vain nor groundless, for on his arrival he made plain to the holy council that he holds the views of Nestorius, either to gratify friendship or because he shares the error of his doctrine.[154]

(4) But since, as we have said, we are at present prevented from communicating the proceedings plainly to your authority, since the most magnificent Count Candidianus is preventing us from communicating the proceedings on the subject of piety, while showing every concern for Nestorius, we entreat your authority to ascertain the godly zeal of the holy council by summoning the most magnificent Candidianus and five members of the holy council who will defend the proceedings in the presence of your piety. For those who hold heretical opinions contrary to the orthodox faith are ingenious at disguising their error, with the result that some of the most holy bishops were ensnared by Nestorius' concealment of his error, [12] gave him their assent, and signed his proceedings,[155] but when they questioned him point-blank, they caught him revealing his blasphemies. They therefore separated from him and came to the holy council, pillorying his blasphemy and joining us in condemning the above-mentioned Nestorius, with the result that Nestorius and the most devout Bishop John of Antioch are left with 37 [bishops], more or less. Of these the majority have sided with Nestorius, as we have said, because they are liable to charges and go in fear of the holy council's verdict; we have sent their names to your authority.[156] Some of them [are guilty] of perverting doctrine, since they are Pelagians and hold opinions contrary to piety, some were already condemned many years ago, while others deserve

154 In suggesting his doctrinal accord with Nestorius, this presentation of John's stance is highly polemical and finds no grounds in the surviving documentation of the eastern bishops at the time. While regularly condemning Nestorius' deposition as uncanonical and procedurally flawed, John and the counter-council focus principally on the heterodoxy of Cyril rather than overtly taking up the defence of Nestorius' orthodoxy. Did they take it for granted and consider it unwise to allow Cyril's accusations to determine the direction of discussions, or did some harbour doubts and were they divided in their assessment? Only one very late statement, of September 431 (doc. 115, pp. 560f. below), explicitly credits him with orthodox teaching. We have suggested, however, that Nestorius' theology will not have been seen as controversial by the Easterners, except for his unwise insistence on rejecting Theotokos (which he had withdrawn in the meantime); see our discussion in the General Introduction, pp. 82–3.

155 This must refer to the protests of 21 June against plans to convene a session (CC 82; doc. 37), signed by 68 bishops.

156 Their names are given at the end of the document.

to be convicted on other criminal charges[157] and to receive their penalty from the council. For it includes all the most holy bishops in the world, holding one and the same belief, since the bishop of great Rome and those of Africa are represented at the council by the most religious Archbishop Cyril: uniting their own beliefs to his, and separated only in place, they have approved the decree of Cyril and of us all.[158] For none of the most God-beloved bishops would have joined Nestorius and the most devout Bishop John if he [Nestorius] had not been clever at hiding his impiety in a form of words, while those still with him are in dread of the penalty that the holy council is about to impose on them.

(5) But we, being under constraint, have not been able to inform your authority in a few words of the extent of our sufferings at the hands of the most magnificent Count Irenaeus, who has harassed the entire holy council and terrorized the most holy bishops by tumult and by external[159] canvassing, with the result that many of us are in fear for our very lives. But we shall send your authority a detailed account, if indeed your piety grants our request and five members of the holy council attend on you and inform your authority of what has been decreed on each matter. We who have been in session together and issued a canonical verdict of deposition against the heretic Nestorius are more than two hundred,[160] assembled from the whole world, since our verdict is ratified by all the West. Only a few of us have signed this plea, although all of us are present and approve it, since the hallowed *magistrianus* Palladius is in a hurry and will not wait for the slow process of everyone signing.

157 This accusation against members of John's council adds a new dimension to the conflict. It serves to discredit the opponents both on doctrinal grounds and on account of alleged disciplinary and criminal convictions or open accusations, disqualifying them from acting in a council. Countercharges to the same effect against bishops on Cyril's side were levelled by the Easterners (doc. 116).

158 The tenuous claim for representation of Africa rests solely on the letter by Bishop Capreolus of Carthage read in the meeting of 22 June (for which see doc. 39, pp. 278–9 above). His envoy, the deacon Bessulas, is named last on the list of participants and did not sign proceedings. The arrival of the Roman delegates was still awaited. The attendance list of 22 June names Cyril as representing the bishop of Rome.

159 'External' in that Irenaeus was a layman with no place in the council.

160 The numbers of subscribers to the lists associated with the Cyrillian sessions vary. In the meeting of 22 June, 125 bishops had given individual votes in favour of Cyril but more are said to have acclaimed the decisions; the attendance list gives 155 names. As the report points out, between the meeting and the sending of this report, yet more bishops had come over to Cyril's group, swelling their ranks.

May the God of the universe protect your rule through many cycles of years, most pious and ever-victorious Augusti.[161]

I Flavian, bishop of Philippi, have signed.[162]

(6)[163] These are the names of those we have written against:[164] (1) John of Antioch in Syria, (2) Macarius, (3) Julian, (4) Alexander, (5) Diogenes, (6) Apringius, (7) Placo, (8) Alexander, (9) Theodoret, (10) Heliades, (11) Meletius, (12) John, (13) Paul, (14) Musaeus, (15) Marcellinus, (16) Helladius, (17) Maximin, (18) Helladius, (19) Dexianus, (20) Gerontius, (21) Asterius, (22) Antiochus, (23) Dorotheus, (24) James, (25) Zebinas,[165] (26) Peter, (27) Phritilas, (28) Himerius, (29) Theosebius, (30) Eutherius, (31) Anastasius, (32) Tranquillinus,[166] (33) Basil. These are the only supporters

161 Here the Coptic version adds: 'We have written this report on 7 Epiphi [1 July]' (Bouriant, p. 37).

162 It is interesting to note that Flavian signs this letter first (the letter implies that a few more signatures were originally supplied). He usually comes in fourth place in the council's attendance list after Cyril, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Memnon of Ephesus. He exercises some presidential authority in the meeting together with those mentioned and also had an important role in overseeing the confection of the protocols. Even so, that Cyril's and Memnon's names are missing cannot be explained simply by the reported haste of writing (as may be the case with Juvenal). It seems that despite the protestation over the lawlessness and invalidity of their 'deposition' by the eastern bishops (of 26 June), the council avoided presenting the persons thus challenged as their leaders, and they refrained from acting visibly in official roles. The later session of 16–17 July formally nullified the 'deposition' of both bishops.

163 We follow the Latin version of this list, which gives the numbers (in Greek numerals). The Greek has a shorter heading ('These are the names'), omits the numerals, and has the same names, but in a different order. Where the identity of the bishops is ambiguous, it can be discovered from the similar lists in CV 90 and 91 (docs 73 and 74), where the sees are given.

164 The following list is incomplete, since there has been reference above to 37 supporters of Nestorius. What are the missing names? These should strictly be five in number, since the '37' supporters of Nestorius and John of Antioch should not include John himself, but they become four, if it did. Now the identical list reappears, with the same names in the same order, in CC 311 (pp. 398ff. below), the Latin version of the conciliar encyclical of 17 July (or very soon after), where, however, the following four names are added at the end of the list (again I add the names of the sees): (34) Pausianus of Hypata, (35) Maximus of Demetrias, (36) Daniel of Faustinopolis, and (37) Eustathius of Parnassus. The simplest hypothesis is that these are the missing names in the list of Nestorius' supporters given here.

165 Zebinas appears otherwise only in a Latin version of a similar list (CC 311, ACO I.4, 242), which likewise does not give his see, and in a letter by Alexander of Hierapolis, which refers to his presence (at a later date) in Antioch, CC 255 (ACO I.4, 187,22). All we can say is that he was a Syrian bishop.

166 This is the form of the name in the Greek version and elsewhere in Latin MSS, though here the Latin version gives 'Tranquillus'.

of the impious doctrines of Nestorius. They go round the city stirring up tumult and factional strife, and announce ordinations,[167] with the result that all those in the city who are orthodox and observe the intimidation involved forbid them from making this wholly improper attempt.

(67) (SECOND) REPORT OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE EMPERORS

Note

Just like the Cyrillian council, the bishops around John of Antioch also responded instantly to the emperor's *sacra* and handed over a repo to the returning courier Palladius. The transmitted version lacks an epistolary formality and retains no signatures; both must have bee excised during compilation. The bishops praise the emperor's *sacra.* The report and justification they provide of their own activities focuses on the revival of the Apollinarian and Arian heresies they had detected in Cyril's Chapters; these their Cyrillian opponents had – quite wrongly – confirmed. Furthermore, the Cyrillians had been led by personal hostility and were guilty of impudent transgression of imperial decrees in casting an unjust verdict against the see of Constantinople. For all these reasons, 'the council' (that is, the council of the Easterners led by John) condemned them in order to defend piety, which had been their only motive. A peroration urges the emperor to come to orthodoxy's rescue and defence. They propose limiting participation in the council to metropolitans, accompanied by two bishops each, and complain of the chaos wilfully caused by Cyril's side in introducing inordinately high numbers of participants. A kind of postscript adds that even after the *sacra* had been read to the Cyrillian bishops, they evidently did not heed it, but barred the eastern bishops from praying in the main church; and Memnon organized an assault by a mob during their return.

167 Of bishops to replace the 'deposed' Cyril and Memnon. The report by the Easterners (doc. 67, p. 366 below), asks in particular for the removal of Memnon, whose actions make any peaceful solution impossible.

Text[168]

[125] [Greek version] Report to the emperor from John archbishop of Antioch and those with him, which they wrote in reply via the *magistrianus* Palladius.[169]

[Latin annotation:[170] 'Before the emperor could reply to this letter of Bishop John and the council with him,[171] a *sacra* arrived relating to the report of Count Candidianus via the *magistrianus* Palladius, which we have already given.[172] To this the same patriarch[173] and the same council made the reply to the emperor that we have attached below'.][174]

This, pious emperors, this is the confirmation of orthodoxy – the annulment of all their unlawful proceedings, which have already been annulled by the canons, and instructions in the first place that an examination of doctrine should take place in the council that has convened. So when we read your decree, recently delivered to us, and praised it to the skies, we accounted the world most blessed in the imperial sway and authority with which it is governed. But just as these your injunctions exceed all admiration, most pious emperors, so also it is our duty to send to your authority an explanation of why, after arriving in the city of Ephesus, we were obliged to convict and condemn those who from the very outset trampled on your decrees; for when they were being pricked by their own conscience, they decided to confirm and revive, in opposition to piety, the doctrines of Apollinarius and Arius, in accordance with which Cyril of Alexandria, in the fullness of wilful heresy,[175] had previously sent to the imperial city certain chapters with anathemas. In addition, even before embarking on the examination of the pious doctrines, [126] their minds

168 CV 154, ACO I.1.5, 125–7; Latin version in CC 91, ACO I.4, 40–1.

169 Since Palladius returned in haste to Constantinople on 1 July, having delivered CV 83 (doc. 65) only just before, this must be the date of this document.

170 CC 90a, ACO I.4, 39,37–40.

171 This is CV 153 (doc. 54).

172 This is CV 83 (doc. 65).

173 This note is by Rusticus, and the designation of the bishop of Antioch 'patriarch' reflects sixth-century terminology.

174 These two versions of the heading are of interest for giving information (viz., the role of Palladius) that could not have been deduced from the text of the letter, which implies that this information was provided from the first when these letters were assembled as a sequence, presumably soon after their composition.

175 The Greek word is ἐθελοθρησκείας, well, if verbosely, rendered in the Latin version as 'wilful rather than sound devotion'.

were set on hostility and animosity, when they had the presumption, contrary to your pious decrees, to deliver so grossly unjust a verdict against a see as great as that of the imperial city of Constantinople. As a result, their wild unruliness is immediately obvious to all, which is why the holy council, impelled by orthodox belief, godly zeal, and concern for the holy churches, has condemned them as self-condemned. It is not doing anything blameworthy (perish the thought!) nor hot-headed, as someone might allege, but is giving priority to the defence of piety in danger.

(2) May this serve as a most just defence of our proceedings, addressed to your authority, since we look neither for favour nor disfavour, but are solely concerned to rescue the pious faith, storm-tossed as it is by those who have wilfully resolved to confirm their own writings by rejecting and disparaging what Peter confessed, what John theologized, what Matthew and the other evangelists proclaimed, what Paul taught by the inspiration of the Spirit, and what all the orthodox have preached throughout the world, to make the pious faith take root. With whatever power of prayer we possess, we pray that your piety and your rule, nurtured in orthodoxy, may uphold and defend this orthodox faith and keep it unharmed, since in this lies your hope, relating to all your affairs, while both now and formerly we have been trained to bend your decrees neither to the right nor to the left, to use the phrase in holy scripture.[176] For since the entire impulse of your rule is towards piety, the obedient will receive commendation from you yourselves and God's approval, while those who intend innovations and use turmoil to procure for themselves an illusory power, like those who intrude tyranny into good government, will reap the disgrace they deserve, for having endeavoured to destroy good government and having had the temerity to cast your directives to the ground.

(3) Therefore, so that there may be no turmoil or tumult in the joint assembly, may your Christ-loving head decree that two {bishops}[177] accompany each metropolitan, since we, heeding your piety's letter, came with this number,[178] even though we could, if there were need of

176 Deut 5:32.

177 Supplied by Schwartz from the Latin.

178 This claim was essentially true. Of the eleven provinces under Antioch (excluding Cyprus, which sided with Cyril) seven sent only two suffragans or fewer, and none more than four. See Price (2012b) 401–3. The imperial letter of convocation had laid down that each metropolitan was to bring 'a few' suffragans with him (p. 198 above). The vagueness in this stipulation was exploited by the 'Egyptians and Asians'. Theodosius' convocation, eighteen years later, of a second council in Ephesus specifically orders the attendance of a

a multitude, have brought with us a great number who have accurate knowledge of the divine doctrines and are not in the least like the crowd of Asians and Egyptians ignorant of things divine. For otherwise there will certainly be chaos again, since the Egyptians are 50, the Asians under Memnon (the leader of the tyranny) are 40, and the heretics in Pamphylia, called Messalians, are twelve,[179] quite apart from those in league with this metropolitan and others as well who were deposed or excommunicated in various ways by councils or by bishops; and all of them are nothing other than a crowd of men who have no accurate knowledge of the divine doctrines and are chock-full of turmoil and tumult. We therefore beg and entreat your piety to yet again take thought and to bestow peace on the council through one of your customary pious decrees.

(4) For thinking that they would now at least learn sobriety from the pious letter of your God-beloved head, after the decree full of every pious intention had been read to them[180] and we had dictated this letter, we went to the apostle's shrine of the holy John the evangelist, to give thanks and to pray [127] for your rule and your pious policy. But as soon as they saw us, they closed the church; and when we, after praying outside and saying nothing to anyone, were on our way back, a crowd of some of the local inhabitants came out: some of us they detained, some they deprived of their animals, others they wounded, and ourselves they pursued a great distance with sticks and stones, so that we had to flee in great haste as if we were being pursued by barbarians. This had been prepared well in advance by Memnon, who allows no one to pray in a house of prayer nor to conduct ecclesiastical business in peace and good order. We therefore entreat your piety to give orders in particular that the tyrant Memnon be expelled from this city, since he has been deposed for these disorderly actions of his, and also stirs things up to prevent a close investigation of his conduct. For unless he leaves, it will be impossible for there to be peace or for the aims of your piety to be achieved.

defined number of bishops along with their metropolitan (Council of Chalcedon I. 24; ACO II.1.1, 68–9; trans. Price and Gaddis I, 132–3). The limited number of suffragans brought by the Easterners may have arisen from a scrupulous interpretation of the *sacra* or from more specific guidelines provided by imperial officials orally.

179 These are the bishops of Pamphylia II, in fact eleven in number. See Price (2012b) 401. Those of Pamphylia I were supporting the Syrians. There were 47 from Egypt and 25 from Asia.

180 This must refer to Theodosius II's letter to the council of 29 June (doc. 65 above).

4. ARRIVAL OF THE ROMAN LEGATES AND FURTHER SESSIONS OF CYRIL'S COUNCIL

Introduction

The fresh session conducted by the group of bishops allied with Cyril of Alexandria and held in the episcopal palace on 10 and 11 July was prompted by the arrival in Ephesus of the Roman delegation (docs 68–69). The record narrates the legates' formal introduction to the council and shows the studied courtesy and diplomatic ceremonialism of their reception. The legates speak in Latin throughout, and a letter by Pope Celestine addressed to the council is read in Latin first, before the Alexandrian chief secretary Peter reads a Greek translation handed to him, which had been prepared in advance, perhaps already in Rome. Only the latter version is retained in the Greek protocol; the original protocol most probably contained both Latin and Greek, and the Latin parts were excised during the course of the manuscript tradition. The reading of Celestine's letter, exhorting the council to the task of defending piety, common to all bishops, and reminding them of his previous verdict in the matter, is met with acclamation. This verdict, contained in Celestine's letters from the autumn of 430 to Cyril and others (docs 14–17), it is affirmed, had been executed by the council in its deposition of Nestorius. Since the legates ask to be informed of the meeting, the minutes are presented to them for reading and the meeting is adjourned; they must have studied them overnight. The council reconvened the following day. Here the minutes of 22 June were read out to the assembled bishops. Since the legates had already affirmed the canonicity and procedural propriety of the 'trial' of Nestorius on the strength of their private perusal, this reading is referred to as (for them) a 'second reading', and since it did not provide them with new information it must be understood as principally ceremonial in character. In the protocol of the day (11 July), the text of the minutes of 22 June is abbreviated after the opening section, moving on directly to the final verdict of Nestorius' deposition. In a statement replete with notions of Petrine authority, the Roman legate Philip confirms the council's decision and pronounces the deposition of Nestorius, adding the voice of Rome to that of the Cyrillian bishops. His fellow legates express the same verdict. The minutes conclude with Cyril's invitation for the legates to sign the proceedings, to which motion both they and the council agree. The signatures follow directly.

A report to the emperor follows the minutes of the session (doc. 70). Since by the agreement of the whole West, as represented in the pope's legates, the matter in hand is now resolved, the bishops petition the emperor to close the council and allow them to attend the consecration of a new bishop of Constantinople.

(68) SESSION OF 10 JULY[181]

[53] A copy of the minutes of the proceedings in the presence of the bishops and the presbyter who had come from Rome.

(1) After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, six days before the Ides of July, which according to the Egyptians is 16 Epiphi,[182] the council convened in the metropolis of Ephesus according to the decree of the most pious and Christ-loving emperors. In the episcopal palace of the most religious Bishop Memnon were seated the most God-beloved and most religious bishops Cyril of Alexandria, also representing the most holy and most sacred Celestine archbishop of the church of Rome, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of Ephesus, Flavian of Philippi, also representing Rufus the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, Theodotus of Ancyra in Galatia Prima, and all the bishops listed in the firm record of the minutes.

There entered and joined the session those from the West, the most God-beloved and most religious bishops and legates Arcadius[183] and Projectus[184] and the most religious Philip,[185] presbyter and legate of the apostolic see.

(2) Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see, said:[186] 'We give

181 CV 106.1–25, ACO I.1.3, 53–9; partial Latin version in CC 35, ACO I.3, 92–4. Each statement by the papal legates is proceeded in the Greek version by the words 'Translation of the deposition'. The original edition of the text will have given in each case both the Latin text and the translation. The original Latin wording is provided by CC 35 down to (9) and translated here.

182 10 July 431.

183 His seat is unknown; see for Arcadius generally *PCBE* Italie I, 178–82.

184 Seat unknown, cf. 'Projectus 3', *PCBE* Italie II, 1855–7.

185 'Philippus 2', *PCBE* Italie II, 1786–92.

186 Philip and the other Roman delegates spoke in Latin, here and on all other occasions. The manuscripts routinely retain an annotation (not given in our translation) to point out

thanks to the holy and indivisible Trinity for the fact that, albeit tardily, it has yet given our humble selves the privilege of attending your holy assembly. The most holy and most blessed Celestine our pope, bishop of the apostolic see, previously issued a decree on the present matter in his letter to the holy and most reverent Cyril bishop of the city of Alexandria, which letter, I do not doubt, is known to your holy assembly. And now also he has sent by us for the confirmation of the catholic faith a letter to all your reverences, which we present. Order it to be received and read to the holy council with due honour and inserted into the ecclesiastical minutes.'

(3) [54] Arcadius, bishop and legate of the Roman church, said: 'May your beatitude order the reading of the letter brought to you from the most holy Pope Celestine, bishop of the apostolic see, to be named with all reverence, from which your beatitude will be able to observe the care he takes of all the churches.'

Projectus, bishop and legate of the Roman church, said: 'May your beatitude order the reading of the letter brought to you from the most holy and to be named with all reverence Pope Celestine, bishop of the apostolic see, from which your beatitude will be able to ascertain the care he takes of all the churches.'

(4) Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'Let the letter of the most holy and in all respects most sacred Celestine bishop of the holy apostolic church of Rome be received and read to the holy council with due honour.'

(5)[187] Siricius notary of the holy catholic church of the city of Rome read it out in Latin.[188]

(6) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Let the letter that has been read out from the most holy and most sacred Celestine bishop of great Rome, which is pious and orthodox, be inserted into the proceedings.

the fact that a Greek translation is provided. Comparable cases in the Acts of other councils suggest that both the original Latin and its Greek translation were initially recorded; the Latin was later excised in the manuscript copy tradition. Celestine's letter to the council was also read out in Latin first (§5); the records only retain the reading of its Greek translation (at §11). Philip's remark explaining the letter's Latin recitation as a matter of custom points to the significance of the delegates' use of Latin in oral interventions as well. This was not just a matter of their limited command of Greek (which played a part for some): diplomatic formality prevailed over practicality and ease of communication.

187 Some of the Greek MSS have the word 'Translation' here, which implies that in the original edition this paragraph was first given in Latin.

188 Some of the Greek MSS (followed by Schwartz) replace 'in Latin' by beginning the next paragraph with the words 'After the reading in Latin'.

(7) All the most devout bishops asked for the letter to be translated and read.

(8) Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see, said: 'We have followed the custom of having the letters of the apostolic see read first in Latin. But now likewise, because your beatitude asks for it to be read to Greek, it is necessary to satisfy the desire of your holiness. We have taken the trouble to have the Latin translated into Greek. Order it therefore to be received and communicated to your holy ears.'

(9) [55] Arcadius and Projectus, the most devout bishops and legates, said:[189] 'As your beatitude has ordered, so that the letter which has been brought may come to the knowledge of all, since there are very many of our holy brothers and fellow bishops who do not know Latin, for this reason the letter that has been brought has been translated into Greek, and, if you so bid, let it be read out.'

(10) Flavian bishop of Philippi said: 'Let the translation that has been brought of the letter from the most God-beloved and most holy bishop of the most holy church of Rome be received and read.'

(11) Peter, presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries, read out:[190]

(12) Celestine sends greetings in the Lord to the holy council assembled at Ephesus, to the beloved and most cherished [bishops].[191]

[I.2, 22] An assembly of priests is evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit. For the text we read is reliable, since our Truth cannot lie, of whom is the statement in the gospel, 'Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I also in the midst of them'.[192] This being so – since even this small number is not without the Holy Spirit – [23] how much more should we believe that he is now present, when a multitude of holy men have come together as one? For holy, because of the respect it deserves, is that assembly in which, assuredly, there is to be discerned even now

189 They presumably made the same statement in turn, as at §3.

190 We follow the order of both the Latin and Greek Acts in giving the pope's letter here, but translate from the Latin original, ACO I.2, 22–4 (while keeping the section numbers from ACO's edition of the Greek). Celestine writes in an elliptical Latin, without any thought for the problems this set the Greek translator, who expands and clarifies, generally with success.

191 We translate Celestine's greetings from the Greek, since the Latin MSS give it in abbreviated form.

192 Matt 18:20.

the venerable character of that most numerous meeting of the apostles of which scripture tells us.[193] They were never without the one whom they had received as the subject for their preaching; the Lord and Teacher was always with them, and those giving instruction were never deserted by their instructor. They continued to be taught by the one who had sent them, they continued to be taught by the one who had told them what to teach, they continued to be taught by the one who confirms that he is heard in his apostles.[194]

(13) The task of the preaching entrusted to them has come down in common to all the priests of the Lord; by an inherited obligation this responsibility is incumbent on all of us who preach the name of the Lord in their stead in the various countries of the world, for it was said to them, 'Go, teach all nations.'[195] Your brotherhood will be well aware that we have received a general commission; it was the will of the one who in this way gave to all this common commission that all of us too should carry it out. We must fulfil the office of our founders, undertake all the labours of those to whom we have succeeded in honour, and attend carefully to what they preached, since, as the apostle admonishes us, we are commanded to accept no preaching save that.[196] The preservation of what has been handed down is no less important than the work of the one who handed it down. Let them have scattered the seeds of faith, and let our care preserve them, so that the fruit may be found pure and plentiful at the coming of the head of the household, to whom alone, assuredly, is to be attributed its abundance.[197] For as that vessel of election says, it does not suffice to plant and water, unless God gives the increase.[198] So we must now be active in our common labour, so that we may preserve what has been entrusted to us and passed down till now through apostolic succession.

(14) What is at stake is the path we are to follow, according to the apostle, for it is not now our sight but our faith that is summoned for the matter in hand.[199] We must take up weapons that are spiritual (since this is a war of minds, and the weapons are words) if we are to remain faithful to the covenant of our King. The blessed apostle Paul admonishes all of

193 Cf. Acts 15:6.
194 Cf. Luke 10:16, 'The one who hears you hears me'.
195 Matt 28:19.
196 Gal 1:8–9.
197 Cf. Matt 25:14–20.
198 Cf. 1 Cor 3:7.
199 2 Cor 5:7, 'We walk by faith and not by sight'.

us who are now in that place where he ordered Timothy to remain;[200] it is the same place, and the same cause imposes this duty. Let us now perform what he then undertook to perform, lest anyone hold another doctrine and lest anyone give heed to myths that lead to questioning.[201] As he prescribed, let us, as is beneficial, be 'of one mind and one conviction'.[202] Let us do 'nothing through strife or vainglory';[203] let us all be of 'one heart and one soul',[204] when the faith, which is one, is under attack.

(15) Let the whole assembly in common join us in deploring, indeed bewailing, this fact: there is summoned for judgement he who will judge the world, there is brought to trial he who is to try everyone, there is subjected to calumny he who redeemed the world.[205] Let your brotherhood be girded; you know what helmet should protect your head, and what breastplate should cover your chest.[206] It is not only now [24] that the camp of the church has received you as its generals. Through the favour of the Lord, who makes both one,[207] let no one doubt that there will be peace when weapons are laid down, since [the one who is] the subject of the dispute is defending himself.

(16) Let us look again at the words of our teacher that he specifically addressed to bishops, when he preached as follows: 'Attend,' he said, 'to yourselves and to the entire flock over which the Holy Spirit has appointed you bishops, to rule the church of God which he acquired with his blood.'[208] From this we learn that those who heard this had been called to the very same task that has now brought your holinesses together at Ephesus.[209] So let those who knew the preaching of the faith know also our defence in its regard.[210] Let us display towards it the constancy of our minds, with the reverence due to matters of importance, and which has been maintained in lasting tranquillity by a pious understanding, for what the apostles

200 Cf. 1 Tim 1:3, 'I asked you to stay at Ephesus'.
201 Cf. 1 Tim 1:3–4.
202 Phil 2:2.
203 Phil 2:3.
204 Acts 4:32.
205 The whole sentence refers to Nestorius as 'assailing' Christ.
206 The helmet of salvation and the breastplate of righteousness, Eph 6:14, 17.
207 Eph 2:14.
208 Acts 20:28. Paul is speaking, and at Ephesus.
209 This sentence taxed the Greek translator, who wrote, 'We have read that these who were called were those who heard this – Ephesians – where now your holinesses have assembled'.
210 That is, let the Ephesians who heard Paul preach the faith now hear you defending it.

preached has reigned unstained among us. Never were the words of tyrannical despotism let loose against the king of kings, and nor can the task of truthfulness be suppressed by falsehood.

(17) I exhort you, my most dear brethren: look only to that love in which, assuredly, we ought to abide, according to the words of John the Apostle,[211] whose relics you are venerating in their very presence. May there be prayer in common to the Lord. We know what the power of that divine presence will be, with such a multitude of priests praying in harmony, since the place could be shaken where (we read) the Twelve prayed with one accord.[212] What was the petition for which the apostles prayed? Assuredly that they would receive the ability to 'speak the word o God with confidence'[213] and by his hand perform with signs and wonder: the things they had received power to perform through the gift of Christ our God.[214] And what else should your holy assembly now implore other than that you may speak the word of God with confidence, that he may enable you to uphold what he has granted you to preach, and that, 'filled with the Holy Spirit',[215] in the words of scripture, you may profess, albeit in varied speech, that one truth that the Spirit himself has taught? Inspired by all that I have said briefly (since, as the apostle says, 'I am speaking to those who know, and I speak wisdom among the perfect'),[216] attend to the catholic faith and the tranquillity of the churches; attend (as must be said) to things past, things present, and things to come, 'entreating' and preserving 'what is for the peace of Jerusalem'.[217]

(18) Because of our concern we have sent holy brothers and fellow priests of ours, men of one mind with us and thoroughly tested, the bishops Arcadius and Projectus and the presbyter Philip. They are to take part in the proceedings and execute what we have already decreed. We are confident that this will receive the assent of your holinesses, when that which is read out is seen to have been enacted for the well-being of the universal church.

Issued eight days before the Ides of May in the consulship of Bassus and Antiochus.[218]

211 1 John 4:16.
212 Cf. Acts 4:24–31.
213 Acts 4:29.
214 Cf. Acts 4:30.
215 Acts 2:4.
216 Rom 7:1; 1 Cor 2:6.
217 Ps 121:6.
218 8 May 431. This indication of the date is omitted in the Greek version.

(19) [I.1.3, 57] All the most devout bishops said together: 'This is a just judgement. To Celestine the new Paul! To Cyril the new Paul! To Celestine the guardian of the faith! To Celestine one in mind with the council! The whole council thanks Celestine. One Celestine, one Cyril! The one faith of the council, the one faith of the world!'

(20) Projectus, the most devout bishop and legate, said: 'Let your holinesses reflect on the text of the letter of the holy and venerable pope Bishop Celestine, who has sent your holinesses this exhortation, not teaching you as if you were ignorant, but reminding you since you have knowledge, so that you may give instructions that what he previously decreed, and has now thought fit to remind you of, may be brought to a complete fulfilment, according to the rule of the common faith and for the good of the catholic church.'

(21) [58] Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'There was a previous verdict and decision on the matter by the apostolic and holy see of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Celestine, in letters to the most God-beloved bishops, I mean Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and to the holy churches of Constantinople and Antioch. This decree we followed, originally when the deadline given to Nestorius for amendment expired, and again a long time afterwards, when we came to Ephesus at the command of the most pious emperor. We waited here for a long time, with the result that the deadline set by the emperor also expired, and when Nestorius did not heed our summons, we put the decree into effect, since we recognized in it a canonical and apostolic judgement.'

(22) Arcadius, the most devout bishop and legate, said: 'Even though the slowness of the voyage and the contrariness of the weather made it completely impossible for us to reach the appointed place as we had hoped, nevertheless, through the providence of God and the prayers of your beatitude,[219] our mediocrity has managed to get here; and we give thanks to God, since we have found your beatitude abiding in one

219 Here and in the rest of this Act 'your beatitude' refers to all the chairmen of the council. Even if Cyril was the principal chairman, there was a degree of group responsibility and authority. At Ephesus II (449), the emperor Theodosius assigned the role of chairing the council to a further two bishops alongside Dioscurus of Alexandria. Similarly, in addition to Cyril, a small group of metropolitans, including most certainly Juvenal of Jerusalem and Flavian of Philippi as well as potentially one or other metropolitan from Asia Minor, exercised what must in effect be considered presidential roles in the meeting of 22 June. See Price (2009b) 242–5.

place and in one faith and caring for "the church of God, which our Lord Jesus Christ acquired with his own blood".[220] Therefore we entreat your beatitude to give instructions that we be informed of what your beatitude has decreed.'

(23) Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see, said: 'We give thanks to his holy and venerable council for the fact that, on the letter of our holy and blessed pope being read to you, you have by your holy statements and acclamations joined the holy limbs [of the church] to the holy head; for your beatitude is well aware that blessed Peter the Apostle is the head of the whole church as also of the apostles. Because our mediocrity has now arrived, though on the late side, since tossed by many storms, we ask you to give instructions that we be informed of the proceedings in the holy council before our arrival, so that, in accordance with the judgement of our blessed pope and also that of the present holy assembly, we too may confirm them by our pronouncement.'

(24) Theodotus bishop of Ancyra said: 'The God of the universe has shown the decree of the holy council to be just by means of the visitation, by letter, of the most religious Bishop Celestine [59] and by the presence of your religiousness. For you have given us proof of the zeal of the most holy and most sacred Bishop Celestine and his concern for the pious faith. Since your religiousness has requested most reasonably to be informed of the proceedings, the minutes of the proceedings concerning Nestorius' deposition will fully satisfy your devoutness as to the justice of the decree, the zeal of the holy council, and the harmony of the faith, which the most religious and most holy Bishop Celestine likewise proclaims with a loud voice. After you have been satisfied, what remains [to be transacted] will be added to the present proceedings.

(69) SESSION OF 11 JULY[221]

(25) [59] After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, five days before the Ides of July, which according to the Egyptians is 17 Epiphi.[222] On the following day the same council met in the same

220 Acts 20:28.
221 CV 106.25–39, ACO I.1.3, 59–63.
222 11 July 431.

place,[223] and there were seated the most God-beloved and most religious bishops.

(26) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said to the most devout bishops Arcadius and Projectus and the most devout presbyter Philip: 'When this holy and great council was in session yesterday, after the reading of the letter of the most holy and most sacred Celestine bishop of great Rome, your religiousness, being present, requested a reading of the minutes of the proceedings relating to the deposition of the heretic Nestorius, and the holy council accordingly resolved that this was to take place. Your holinesses will deign to inform us if, therefore, you have read them and ascertained their contents.'

(27) Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see, said: 'By a reading of the proceedings we are now well informed about the decree concerning Nestorius in your holy assembly; we have learnt from the minutes that the whole trial was conducted canonically and according to ecclesiastical discipline.[224] But now we ask your assembly,[225] even if there is no real need for it, that what was read in your council may be read to us again, so that, in accordance with the decree of the most holy Pope Celestine who entrusted this responsibility to us and also that of your holinesses, we may be able to confirm the judgement.'[226]

(28)[227] Arcadius, the most devout bishop and legate of the apostolic see, said: 'We thank your beatitude for satisfying our wish and request out of the proceedings. May your beatitude rule that, following the decision of your beatitude, we are to be informed about your decree.'

(29) Memnon bishop of Ephesus said: 'Nothing prevents the proceedings relating to the deposition of the heretic Nestorius from being read a second time, in accordance with the request of the most holy and most sacred

223 The episcopal palace of Bishop Memnon.

224 The Greek word is ἐπιστήμην, meaning 'knowledge', doubtless a mistranslation (in this context) of the Latin word *disciplina*. The same error occurs in §31.

225 The Greek word is στέφανος, doubtless a mistranslation (in this context) of *corona*, which elsewhere most often means 'crown' (for the meaning 'assembly' see Lewis and Short, 471, *corona* II.A). The use of the word here is misunderstood by *PGL*, 1258 (στέφανος 6.) as an honorific.

226 The legates insist that their formal confirmation of the condemnation of Nestorius requires that it be solemnly read out in council in their presence.

227 As in the preceding Acts of 10 July, this and all the following statements by the Roman legates are prefaced by the words 'A translation of the deposition', indicating that in the original edition the original Latin was provided, followed by the Greek translation.

bishops Arcadius and Projectus and the most devout and most God-beloved [60] presbyter Philip of the apostolic see of great Rome. So let them be read again.'[228]

(30) Peter, presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries, read out:[229]

After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, ten days before the Kalends of July, which according to the Egyptians is 28 Pauni,[230] the council convened in the metropolis of Ephesus by decree of the most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors. There were seated in the most holy church called [after] Mary the most God-beloved and Christ-loving bishops Cyril of Alexandria, also representing the most holy and most sacred Celestine archbishop of the church of Rome, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of Ephesus, Flavian of Philippi, also representing Rufus the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, Theodotus of Ancyra in Galatia Prima – and the rest.

The holy council said: 'Since in addition to other things the most honourable Nestorius refused to comply with our summons and did not even receive the most holy and most God-beloved bishops whom we sent, we proceeded of necessity to an examination of his impieties, and discovered from his letters and writings that were read out and from recent statements of his in this metropolis, which have been confirmed by witnesses, that he holds and preaches impiety. After shedding many tears, we are of necessity obliged by the canons and by the letter of our most holy father and fellow minister Celestine bishop of the church of Rome to proceed to this melancholy sentence against him: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, having been blasphemed by him, has decreed through the present most holy council that the same Nestorius is excluded from episcopal dignity and the whole priestly fellowship.' And in sequence the signatures of the most devout bishops.

228 No reading in the presence of the whole council had taken place on the previous day. The statements by Memnon and Philip nevertheless point out that this reading was the 'second', after the minutes had been read to the Roman legates overnight. This implies that the assembled bishops were not considered the primary audience of the reading. Neither was it expected to provide the legates with fresh information, irrespective of how we assess their perhaps limited command of Greek.

229 There follow the beginning of the Acts of 22 June and the verdict against Nestorius (pp. 223 and 280).

230 22 June 431.

(31) Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see, said: 'It is doubtful to no one, rather it has been known in all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, the leader and head of the apostles, the pillar of the faith, and the foundation of the catholic church, received the keys of heaven from our Lord Jesus Christ the saviour and redeemer of the human race, and was given the power to bind and unloose sins,[231] and that he lives and performs judgement, until now and always, through his successors. In accordance with this system, his successor and representative, our holy and most blessed pope Bishop Celestine, has sent us to this council as substitutes for his presence, a council that [was convoked] by the most Christian and most philanthropic emperors, who keep in mind and always protect the catholic faith, and who have protected and protect the apostolic teaching [61] handed down to them till this day by their most pious and most philanthropic fathers and grandfathers of holy memory.[232] Taking thought for the council, as we have said already, they have decreed that the catholic faith, which has been protected from ages past till this day, should continue as before, unshaken. Nestorius, the author of the new distortion and the fountain head of the evil, when summoned and cited, as we have learnt from the conciliar proceedings, scorned to come to trial according to the ordinances of the fathers and the discipline of the canons, even though he ought to have offered himself spontaneously to so great and holy an assembly, in order to receive spiritual healing and recover health. But when summoned to the holy council, as I have already said, canonically and according to the discipline of the canons, he refused to attend, since he has a cauterized conscience, [even though he was aware] that not only the extension granted by the apostolic see but many intervals of time had passed. It was therefore a secure judgement, when (regarding one who in a hostile spirit and with an impious tongue dared to blaspheme against our Lord Jesus Christ) in a decree of all the churches (since they took part together in this priestly assembly, through those present and through legates from the church in both East and West) the priests present for this reason, following the ordinances of the fathers, and the present holy council issued a decree against the rash blasphemer, and delivered a sentence to the effect that he who did not respect correction has his lot with the one of whom it was said, "His

231 Matt 16:18–19.

232 Theodosius II was the son of the emperor Arcadius (395–408), and Valentinian III the son of Constantius III (421); both were grandsons of Theodosius I (379–95).

episcopacy let another take."[233] Therefore let Nestorius know that he is banished from the communion of the priesthood of the catholic church.'

(32) Arcadius, the most devout bishop and legate of the apostolic see, said: 'The grief and distress arising from the decree of your priesthood is for us an occasion for lamentation and many tears. Nestorius, though exhorted by letters from both the apostolic see and your beatitude, chose to err as a result of his false doctrine and malignant mind, as the sentence pronounced on him has made plain. Not perceiving that it was time for him to accept correction according to[234] the decree of the apostolic see, he did not accept the reminder and exhortation of all the holy priests, although it could have restored his health. For he had been spurred to such impiety as to present teaching full of blasphemy against our Lord Jesus Christ, his own creato and redeemer and the saviour of the human race. Just as the ancient serper wormed his way in and seduced the well-regulated thoughts, attuned tc God, of the human race, so he, having first forgotten his own salvation and eternal life and afflicted by ignorance of the traditions of the fathers, [62] and having also forgotten the proclamation of the prophets and even the teaching of the evangelists and apostles, brought about his own ruin through his disbelief. Because through his own opinions he had exiled and severed himself from us, therefore we – following the definitions handed down from of old by the holy apostles and the catholic church, since they taught what they had received from our Lord Jesus Christ, and following also the decrees of the most holy Celestine pope of the apostolic see, who deemed it right to dispatch us as his executors in this matter, and the enactments of this holy council – [resolve that] Nestorius is to be informed that he has been stripped of episcopal rank and expelled from the whole catholic church and the communion of all priests.'

(33) Projectus, bishop, legate and envoy of the church of Rome, said: 'From the reading of the proceedings in this holy and most God-beloved council of priests of God of such number and quality, Nestorius (as one ungrateful, after being shown such patience by the holy Pope Celestine, bishop of the holy and apostolic see of the city of Rome, and also by the

233 Acts 1:20, with reference to Judas Iscariot. The syntax of the preceding sentence is defective and cannot represent Philip's speech accurately or completely, but the general sense is clear.

234 In place of καὶ in most of the MSS I accept the emendation (κατὰ) in one MS, even though Schwartz calls this emendation *infelix*. It may well be, however, that the text has suffered deeper and less obvious corruption.

most devout fathers and bishops here present, brothers of his lordship) has been shown with utter clarity to have committed apostasy and blasphemy to his own destruction. Accordingly, since he has had the audacity to introduce the perversion of his own heresy in opposition to the gospel faith and the apostolic teaching, which has been confirmed by the catholic church everywhere, therefore I too with authority, being together with my brother legates the executor of the verdict of the holy apostolic see, decree that the aforementioned Nestorius, the enemy of the truth and destroyer of the faith, as guilty of these things, is excluded from the rank of episcopal honour and the communion of all orthodox priests.'

(34) Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'The pronouncements made by the most sacred and most religious bishops Arcadius and Projectus and the most religious presbyter Philip are manifest to the holy council. For they have pronounced as the representatives of the apostolic see and of the entire holy college of the most God-beloved and most holy bishops of the West.[235] They have thereby put into effect what had already been decreed by the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Celestine, and they have given their assent to the verdict delivered against the heretic Nestorius by the holy council assembled here in the metropolis of Ephesus. Let therefore the minutes of both yesterday's and today's proceedings be added to the previous proceedings, and let them be presented to your religiousness, so that in the normal way you may express your canonical agreement with us all by your own subscription.

(35) [63] Arcadius, the most devout bishop and legate of the church of Rome, said: 'Of necessity we shall confirm our own teaching by our own signatures, according to the proceedings in this holy council.'

(36) The holy council said: 'Since the most devout and most religious bishops and legates Arcadius and Projectus, and Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see, have spoken most fittingly, it is appropriate that they fulfil their promise and confirm the proceedings by subscription. Let therefore the minutes of the proceedings be brought to them.'

235 This refers to the council Celestine held in Rome in August 430. Cyril chooses to exaggerate its size.

[The signatures][236]

(37) Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see: I hereby sign the minutes.

(38) Arcadius, bishop and legate of the apostolic see: I hereby sign the verdict delivered against Nestorius the perpetrator of schism and heresy and of every blasphemy and impiety.

(39) Projectus, bishop and legate of the apostolic see: I hereby sign the just judgement of this holy ecumenical council, of which we have learnt from the proceedings, putting into effect in every way the deposition of the impious Nestorius.

(70) (SECOND) REPORT FROM THE COUNCIL TO THEODOSIUS II[237]

[63] Copy of a report to the pious emperors from the holy council about the bishops and presbyter who had come from Rome, through the deacon Eutyches.

To the most pious and most God-beloved Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, always Augusti, from the holy council assembled by the grace of God and at the bidding of your authority in the metropolis of Ephesus.

The God of the universe, accepting your concern and zeal for piety, O Christ-loving emperors, has inspired with zeal the souls of the holy bishops in the West as well to vindicate the insulted Christ. For if the vast distance of the journey prevented that whole multitude of most holy bishops from coming to us, they nevertheless assembled there, in the presence of the most sacred and most God-beloved Celestine bishop of great Rome,[238] and now in full agreement they have extolled our understanding of the faith and [64] have decreed that those who have held dissentient views are totally excluded from priestly office and rank. The most holy Celestine bishop of great Rome announced this in his letter[239] even earlier, before

236 As with the preceding statements by the Roman legates, each signature in the Greek text is preceded by the statement that it is a translation (from the Latin).

237 CV 107, ACO I.1.3, 63–4; Latin version in CC 63, ACO I.3, 177–8.

238 This refers to the council Celestine held at Rome in August 430.

239 Literally 'letters', but the reference is particularly to Celestine's Letter to Cyril (doc. 14).

this most holy council was convened, entrusting the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril bishop of the great city of Alexandria with the task of representing him also. And now again he has made this plain to the holy council, ordered by your authority to assemble in the metropolis of Ephesus, in another letter, which he sent through the most holy bishops Arcadius and Projectus and the most God-beloved Philip presbyter of great Rome, who represent the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Celestine. On their arrival these men notified by letter the council being held here of the judgement of the entire holy council in the West, showed that their view of faith and piety is in accord with ours, and through the letters and their instructions that they presented in writing have given proof of their agreement with us. After taking steps in view of this accord, we have now of necessity sent an appropriate report to your authority, so that your piety can know that the judgement recently issued by us, which owes its teaching and dissemination to your zeal for faith and piety, is the one and common decree of the whole world.

Since the matter has reached a conclusion that is both welcome to your authority, a protection for all the churches, and a confirmation of the faith, we entreat your piety to relieve us now of our cares and of staying in a foreign place, since some of us are constrained by poverty, others are afflicted by disease, while some are bent by age and can no longer bear living abroad, with the result that some bishops and clerics of our number have actually died. Once we are relieved of these anxieties, we shall turn our attention to the church in the great city.[240] We beseech you that the sending of the threatened letters to the local governors be prevented,[241] lest any further trouble be inflicted on the churches, or distress be caused to the most holy bishops in their own territories. Since piety has been proclaimed and the whole world has passed a unanimous decree about it, save for a few who put friendship with Nestorius before piety, we ask a reasonable favour in requesting your authority to relieve us of our anxieties, so that we may attend to the consecration of the future [bishop], take delight from now on in the faith and piety that have now been confirmed, and offer up pure and sincere prayers for your rule to Christ the master of the universe.

Cyril bishop of Alexandria: I have submitted this report.

All the most devout bishops listed in the minutes also signed.

240 That is, of the consecration of a new bishop of Constantinople, as mentioned below.

241 See Theodosius' letter to the council, CV 83, doc. 65, p. 357.

(71) LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Note

The following document is an official communication to the clergy and laity of Constantinople from the council at Ephesus, informing them that Nestorius has been deposed for blasphemy and that a new bishop must now be appointed. The signatories include the Roman delegates, which implies a date after the session of 10–11 July. Since the council had already informed the clergy and laity of Constantinople of the deposition immediately after the event (in CV 65, doc. 41, and CV 69, doc. 42), the purpose of this further communication is most plausibly explained first by a wish to emphasize the additional confirmation in the voices of the Roman legates and secondly by the consequent demand to proceed to the election of a new bishop. While the *Collectio Vaticana* presents the letter after texts from the meeting of 16–17 July, in the Latin *Collectio Casinensis* it follows directly the material from 10 July (only) – a much-truncated version of the meeting finishing with the conclusions drawn from Celestine's letter (cf. CV 106.24). This combination of texts, for all its problems in other respects, seems to imply a similar interpretation, in that it presents the letter as the renewed communication of Nestorius' deposition to the Constantinopolitan clergy and laity in the light of what the truncated 'protocol' of the meeting of 10 July had just expressed: the explicit endorsement of the council's verdict by Rome. Hypothetically, an alternative date on or after 17 July, when the council reported its 'finished' business to a number of recipients (cf. docs 75–77), remains a possibility. The letter certainly predates the imperial acceptance in August of the deposition of Cyril, whose name still heads the list of signatories. A new element in it is the specific mention of the need to proceed to the election of a new bishop of the city.[242]

242 The response to the letter in the document immediately following it in the *Collectio Vaticana* (doc. 101, pp. 532ff.) is clearly of a significantly later date. Its importance lies in the fact that it reveals the circumstances of the letter's public reception in the capital at the end of August, and the subsequent drafting of the response, which for this reason is presented below as part of the material from August 431.

Text[243]

[13] Letter written by the holy council to the clergy and laity of Constantinople about the deposition of Nestorius.

The holy and great ecumenical council assembled by the grace of God in the metropolis of Ephesus sends greetings in the Lord to the most religious and most devout fellow presbyters and fellow deacons and all the clergy and laity of the holy church of God in Constantinople.

We have proceeded to this most doleful communication, after first lamenting what had taken place, but [compelled] by necessity itself to excise the cause of this disease, lest many be carried off by the plague of impiety. Nestorius has been stripped of priesthood, having become an incidental victim of his own impiety, of which you are witnesses as a result of the frequent sermons that he had the insolence to address to you; and there is an addition to the evil in the blasphemy he has committed here. For neither the above-mentioned holy council nor the great number of those piously assembled could restrain his impulse, but he added yet more terrible blasphemies, asserting that he would not choose to worship an infant two months old and breast-fed and that he would not call the one who fled to Egypt God,[244] with the result that the whole dispensation brought about on our behalf by the Saviour has become little short of doubtful to the more simple-minded. May it be the achievement of the prayer you earnestly address to God that one worthy of the see and of your great city be appointed to be your bishop in future. For if the imperial city is piously governed, the holy churches of God everywhere will share the benefit.

I, Cyril bishop of Alexandria, pray that you be in good health in the Lord, beloved and most cherished [brothers].

Philip presbyter of the church of the Apostles.

Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem.

[14] Arcadius bishop and legate.

Projectus bishop and legate.

Firmus bishop of Caesarea.

Flavian bishop of Philippi.

243 CV 85, ACO I.1.3, 13–14; Latin version in CC 36, ACO I.3, 94–5.

244 For Nestorius' insistence that the one who was taken to Egypt was not God the Word but Christ's manhood, cf. p. 317, n. 48 above.

Memnon bishop of Ephesus.
Theodotus bishop of Ancyra.
Verinianus bishop of Perge.

Since those who deposed Nestorius were more than two hundred, we considered the enclosed subscriptions sufficient.

(72) SESSION OF 16 JULY

Note

A few days after the previous session(s), the bishops around Cyril, now including the Roman legates, met again. They needed to resolve the problem caused by the deposition of Cyril and Memnon pronounced by the eastern bishops on 26 June. While Cyril is still listed in first place and as representing Celestine of Rome (even though the Roman legates follow directly after him in the list), it is apparent that he did not act as chairman of the council on this occasion. Rather, it is Juvenal of Jerusalem who guides the meeting, gives his verdict first, and eventually signs its decision in first place. Cyril and Memnon enter a petition to have John of Antioch and those with him called before the council to account for their lawless 'deposition' of them both. In essence, they wanted the Easterner's 'deposition' to be formally annulled and their authors to be punished instead. Two attempts at a canonical summons were made, but John refused even to receive the emissaries, on the ground that they were excommunicate. After their return, both Cyril and Memnon requested the annulment of the 'outrage' committed against them, and the council declared the proceedings against them null and void.

On the following day, the council convened once more. On Cyril's initiative it issued the outstanding third summons to John. The emissaries narrate at some length their conversation with clergy in John's entourage, who would not receive their message. That they had conveyed the council's message to his subordinate clergy orally is interpreted as equivalent to a formal delivery of the summons so as to exclude any excuse of ignorance on John's part. For his failure to present himself before the council and defend himself over the allegations concerning his moves against Cyril, the council decrees the excommunication of John and his group of allied bishops (a list, here giving 33 names, is clumsily inserted)[245] and bars them

245 Basically the same list appears in the Conciliar Encyclical (doc. 74), where the Greek

from exercising episcopal and priestly functions. Their actions against Cyril and Memnon are again declared invalid.

Three letters and reports evidently relate to this double session and must have been drafted in its immediate aftermath. The first, an encyclical for general circulation (doc. 74), announces the decisions taken against John and his supporters, restating, first, their excommunication and loss of priestly office. It then goes on to specify the penalties for anyone associating with this group or entertaining the same ideas, and to pre-emptively declare void any future disciplinary decisions taken by any of the opposing bishops concerned. Conversely, those 'deposed' by Nestorius and those sharing the beliefs of the (Cyrillian) council are not subject to the jurisdiction of the other party.

There follow two reports, to the emperor (doc. 75) and to Pope Celestine (doc. 76). Both in their different ways convey a sense of finished business (see below).

Text[246]

87. [15] The petition presented to the holy council by the most holy bishops Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus.

After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, seventeen days before the Kalends of August,[247] the council convened in the metropolis of Ephesus by decree of our most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors. In the most holy church called [after] Mary were seated the most God-beloved and most religious bishops Cyril of Alexandria (also representing the most holy and most sacred Celestine archbishop of the

version (CV 91) gives 34 names including John, but the Latin version (CC 311) has 37; cf. our annotation, p. 398, n. 271. The omissions here are accidental. At other times the Cyrillians play down their opponents' numbers even further by speaking of just 'some 30' bishops (CV 92.2; CV 82.11). However, the true range of John's support must have been about double that, when bishops not listed here but subscribing to other eastern documents of the period are taken into consideration; see Price (2012b) 410–14, 415f.

246 CV 87–9.12, ACO I.1.3, 15–21; Latin version in CVer 20.1–17, ACO I.2, 75–9 and CC 39.1–17, ACO I.3, 99–104. CV and CC provide the heading 'Petition presented to the holy council by the most holy bishops Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus'. The heading in CVer is 'The Acts of the excommunication of Bishop John of Antioch and the bishops who were with him'.

247 16 July 431.

church of Rome), Arcadius bishop and legate of the Roman see, Projectus bishop and legate of the Roman see, Philip presbyter and legate, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of Ephesus, Flavian of Philippi, also representing Rufus the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, and all the bishops listed in the text of the minutes.

Hesychius[248] the deacon said: 'The in all respects most holy and most sacred Cyril archbishop of the holy church of Alexandria and the most holy and most religious Memnon bishop of Ephesus have presented a plea to the most holy ecumenical council convened in this metropolis of Ephesus according to the decree of our most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors. We have it to hand and, if your holinesses so command, we shall read it.

88. (1) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Let the plea presented [16] by the most holy and most sacred bishops Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus be read and inserted into the proceedings.

Hesychius the deacon read out:

(2) To the holy council assembled in this metropolis of Ephesus by the grace of God and the decree of the most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors, from Cyril bishop of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus.

The pious decree ordered us and your sacredness to convene in this metropolis of Ephesus, so that the correct definition of the apostolic faith could be confirmed by a joint decree, and so that the new heresy concocted by Nestorius could be examined. Your holy council, correct and canonical in all its proceedings, took its seat in the holy church in this metropolis, and summoned the aforesaid Nestorius to come to the meeting and answer for the blasphemies in his sermons and letters and the impious and wicked statements he has uttered about Christ the Saviour of us all. But when after being summoned for the third time he refused to come, being smitten by a bad conscience, the council, following the laws of the church, subjected him to deposition, after examining with exactitude everything relating to him and becoming convinced that he is both a heretic and a blasphemer. After this had been transacted and conveyed to the knowledge of our most

248 Apparently an assistant of Bishop Juvenal. As a deacon, he must be distinct from the famous Hesychius of Jerusalem, who also assisted Juvenal but was a presbyter (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius* 26, 20; trans. Price, 22).

pious and victorious emperors,[249] John of Antioch came to Ephesus late and reluctantly, at a time of his own choosing, bringing with him, as we have learnt, some of those who hold the beliefs of Nestorius, of whom some had previously been deposed, and others do not have sees but are bishops in name alone. Indignant that Christ had been glorified by the just deposition of one blaspheming against him, and trampling on every ecclesiastical law and scorning all ecclesiastical procedures, he has – we know not how, but if the report is wholly true – composed an impious and lawless document. Thinking he could terrify us with the term 'deposition', he has committed an intolerable outrage, and this although the holy council that deposed Nestorius is made up of more than two hundred bishops in number, while he has collected heretics and other disgraced persons numbering some 30, and even though neither by ecclesiastical law nor imperial decree does he possess the authority to judge any of us or to attempt anything at all of the kind, especially against a more important see. Even if he had the right to judge, he should have followed the ecclesiastical canons and cited us whom he had wronged together with the rest of your holy council to answer for ourselves. But now, ignoring these facts and with no fear of God in his mind, in the very hour of his arrival at Ephesus, in secret and without any of us having the slightest knowledge of what he was perpetrating, he has made himself a mockery (not to say the laws of the church), and insults by a decree of deposition people who to this day are wholly ignorant of whatever [17] pretext he had for this. Since it is wrong for the laws of the church to be trampled on in this way or to be vainly applied against one's superiors, or to perpetrate secretly what he would not have committed even against one of those with the lowest rank in the churches and under his own authority – and he has accomplices in doing this – we are compelled to address this document to your religiousness, adjuring you by the holy and consubstantial Trinity that John himself and those who have joined him in this criminality should be summoned to the holy council to answer for their insolence. For we are able to prove that the outrage he has attempted against us is impious and illegal.

(3) Acacius bishop of Melitene said: 'It is superfluous to express a conjecture, even a correction, over this accusation, and the plea of the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon

249 In fact Theodosius did not receive formal notification of the session of 22 June until the minutes were ready for dispatch (see doc. 64, pp. 352ff.), which was after the arrival of John of Antioch.

of Ephesus is also superfluous. For it was not permissible for those who had defected from the holy council and joined the adherents of Nestorius' heresy, thereby exposing themselves to such and so serious a charge, to presume to concoct anything against the presidents of this ecumenical council, since they have absolutely no authority. But since it is the wish of your sacredness that they should be brought to trial over this matter as well, let Bishop John of Antioch, the president of this defection, be cited in relation to these charges by the most devout bishops Archelaus, Paul, and Peter, so that he may offer some sort of defence for his misdeeds.'

89. (1) After the departure and then return of Archelaus bishop of Myndus in Caria, Paul bishop of Lappa in Crete, and Peter bishop of Parembolae in Palestine, Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'Let the most religious bishops who were entrusted with conveying the communication to the most devout Bishop John report what reply they received from him.'

(2) Paul bishop of Lappa said: 'After being sent by your holy council to the most devout Bishop John of Antioch, we were approaching his residence when we saw a mass of soldiers and of others bearing weapons and swords who would not let us approach the gate. With difficulty we got near and spoke at some length: "We are peaceable, and surely we are not a mob! Just three of us have been sent; so admit us. The holy council has sent us to the most devout Bishop John with a peaceful message about a canonical matter." Meanwhile a crowd gathered around us. But John, knowing (it seems) the reason for our mission, refused to receive us. Many people said many things, including blasphemies against the holy council and the orthodox faith, which we cannot relay with accuracy because of the uproar that occurred there.'

(3) [18] Archelaus bishop of Myndus said: 'We had to put up with much uproar, and were almost in danger when we arrived at the residence of the most devout Bishop John. We were threatened by soldiers who unsheathed their swords and were wielding clubs, while a hostile crowd stood around. We asked many people to announce us, but, for what reason I know not, we were not admitted.'

(4) Peter bishop of Parembolae said: 'I also arrived together with the most devout bishops at the residence of the most devout Bishop John, with many soldiers bearing and unsheathing weapons and hemming us in, while many others were with them there who made an uproar, threatened us, and uttered blasphemies against the orthodox faith and your holy and God-beloved council. We asked to be announced and deliver the message

of the holy council to the most devout Bishop John, but were not admitted, because (we presume) the same most devout Bishop John knew the reason for our mission. For some of his clerics were present, and we told them that we had been sent by the holy council, but none of them granted us admission.'

(5) Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'Your holy council understands that both I and my fellow bishop the most devout and most God-beloved Memnon are here with a pure conscience and well-equipped to defend our reputation, but, as it appears, the one concern of the heretic Nestorius and the defender of his doctrines John of Antioch is to bluster against the laws of holy church and, when summoned to answer for their misdeeds, to barricade their residences with weapons and make them inaccessible to those delivering a canonical summons to answer the charges against them. Since therefore the most devout John, alarmed by his own crimes, is concocting many grounds for procrastination, as can be seen from the accounts of the most religious bishops, but still more (as I have said) from the way he has made his residence inaccessible to those sent by the holy council, he is plainly self-condemned and is arraigning his own misdeeds, which make him afraid to come to this holy and great council. Let therefore your sacredness, which gives ear to matters with calm impartiality and perceives the nature of the case, annul by a most lawful decree his unholy outrage against us and decree what you think right in the case of one who has had the insolence to commit this affront against us.'

(6) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'It was the duty of John the most devout bishop of Antioch, out of respect for this holy, great, and ecumenical council, to come at once to answer the charges brought against him and to obey the apostolic see of God's holy church of Jerusalem,[250] especially since it is the custom deriving [19] from apostolic procedure and tradition for the see of Antioch to be directed and judged by it. But since with his usual disdain he has barricaded his residence with weapons, using both soldiers and civilians, as we have learnt from the testimony of the most religious bishops sent by this holy council, we, in accordance with the canons and due procedure, decree that he is to receive a second summons. So let other most religious bishops, with the same decorum as

250 The MSS of both the Greek and Latin versions add (ungrammatically) an additional clause at this point on the authority of the Roman see, which Schwartz deletes as an interpolation intended to mitigate Juvenal's presumption, after the Council of Chalcedon had finally quashed his hopes of elevating his see above that of Antioch.

before, summon him to appear before the holy council and answer the charges brought against him.'

(7) After the departure and then return of Timothy bishop of Termessus and Eudocias, Eustathius bishop of Docimium, and Eudoxius bishop of Choma, Eudoxius bishop of Choma in the province of Lycia said: 'In accordance with the instructions of your religiousness, we went to the residence of the most devout Bishop John of Antioch, and found soldiers with drawn swords and also some clerics around his residence. We asked the clerics, "We have been sent by the holy council to convey a message to the most devout Bishop John. Be so good as to announce us." After going inside and announcing this, they returned and gave us the following answer: "Bishop John said, 'We do not give an answer to men who have been deposed by us and are excommunicate.'" When we asked who had deposed and excommunicated us, they told us that it was Bishop John of Antioch When we pressed them for more precise information, they said, "We would not refuse to provide it, if the keepers of the records were present."'

(8) Timothy bishop of Termessus and Eudocias said: 'As your religiousness ordered, we went to the residence of the most devout Bishop John, and finding clerics standing before the doors, we announced ourselves, requesting to be admitted and to convey our message personally. Those who went in relayed to us this reply, "We do not give an answer to people who have been excommunicated and deposed. They should not weary themselves by summoning us repeatedly."'

(9) Eustathius bishop of Docimium said: 'In accordance with the instructions of your sacredness, we went to the residence where the most devout Bishop John of Antioch is staying, and pressed the clerics we found there to have it announced that we needed to meet the most devout Bishop John and to pass on the message sent to him through us by this holy council. They went in, and on their return said to us, "We have deposed and excommunicated [them]. They should not weary themselves by summoning us." We tried to learn the names of those who had gone in to announce us, but they refused to tell us, saying, "We are clerics and not the keepers of the records."'

(10) Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, who even now [20] is present in the holy council, explained to us the nature of the case, when he said, "Everyone who does evil hates the light and does not come to the light, lest his deeds be exposed."[251] That the most devout John

251 John 3:20.

of Antioch is in this plight even now is crystal clear to your sacredness and sobriety. For if he knew that what he had done to us was canonical and pleasing to God, should he not have been eager to come to this holy ecumenical council, so that his undertaking, when confirmed by your vote, would have more weight with us, if it accorded with ecclesiastical law? But he is in fear of this holy and great council's hatred of wickedness and knows that he had wronged us impiously and lawlessly, and so refuses to come, in order to evade the penalty and censure he deserves; for he hides his crimes, and is ashamed to reveal his lawlessness before you his judges. We therefore ask this holy council to declare here and now that his outrages against us are utterly invalid, and that he is to be summoned yet again because of his unholy misdeeds and then be subjected to a lawful and just verdict from you on the basis of the canons.'

(11) Memnon bishop of Ephesus said: 'The uncanonical judgement of the most devout Bishop John of Antioch and of certain people with him, easy to number, from the fact of his innovation and disregard of ecclesiastical law, has become clear to your sacredness. This is why we ourselves in a plea informed your holinesses of his outrages against us. Stirred into action, you summoned him canonically through most sacred bishops to answer for the offences committed by him against ecclesiastical law, or rather contrary to ecclesiastical procedure, and to render an account for his brazen disregard of the canons. But, burdened with a sick conscience, he refused to comply when summoned. This is why we have asked your holy ecumenical council to annul the lawless proceedings of him and those with him, easy to number, of whom some are heretics, some are without sees, and others are liable to many charges, since these proceedings are of themselves null and invalid, since they were perpetrated in contempt of correct canonical procedure. We also ask you by a decree of the holy ecumenical council, while approving our constancy over the orthodox faith that we received from the holy fathers, to decree in relation to them whatever you think fit.'

(12) The holy council said: 'That the proceedings have no force or propriety, since in all of them John was stirred into action uncanonically, has been demonstrated from the proceedings. For he would have been confident, when summoned by the holy council, to defend his innovations, if the proceedings had followed any reasonable procedure. Since they lacked validity from the first and were conducted without canonical justification, the holy council declares them invalid, and incapable of prejudicing any of the persons wronged. While transacting what is fitting and falls

to it, [21] the most holy council will convey today's proceedings to the knowledge of the most pious and Christ-loving emperors, so that they will be cognizant of all the outrages perpetrated by John in contempt of the holy council. As for the most devout Bishop John, if when summoned a third time he does not appear, then the holy ecumenical council will decree in his case what the canons lay down.'

(73) SESSION OF 17 JULY[252]

89. (13) [21] After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, sixteen days before the Kalends of August,[253] the holy council of most religious bishops was seated in the same church called [after] Mary.

Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'Yesterday, when your sacredness was in session here in the presence of the legates from great Rome (the representatives of the most holy and most religious Bishop Celestine), I and the most religious Bishop Memnon of this metropolis of Ephesus brought a document in which we requested that there be summoned to this holy ecumenical council the most devout John of Antioch and those who joined him in committing outrage against us and dared to use the term "deposition", so that, being present, they might answer for themselves and render account for their senseless speech and lawless attempts. Your religiousness transacted everything properly and canonically: you summoned them with a first and then a second summons, sending most devout and most religious bishops, as is contained in the guarantee of the redacted minutes. But they, being unable to give reasons for their outrages and finding no means of defence (for otherwise they would have hastened at once to this holy and great council to defend their actions), did something disgraceful, fraudulent, and suitable for those in the marketplace. If they wanted to explain something to this great council, they should have come with a propriety and decorum suitable for Christians to say and hear what was necessary, especially since no one is preventing them (for there are no soldiers stationed in front of the holy council, as there are in front of their lodgings). But instead they have composed a document full of

252 CV 89.13–21, 90, ACO I.1.3, 21–6; Latin version in CVer 20.18–27, ACO I.2, 79–83 and CC 39.18–28, ACO I.3, 104–9.

253 17 July 431.

both folly and ignorance and posted it publicly, rousing the whole city to uproar, or rather to an awareness of their own folly. If they did this in order to distress us, as we witnessed the shameful presumption of persons who are our brethren, [22] mocked by all, we were indeed truly distressed, for after doing this they were laughed out of court. If truly, as is claimed in the document they have produced, they are able to convict us of having promoted the heresy of Apollinarius or ever having held his beliefs, let them not merely insult us with empty words but, remembering God's divine wrath, convict and expose us as heretics, if they can; for God the judge of the universe said somewhere, "A false witness will not go unpunished,"[254] and by the mouth of the blessed David, "Seated, you spoke against your brother."[255] For we have never held the beliefs of Apollinarius or Arius or Eunomius, but we studied the holy scriptures from a tender age and were reared in the arms of orthodox and holy fathers; we anathematize Apollinarius, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Sabellius, Photinus, Paul [of Samosata], the Manichees, and every other heresy, and in addition Nestorius, the inventor of the new blasphemies, and those who share his beliefs, and also those who hold the beliefs of Caelestius and Pelagius. We never held their beliefs, nor is it the case that we have now come as penitents to the point of wishing to be orthodox, but, as I have said, we were reared in the orthodox and apostolic doctrines of the church. Since it is the duty of those once enrolled in the priesthood to be seen to be truthful and to assert what they know to be the case, we now ask this holy and great council to send a canonical summons to the most devout John of Antioch and those who joined him in concocting the false charge against us. For there are only two alternatives: either they present themselves and prove us to be heretics who hold the beliefs of Apollinarius, as they allege, or, by declining to attend and shrinking from proofs, they will at once stand convicted – especially since, as is again written in the document they composed, they have sent vain and worthless calumnies to the hearing of the most pious emperors. It is particularly the duty of your sacredness to ensure that the pious hearing of the rulers is not deceived by anyone, since you know the saying in divine scripture, "Let no falsehood be uttered to a king from the tongue, and no falsehood should ever come from his mouth."'[256]

254 Prov 21:28 (not an exact quotation).
255 Ps 49:20.
256 Prov 24:22b (LXX).

(14) The holy council said: 'This request by the most God-beloved and most sacred bishops Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus is extremely timely. So on this very day the most God-beloved bishops Daniel, Commodus, and Timothy are to go with a written message and instruct the most devout John bishop of Antioch to come with those accused along with him and answer the charges brought against them.'

(15) The most devout bishops Daniel of Colonia, Commodus of Tripolis [23] in Lydia, and Timothy of Germe in Hellespontus set off with the notary Musonius, with a written message that ran as follows:

(16) 'Since the holy council, wishing to prescribe peaceably what is laid down in the canons, summoned your reverence with a twofold summons and you did not comply, either to defend your misdeeds or to amend, for this reason the holy council with its own verdict now forbids both you and any of those with you to perform any episcopal act. If you do not comply with this third summons and attend, the prescriptions of the canons will be imposed on you [all].'[257]

(17) After their return, Daniel bishop of Colonia said: 'We went where your religiousness instructed us, that is, to the residence of the most religious Bishop John, and dismounted from our asses some way away. With repeated entreaty we informed the clerics that we had come as envoys of your holy council. We found Asphalius the presbyter standing there, who is of the church of Antioch and represents the interests of the same church in Constantinople. He led us near the house where the most religious Bishop John is residing, and stayed with us to ward off those who came up. We are grateful to the soldiers; for since they recognized the in all respects most religious Bishop Commodus, through having been stationed in his city, they held back all the clerics who came to harass us. After Asphalius and other clerics had informed him, his archdeacon came across to us (we don't know his name, but the man has a thin beard and is short and pale) with a document which he offered us, saying, "The holy council has sent this for you to receive." We replied, "We have been sent to deliver a message from the holy council, but not to receive letters. For we ourselves have not brought a document nor will we accept one,[258] but we have brought a peaceful message. For the holy council asks the lord John to join it in

257 'on you [all]': the pronoun is plural, after singular second persons (addressed specifically to John of Antioch) in the rest of the message.

258 An untruth, but denying they had brought a letter was the only way to justify refusing to accept one.

session and come to the council." The archdeacon replied to us, "Wait till I inform the bishop of this." He withdrew, and on his return again offered us the same document, saying, "Do not send to us, and we won't send to you. We are awaiting a decree from the emperor, since we have already informed him of our decrees." We said, "Hear then also what the council has to say." But he went off, saying, "You did not accept the document, so I won't listen to the council." This is how it went. We said to the presbyters Asphalius (who was escorting us) and Alexander, "The holy council has displayed feelings of peace, love, and kindness towards the lord John. It is specifically because, when summoned twice, he refused to appear that the council has resolved that he is not to exercise any priestly functions. It has sent him a third summons in order not to be forced to impose the canonical penalty on him."'

(18) [24] Commodus bishop of Tripolis in Lydia said: 'What we witnessed is the same as what has been related by the most religious and most sacred Bishop Daniel, and our testimony is identical.'

(19) Timothy bishop of Germe in Hellespontus said: 'What we too witnessed and can testify is the same as what has been related by the most religious and most sacred Bishop Daniel.'

(20) The holy council said: 'This present summons was properly delivered by the most religious bishops Daniel, Commodus, and Timothy. They explained the reason for their mission, and gave the information to the bishop's men, in such a way that nothing in the account they gave is unknown to most devout Bishop John, and he cannot in his own defence use the excuse of ignorance.'

(21) Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'Your holy council can observe my presence; and now together with the most devout Bishop Memnon I demand satisfaction for the offences contrary to the laws of the church and to all reason that have been committed against us by the most devout John of Antioch. There can be no doubt that, if we had feared he[259] could prove us guilty, we would not have shown such confidence as to ask for him to be urged by this third summons to come and employ whatever arguments he chooses against us. Since he fabricates intricate reasons for postponement, inventing different excuses at different times (for one who is caught 'swims with words',[260] as scripture puts it), this holy ecumenical council should respond with what is laid down in the laws of the church.'

259 Schwartz prints the alternative MS reading 'they'.
260 Job 11:12.

90. The holy council said: 'As regards the wrongs inflicted on the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril and his fellow bishop the most God-beloved and most sacred Memnon by the most devout John bishop of Antioch and those with him, and after this third summons issued by us, which he has utterly refused to comply with, or to come to the meeting of the holy council and explain the reason why they rushed into this innovation contrary to the laws and canons of the church, it is necessary for this holy council, stirred into action canonically, to deliver against him and those with him the verdict that this madness deserves. While previously we judged that episcopal kindness had to endure with patience what had been done, now at the present juncture, in accordance with what has already been decreed, let there be excluded[261] John himself and those who joined him in this criminality – (2)[262] John of Damascus, (3) Alexander of Apamea, (4) [25] Dexianus {of Seleucia},[263] (5) Alexander of Hierapolis, (6) Himerius of Nicomedia, (7) Phritilas of Heraclea, (8) Helladius of Tarsus, (9) Maximin of Anazarbus, (10) Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, (11) Peter of Traianopolis, (12) Paul of Emesa, (13) Polychronius of the city of Heraclea, (14) Eutherius of Tyana, (15) Meletius of Neocaesarea, (16) Theodoret of Cyrrhus, (17) Apringius of Chalcis, (18) Macarius of Great Laodicea, (19) Zosys of Esbus, (20) Sallustius of Corycus in Cilicia, (21) Hesychius of Castabala in Cilicia, (22) Valentinus of Mutlublaca,[264] (23) Eustathius of Parnassus, (24) Philip of Theodosiana, (25) Daniel, (26) Julian, (27) Cyril, (28) Olympius, (29) Diogenes of Ionopolis, (30) Theophanius of Philadelphia, (31) Tarianus of Augusta, (32) Aurelius of Irenopolis, (33) Musaeus of Aradus, (34) Helladius of Ptolemais – from ecclesiastical communion. They have no licence, as if with priestly authority, to harm or to benefit anyone on this basis,[265] until they censure themselves and confess their fault. They are to know that, unless they do this speedily, they will draw on themselves utter condemnation; for

261 The continuation of this phrase – 'from ecclesiastical communion' – comes *after* the following list of names.

262 The numerals are provided in one Greek MS. The list in the Latin version is identical. The following list of names is manifestly an intrusive assertion that interrupts the sentence. It is significant that in a fragment of the Coptic Acts (Codex Vindob. K. 381, in Wessely (1914) 17–18) this list is given separately and not within this sentence. This is likely to have been the case in the original version of the Greek.

263 Supplied from the Latin.

264 Mallus in Cilicia.

265 That is, on the basis of being in communion.

what has been pronounced both now and yesterday makes it plain that the lawless and uncanonical outrages they already committed previously against the most God-beloved and most holy Cyril and Memnon, who are bishops and primates in the church, have no validity. All the proceedings are to be communicated to the pious and Christ-loving hearing of the most God-beloved emperors, so that the divine hearing also may be cognizant of what has taken place.[266]

[26] Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem: I hereby sign.[267]
Arcadius bishop and legate of the apostolic see: I hereby sign.
Projectus bishop and legate of the apostolic see: I hereby sign.
Philip presbyter and legate of the apostolic see: I hereby sign.
All the others also signed.

(74) CONCILIAR ENCYCLICAL[268]

(1) [26] The holy ecumenical council convened at Ephesus by decree of the most pious emperors to the bishops, presbyters, deacons, and all the laity in each province and city.[269]

When we assembled according to the pious letter[270] in the metropolis of Ephesus, certain persons defected from us, being about 30 in number and having as the leader in their defection John bishop of Antioch. Their names are as follows:[271]

266 The imperial *sacra* authorizing the mission of Count John in August (doc. 87, pp. 491ff.) shows no knowledge of these proceedings or the related reports to the emperor.

267 This is followed in the Greek version by the words 'Translation of the signatures', showing that the following three signatures were originally in Latin.

268 CV 91, ACO I.1.3, 26–8; Latin version in CC 311, ACO I.4, 242–3.

269 A partially fuller version of the address is preserved in the Coptic fragment (Wessely (1914) 18, trans. Price (2014) 25–6): 'The great holy ecumenical council, which has convened in the metropolis of Ephesus by the grace of God and at the command of the God-loving emperor Theodosius and the God-loving emperor Valentinian, the ever-victorious Augusti, writing to each in turn of the Roman provinces, sends greetings in the Lord'.

270 That is, the letter from the emperors.

271 The Greek and Latin versions of this list are strikingly divergent, though all the names are credible. We star the names that appear in only one version. Neither numbers the names. The Greek list is identical to that in CV 90. For a discussion of the two lists, arguing that the Latin one (which has the support of the Coptic version of the encyclical) was the original one, see Price (2012b) 410–14.

[Greek version] (1) first, John of Antioch in Syria, and (2) John of Damascus, (3) Alexander of Apamea, (4) Alexander of Hierapolis, (5) Himerius of Nicomedia, (6) Phritilas of Heraclea, (7) Helladius of Tarsus, (8) Maximin of Anazarbus, (9) Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, (10) Peter of Traianopolis, (11) Paul of Emesa, (12) Polychronius of the city of Heraclea,* (13) Eutherius of Tyana, (14) Meletius of Neocaesarea, (15) Theodoret of Cyrrhus, (16) Apringius of Chalcis, (17) Macarius of Great Laodicea, (18) Zosys of Esbus,* (19) [27] Sallustius of Corycus in Cilicia,* (20) Hesychius of Castabala in Cilicia,* (21) Valentinus of Mutlublaca,*[272] (22) Eustathius of Parnassus, (23) Philip of Theodosiana,* (24) Daniel [of Faustinopolis] and (25) Dexianus [of Seleucia], (26) Julian [of Sardica] and (27) Cyril [of Adana],* (28) Olympius [of Carpasia]* and (29) Diogenes of Ionopolis, (30) Theophanius of Philadelphia,* (31) Tarianus of Augusta,* (32) Aurelius of Irenopolis,* (33) Musaeus of Aradus, (34) Helladius of Ptolemais.

[Latin version] (1) John of Antioch in Syria, (2) Macarius [of Laodice in Syria], (3) Julian [of Sardica], (4) Alexander [of Apamea], (5) Diogenes [of Ionopolis], (6) Apringius [of Chalcis], (7) Placo [of Laodicea in Phoenice],* (8) Alexander [of Hierapolis], (9) Theodoret [of Cyrrhus], (10) Heliades [of Zeugma],* (11) Meletius [of Neocaesarea], (12) John [of Damascus], (13) Paul [of Emesa], (14) Musaeus [of Aradus],[273] (15) Marcellinus [of Arca],* (16) Helladius [of Tarsus], (17) Maximin [of Anazarbus], (18) Helladius [of Ptolemais], (19) Dexianus [of Seleucia], (20) Gerontius [of Claudiopolis],* (21) Asterius [of Amida],* (22) Antiochus [of Bostra],* (23) Dorotheus [of Marcianopolis], (24) James [of Durostolus],* (25) Zebinas,* (26) Peter [of Traianopolis], (27) Phritilas [of Heraclea], (28) Himerius [of Nicomedia], (29) Theosebius [of Cius],*[274] (30) Eutherius [of Tyana], (31) Anastasius [of Tenedos],*[275] (32) Tranquillinus [of Antioch in Pisidia],* (33) Basil [of Larissa],* (34) Pausianus [of Hypata],* (35) Maximus [of Demetrias],* (36) Daniel [of Faustinopolis], (37) Eustathius [of Parnassus].

272 Apparently identical with Valentinus of Mallus, as is noted in ACO 1.1.8, 22 and 29.

273 Schwartz emends the MS reading (*Paulus Maseus*) to *Paulus Emesenus* (Paul of Emesa). But the list does not give the names of the sees, and *Musaeus* is the obvious correction.

274 This emendation of the manuscript 'Theodosius' is certain, on the basis of the identical list in doc. 66, p. 362.

275 A letter from the Synod of Constantinople held by Bishop Maximian after his election says that Anastasius was mentioned in this encyclical (p. 605 below), which supports the authenticity of the Latin list.

These men[276] (because in addition some of them had already been deposed) have been proved most clearly to hold the beliefs of Nestorius and Caelestius from (above all) their refusal to join us in condemning Nestorius. By a common decree the holy council excludes them from all ecclesiastical communion, and strips them of all priestly functions by which they could harm or benefit anyone.

(2)[277] Since it is necessary for those who have deserted the council and stayed in some territory or city for whatever reason (whether church business or health) not to be ignorant of what has been decreed about them, we inform your holinesses and your love that, if the metropolitan of the province, defecting from the holy ecumenical council, has joined the defecting assembly or were to do so hereafter or holds or comes to hold the beliefs of Caelestius, he has no power at all to take any action against the bishops of the province, since he has been expelled by the council from all ecclesiastical communion now and henceforth and is unable to function. He will instead be subject to the bishops of the province and those metropolitans round about who hold orthodox beliefs, with the effect of total expulsion from episcopal rank.

(3) If any provincial bishops have left the holy council and have joined or were to attempt to join the defection or, having signed the deposition of Nestorius, [28] have returned to the defecting assembly, these, according to the resolution of the holy council, are totally excluded from the priesthood and lose their rank.

(4) If any of the clerics in any city or territory have been suspended from the priesthood by Nestorius and those with him on account of their orthodoxy, we decree that they are to recover their rank; and we issue a general instruction that clerics who share the beliefs of the orthodox and ecumenical council are not to be subject in any way at all to the bishops who have defected or may defect.

(5) If any of the clerics were to defect and have the audacity to adopt the

276 This word (οἵτινες in the Greek) is followed in the Greek manuscripts by: 'from ecclesiastical communion; they have no licence, as if with priestly authority, to harm or to benefit anyone on this basis'. These words have been taken over from the parallel passage at the close of the preceding document [90] and have no proper place here. They are absent from the Latin translation, as also from the Coptic; cf. Wessely (1914) 18.

277 This and the following paragraphs (2–7) were included in Byzantine canonical collections as Canons 1–6 of Ephesus from the middle of the sixth century. See Joannou (1962) 57–61 and Wagschal (2015) 55. The Three Chapters controversy had made this condemnation of allies of Nestorius relevant again.

beliefs of Nestorius or Caelestius either privately or publicly, it is decreed that they too are to count as deposed by the holy council.

(6) As for those who have been condemned for improper conduct by the holy council or by their own bishops, and whom Nestorius or those who share his beliefs, uncanonically and through his negligence of everything, have attempted or may attempt to restore to communion or their rank, we decree that they are to remain unsalaried and to count as no less deposed.

(7) Likewise if any were to wish to undermine in any way the transactions on any point at the holy council at Ephesus, the holy council resolves that if they are bishops or clerics they are totally stripped of their rank, while if they are laymen, they are excommunicated.

All the bishops at the session signed.

(75) (THIRD) REPORT FROM THE COUNCIL TO THEODOSIUS II

Note

This report, drafted by Juvenal of Jerusalem, on the one hand projects a sense of closure in relating all the proceedings and decrees with manifest satisfaction and a noticeable sense of finished business. The council reports its entire past and present business, starting from the deposition of Nestorius, now almost a month ago, right down to its present reinstatement of Cyril and Memnon – quite unnecessary, the bishops affirm, since their calumnious so-called deposition by the Easterners had always been null and void – and the consequent deposition of John and his followers. In all this they had executed faithfully the instructions of the emperor, especially in the doctrinal exposition of the Nicene Creed, but also in moving against those in violation of it. At the same time the report entreats the emperor not to take seriously the claims of John of Antioch and the bishops in alliance with him to be a 'council'. The bishops point out, rather, the uncanonical status of the opposing group, the existing theological and disciplinary verdicts against some of its members, which disqualify them, and the charges awaiting these men if called before a proper council. To deal with them the bishops evoke the model of Constantine and the Council of Nicaea, where defectors were purportedly treated not as a council but put on trial.[278]

278 This 'recollection' of events at the Nicene Council provides a somewhat creative

Text[279]

[28] Copy of a report from the holy council to the most pious emperors about the Easterners.

(1) To the most pious and most God-beloved Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, always Augusti, from the holy council assembled by the grace of God and the bidding of your authority in the metropolis of Ephesus.

The instructions sent by your authority to the holy council have been fully and duly put into effect, and this we have made known to your piety. We have [29] clarified for your piety the apostolic faith expounded by the 318 assembled at Nicaea, and deposed Nestorius, whose beliefs were contrary to it, from both priestly ministry and the right to preach his own impiety.

(2) There are a few, already corrupted in their beliefs by Nestorius' teaching, who have stayed by him and adopted as their allies those who, like themselves, are under accusation, while he also enjoys the support of the most devout Bishop John of Antioch, whether through contentiousness or human friendship. These men, although numbering a mere 30 in all, even before answering for the offences of which each of them stood accused, called themselves a council, as if your piety had given orders for the convening of two councils rather than one with the task of confirming the gospel faith and expelling from ecclesiastical ministry those with perverse beliefs. But, as we have said, those already mentioned, before answering the charges against them, convened themselves, despite being so few. After adopting as the accomplice of their folly the most devout Bishop John of Antioch, who was afraid of having to render account for his lateness, as we have heard from rumours, they have had the temerity, contrary to all ecclesiastical procedure and against the canons, to issue a defamation, containing (as they supposed) the outrage of deposition, against the holy council and the head of the most holy bishops now assembled, we mean the most holy Archbishop Cyril and in addition the

reimagining of the past. Both Eusebius, *VC* 3.13, and Rufinus *h.e.* 10.2 credit Constantine with a conciliatory attitude and measures. Juvenal may be thinking rather nebulously of the exiling of bishops in the aftermath of the council, which was not the result of formal trials. For a concise presentation of events at Nicaea, see Edwards (2006), 552–67.

279 CV 92, ACO I.1.3, 28–30; Latin version in CVer 21, ACO I.2, 83–5 and CC 39.29–33, ACO I.3, 109–11.

most God-beloved Bishop Memnon. Even though no one had lodged an accusation and they had neither waited for an accuser nor summoned anyone for trial, but belched forth this outrage in writing, prior to trial and examination, they had the temerity to report this nonsense to your authority, as if your piety did not know that there is but one council of the whole world, and that the concourse of a few men under accusation who had severed themselves from the holy council out of fear of censure cannot be called a council. For it was not because there was an offence against which they could bring a charge that they committed this outrage; but because (in all probability) they could not defend themselves against the charges brought against them, and saw that they were few, and feared that they were going to receive a penalty after the matter had been investigated, they got in first with their insolent action, and intended to inflict what, after investigation, they expected to suffer themselves. This in its absurdity seemed to us to deserve contempt. But because they had the temerity to report their most absurd folly to your authority, and the temerity to inform your piety of the step they had taken in contravention of both laws and canons and of all ecclesiastical procedure, we could no longer disregard their absurd attempt, but, following yet again the canonical requirement, we summoned the most devout Bishop John, who had joined the others in perpetrating this outrage against the persons mentioned above. For they would not have dared to proceed to such folly, being themselves under accusation and few in number, if they not been emboldened by the insolence of the most devout Bishop John of Antioch.

(3) As for ourselves, we met together, and after an indictment had been presented to us by the most holy [30] and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril and our most God-beloved fellow bishop, Memnon, we summoned the aforesaid most God-beloved Bishop John, so that at least now he should state the ground of complaint that had seduced him into committing this outrage against the first men of the holy council. But although summoned a first, a second, and a third time to state his charge, he declined to appear at the council, having no reasonable ground for what he had perpetrated; instead, after surrounding his residence with armed soldiers, he neither received the most holy bishops sent by the holy council nor deigned to send the due reply to the most holy council then assembled.

(4) Consequently, realizing that he had no confidence in pleas of justification, we decreed that the nonsense they had spoken idly and in vain and had written contrary to all canonical procedure against the most holy Archbishop Cyril and against our most devout fellow bishop, Memnon,

was totally null and void; for a judgement that has nothing just or canonical in its favour is no more than calumny. Accordingly, curbing their senseless lawlessness, we decreed that both he and those who had joined him in acting lawlessly and contrary to all ecclesiastical procedure are excommunicated for the time being, until such time as they come and make satisfaction to the holy council for their rash conduct.

(5) We have of necessity reported our decrees to your piety. We entreat you not to consider a concourse of those under accusation to be a council. For in former times, too, at the holy and great council of the 318 assembled at Nicaea, there were some likewise who stood aloof from that great council, fearing its penalties; and they were not deemed a council by the great Emperor Constantine, now among the saints, but were ordered to stand trial for separating themselves and rejecting the common voice of those holy bishops, since they too, like these men, had a guilty conscience. For it is quite wrong for a council of 210 holy bishops, whose decrees have been confirmed by the whole multitude of the holy bishops of the West[280] and through them the whole multitude of the rest of the world, to be opposed by a mere 30, of whom some were already deposed long ago, some adhere to the heresy of Caelestius,[281] while others have been anathematized for holding the beliefs of Nestorius. Instead we entreat you to command that the decrees of the holy ecumenical council for the confirmation of piety against Nestorius and his impious doctrine are to have their proper force, ratified by the consent and approval of your piety.

Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem: I have made this report.
Arcadius, bishop and representative and legate of the apostolic see: I have made this report.
Projectus, likewise.
Philip, presbyter, likewise.[282]
And all the other bishops also signed.[283]

280 Here meaning specifically Italy, with reference to the council held at Rome by Pope Celestine.

281 Pelagianism.

282 We follow the wording of the subscriptions of the Roman legates that is given in CC 39 (ACO I.3, 111). The Greek gives them in an abbreviated form: 'Arcadius and Projectus, bishops, and Philip, presbyter, legates of the apostolic see: we have made this report'.

283 CVer 21 (ACO I.2, 85) provides the information that the total number of signatures was 198.

(76) LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO CELESTINE

Note

In parallel to the report sent to the emperor, the council also reports to Bishop Celestine of Rome. The letter is further evidence that the bishops considered their business concluded. While its immediate cause is giving information about the recent rejection, in formal session (sc. of 16–17 July), of the illegitimate 'verdicts' expressed by John of Antioch's group and their deposition in turn, the report also goes back to recall the circumstances of the first decision against Nestorius taken on 22 June and the conflicts since. In comparison to the report for the emperor, the emphasis on the failings of John's party (starting from their delayed arrival) is even more pronounced. In addition, stress is laid on the full participation of the papal legates in the decision. The report also points out the reading and confirmation of (western) proceedings against 'Pelagians' not otherwise documented.

Text[284]

[5] Copy of a letter written by the holy council to Celestine Archbishop of Rome, giving an account of all the proceedings at the holy and great council of Ephesus.

(1) To the most holy and most sacred fellow minister Celestine, greetings in the Lord from the holy council assembled by the grace of God in the metropolis of Ephesus. Your sacredness's zeal for piety and concern for the orthodox faith – a concern that is dear and pleasing to God the Saviour of us all – is worthy of all admiration. For it is habitual for you in your greatness to enjoy a high reputation for everything and to make the support of the churches your special care.

(2) Since all [6] the proceedings must be brought to the knowledge of your sacredness, we write of necessity that, in accordance with the will of Christ the Saviour of us all and the decree of the most pious and Christ-loving emperors, we convened in the metropolis of Ephesus from many and different provinces, being more than two hundred bishops in number. Then, since the pious decree of the Christ-loving emperors by which we were summoned laid down as the time for the meeting of the holy council

284 CV 82, ACO I.1.3, 5–9; Latin version in CVer 22, ACO I.2, 85–8 and CC 59, ACO I.3, 169–73.

the day of holy Pentecost, we all hastened to foregather, especially out of respect for the emperors' statement that, if anyone were not present by the deadline laid down, his absence would indicate a bad conscience and he would be without defence before God and men.[285] Yet the most devout John bishop of Antioch was late, not because of a straightforward intention nor because the length of the journey was an impediment, but because he was hiding in his mind a plan and purpose at variance with God, which he soon revealed when he arrived at Ephesus.

(3) We postponed the meeting for a whole sixteen days after the appointed day of holy Pentecost, even though many bishops and clerics were both worn down by disease and burdened by the expense, and some had even departed from this life, while (as will be evident to your sacredness as well) what he was doing was an insult to the holy council. For he exploited this delay maliciously, even though people coming from greater distances arrived here before he did. Nevertheless, on the sixteenth day[286] there arrived ahead some of the bishops with him, namely two metropolitans, Alexander of Apamea and another Alexander, of Hierapolis, and then, when we asked about the delay in the arrival of the most devout Bishop John, they said not once but repeatedly, 'He charged us to tell your religiousness, if it should happen that he is yet further delayed, not to postpone the council but to do instead what has to be done.'

(4) When this had been communicated and it had become clear from the delay and his message that he was avoiding the meeting, either to gratify Nestorius' friendship or because he had been a cleric of his church, or yielding to appeals by some on his behalf, the holy council convened in the great church at Ephesus called [after] Mary. When all eagerly foregathered and Nestorius alone was absent from the assembly, the holy council sent bishops to him with the canonical notification in a first, a second, and a third summons, but he, surrounding his residence with soldiers and lost to all sense of the laws of the church, refused to put in an appearance or answer for his profane blasphemies.

(5) There was then read out the letter written to him by the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril bishop of the church of Alexandria, which the holy council judged to be orthodox and unimpeachable and to be in

285 Cf. the imperial letter of convocation, doc. 28, pp. 198–9.

286 Literally 'after the sixteenth day', but the sixteenth day counting inclusively from the Pentecost deadline (7 June) was 22 June, and the two Alexanders must have delivered their message in advance of that.

complete agreement with the inspired scriptures and the creed handed down and issued at the great council by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea in their time, as your sacredness has also testified, judging the matter rightly. And when Nestorius' letter written to the aforesaid most holy and most religious [7] Cyril, our brother and fellow minister, had also been read, the holy council passed judgement that the doctrines contained in it were totally alien to the apostolic and evangelical faith and infected with a bizarre and extreme blasphemy.

(6) After this, there were likewise read out his most impious sermons and also the letter written to him by your sacredness, in which he was rightly condemned for having written blasphemy and made profane statements in his sermons. A just decree of deposition was then issued against him, especially because he was so far from repenting, or withdrawing the blasphemies he had uttered while still occupying the church of Constantinople, that in the very metropolis of Ephesus he held forth to some of the holy metropolitan bishops, men not undistinguished but most religious and of high repute, and had the temerity to say, 'I myself do not acknowledge a God who is two or three months old.' And he said other things in addition to this that were even more dangerous. [All this] we condemned as a profane and abominable heresy that overturns our most pure religion and destroys from its foundations the whole dispensation of the mystery, as we have already said in anticipation.

(7) But it was not possible, it seems, for those with a genuine love for Christ and zeal for the Lord not to be tested by many things. For we expected the most devout John bishop of Antioch to praise the precision and piety of the council and perhaps even to criticize the delay in the deposition; but our expectations were utterly disappointed. For he turned out to be inimical and most hostile to the holy council, and indeed to the orthodox faith of the churches, as is shown by the facts themselves. For as soon as he arrived at Ephesus, before washing off the dust of the journey and before taking off his cloak, he assembled some of Nestorius' fellow apostates, who utter blasphemy against their Head and virtually jeer at the glory of Christ. Gathering together as a band for himself some 30 men in number who claim the title of bishop, of whom some are without a city, in retirement and not in possession of a church, while others were deposed many years ago on serious charges by their own metropolitans (and they include Pelagians and Caelestians and some of those expelled from Thessaly), he perpetrated an unholy action, which no one before him had ever done. For he composed a document on his own and, claiming to perform a deposition, inflicted insult

on the most holy and most religious Cyril bishop of Alexandria and on our most religious brother and fellow bishop, Memnon of Ephesus, without any of us, not even those insulted, being aware of what was being done or for what reason they perpetrated it, and as if this did not anger God, as if there are no ecclesiastical canons, or as if their foolhardiness in the matter would not endanger themselves. By claiming to impose an excommunication, they also insulted the whole council; indeed, putting this in a public document, they displayed it to be read by those who so wished, posting it [8] on the walls of the theatre, in order to make a spectacle of their own impiety. And their outrages did not stop there, for they had the temerity, as if acting canonically, to communicate all this to the hearing of the most pious and Christ-loving emperors.

(8) At this juncture the most holy and most God-beloved Cyril bishop of Alexandria and the most religious Memnon bishop of the city of Ephesus composed a document in which they brought charges against both the most devout Bishop John himself and those who had joined him in perpetrating this. They brought it, and adjured our holy council to send a canonical summons to John himself and those with him to answer for what they had perpetrated, and, if they had any charge to bring, to declare and prove it, if they could; for in the decree of deposition, or rather the insolent paper which they had composed, they inserted the pretext, 'They are Apollinarians, Arians, and Eunomians, which is why we have deposed them.'[287]

(9) Since those who had endured insults from them remained firm, we had again to convene in the great church, being more than two hundred bishops, and by a first, a second, and a third summons in two days summoned John himself and those with him to the assembly to prove guilty those they had insulted, to defend themselves, and to give the reason for composing a document of deposition; but they did not dare to come. But if he was truly able to convict the aforesaid sacred men of being heretics, he should have presented himself and proved the truth of what he had taken to be a powerful and irrefutable accusation, when he issued a hasty decree against them. However, having a bad conscience, he did not put in an appearance. For he was trying to contrive the following: he thought that, when this absurd and most illegal insult was annulled, the council's just decree issued against the heretic Nestorius would be cancelled as well.

287 See the decree of the Easterners of 26 June, p. 328 above.

(10) So in our justified indignation, we decided to pronounce according to law the same verdict against him and the others that he had issued unlawfully against those proved guilty of nothing. But in order to overcome his hastiness by patience, even though his penalty would have been just and lawful, we have reserved this matter as well for the judgement of your religiousness. What we have done for the time being is simply to excommunicate them and strip them of all priestly authority, so that they can harm no one by verdicts of their own. For how can it be other than necessary, even if against one's will, to remove the power to harm from those who proceed to such dire and dangerous steps in a manner that is so wild, brutal, and uncanonical?

(11) With our brethren and fellow ministers Cyril and Memnon, who suffered this insult from them, we are all in communion, and even after the rash verdict of those men we have celebrated together and continue to celebrate together, with all of us performing the synaxis in common, since we have annulled their comedy in writing, declaring it to be utterly invalid and without effect; for it was a mere insult and nothing more. For [9] what appearance of a council can be claimed by men who are 30 in number, some of them branded by the stain of heresy and others without a city and expelled, and what power do they have against a council convened from the whole world under heaven? For we have been joined in session by those sent by your sacredness, the most religious bishops Arcadius and Projectus and with them the most devout presbyter Philip, who in themselves bestow your presence on us and represent the apostolic see.

(12) Your sacredness should be suitably indignant at these proceedings. For if immunity were to be given to those so wishing to insult the more important sees and issue so unlawful and uncanonical degrees against those over whom they have no authority (or rather insults against those who have striven so hard in defence of piety, leading to a revival of piety even now through the prayers of your sacredness), the affairs of the church would descend into utter chaos. But if those who committed these outrages are disciplined in the appropriate fashion, all the turmoil will come to an end, and proper respect for the canons will be shown by all.

(13) After a reading at the holy council of the minutes of the proceedings in the deposition of the profane Pelagians and Caelestians – Caelestius, Pelagius, Julian, Persidius, Florus, Marcellinus, Orontius – and those who share their beliefs, we too have resolved that the decrees of your religiousness in their case are to remain valid and firm; we are all in agreement in deeming them to have been deposed. To provide a precise and

ready knowledge of all the proceedings, we have sent both the minutes and the subscriptions of the council.[288]

We pray that you are in good health and remember us to the Lord, beloved and most dear [brother].

(77) HOMILY OF CYRIL AGAINST JOHN OF ANTIOCH

Note

Another example of Cyril's preaching in Ephesus, this homily can probably be placed in mid-July. Schwartz (ACO I.1.8, 11) suggests it was preached after the proceedings against John on 17 July, and specifically on 25 or 26 July. Since the homily, in its attacks on John, does not explicitly speak of his excommunication (in fact it still speaks of him as 'enrolled among the brethren') a slightly earlier date remains a possibility and should perhaps be preferred. Either the homily whips up support for moving decisively against him or it transfers the conciliar decision into a liturgical setting and employs the opportunities of public preaching and anti-heretical rhetoric to publicize it. The tone and rhetoric of the homily mark a significant change of register from that of the official records and reports of the same time.

Text[289]

[98] We have been taught by divine scripture about the power of love for God, and the Saviour himself taught us nothing less when he said, 'Let him who loves me follow me, and where I am, there let my servant be also.'[290] For it is necessary for us always to accompany, love, and follow Christ the Saviour of us all, and in no way be separated from him, and this we shall observe through espousing his cause. This has been fulfilled by this great and illustrious choir of priests, to whom could be applied most justly what was spoken by the voice of the prophet, 'There deer met together and saw

288 Yet the minutes of the proceedings of 16 and 17 July do not mention the condemnation of the Pelagians.

289 Cyril, Homily 6, CV 78, ACO I.1.2, 98–100; Latin version in CC 52, ACO I.3, 145–6. The heading 'against John of Antioch' features in both the *Collectio Vaticana* and the *Collectio Seguierana* (ACO I.1.7, 11, §79).

290 John 12:26.

each other's faces; they arrived in a mass, and not one of them was lost. They sought one another, because the Lord had commanded them and his spirit had brought them together.'[291] The meeting of rational sheep in this place was not a chance affair, because of some common matter or at least earthly one. But because as in a beautiful and flowering garden (I mean the church of our Saviour) a fearsome and most dangerous serpent had been seen, having not one but many heads on one body, the convening and presence of the rational deer became highly useful and indeed essential, in order to free the Lord's estate from the slyness of venomous creatures. So the Spirit of God gathered them together and the Lord gave them their orders. What has he ordered? 'Where I am, there let my servant be also.'

Therefore – my words are now addressed to you[292] who raise your haughty brow above everyone, you who have come from the lands of the East – if we are all servants of Christ the Saviour of us all, if we have been entrusted with the ministry of his teaching, why are we not all with him in wishing to be of one mind with him? The many-headed serpent has, as you can see, lifted up his profane and impious head, spitting the venom of his own impiety on the children of the church. I have drawn the sword of the Spirit and come against him; on account of Christ I battle with the beast; why do you share the labour with one who aspires to noble toil? Why have you too not taken a stand by my side? Let him be struck by the hands of all! Let us treat the struggle as a joint one, so that, having shared the victory, we may give thanks [99] to the Saviour as we say, 'It is you who have humbled a haughty one like one fatally wounded; it is you who have crushed the heads of the serpent!'[293] But we the true priests of the Saviour, the dispensers of his mysteries, hold those who chatter against his glory to be the worst of enemies. But you are not doing so, and why is this? For the facts themselves convict you of not coming forward in a true spirit. You see us covered with the dust of war, still dripping with sweat from the battle, in need of spiritual cheer and consolation, or rather having already conquered; but you, although enrolled among the brethren, registering Christ as your master, and under obligation to serve alongside, are actually bearing arms against the doctrines of the truth.

How extraordinary this is! You have not joined battle, you have not struggled alongside those who have struggled. You shirked the hour of

291 Isa 34:15–16.

292 Throughout this sermon 'you' is singular, addressing John of Antioch.

293 Ps 88:11 and 73:13.

battle by the slowness of your coming; you simply stood there, looking on from afar at those who were playing the man; you saw that the enemy had fallen, that the blasphemous tongue had lost its strength and received its punishment, and yet you took umbrage. Tell me, for what reason? Because Christ had conquered? Because he had overcome his opponents? Because he had silenced a mouth that was boasting? Because the plague had ceased to attack the children of the church? But it would have been better to join us in playing the man, and indeed to utter what was spoken by the mouth of David, 'Have I not hated, O Lord, those who hate you, and pined against your enemies? I hated them with a perfect hatred, they became my enemies.'[294] But no word of this sort has come from you, but from the side of their opponents you shoot arrows at the victors and try with the bolts of resentment to wound those whom you ought rather to admire. Yet, however fierce your attack, we are afraid of nothing, as we say, 'Their blows became the bolt of infants, and in them their tongues became weak.'[295] Even if, arming yourself with the weapons of aliens, you attempt to make war on the assembly of the Lord, yet 'our weapons are not carnal but mighty in God' (in the words of scripture), 'mighty to raze strongholds.'[296] You will find that the soldiers of Christ are braver than those with you; they have the buckler of faith and the shield of [divine] good pleasure, namely Christ; they have righteousness as their breastplate, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit.[297] Therefore, even if you attack fiercely and recklessly, full of contempt and puffed up against us by barbaric folly and boorishness, like the insolent Goliath, yet the victory will be Christ's, won by his shield-bearers. For how did David conquer? He had five stones in his pouch, and the stones were smooth, and this was a type of Christ.[298] What was the pouch of Christ? The church on earth, with its many stones venerable and elect, of whom the prophet says, 'Sacred stones roll upon the earth.'[299] By means of these sacred stones Christ will overcome. The stones, as I said, were smooth, and the 'smoothness' of the stones implies that they cannot be grasped. For what is smooth is always somewhat hard to grasp – and the life of the saints is not open to attack.[300] And so the victory

294 Ps 138:21–2.
295 Ps 63:8–9.
296 2 Cor 10:4.
297 Cf. Eph 6:14–17.
298 1 Sam 17:40.
299 Zech 9:16.
300 The Greek word (ἀνεπίληπτος) is similar to that for 'hard to grasp' (ἄληπτος).

will be Christ's, [100] even if you manage to inflict a wound, and this is how I have conquered.[301] Even if you were to hurt us through villainy, you would, against your will, have awarded us a crown. For on us 'has been bestowed, for the sake of Christ, not only faith in him, but also suffering for his sake'.[302] For 'he who believes in him is not condemned, while he who does not believe has been condemned already'.[303]

5. REPORTS AND ACCOUNTS BY THE EASTERN BISHOPS

a. Before the Cyrillian Sessions of 16–17 July

Note

The following reports and letters issued by the bishops around John of Antioch were all handed over to Count Irenaeus for delivery to Constantinople just before 16 July. His mission was a direct response of the Easterners to the dispatch of documents by the Cyrillian party and an attempt to countermand their likely effect by presenting their own view of events. Two bishops from Cyril's camp, Theopemptus and Daniel, had been sent to Constantinople by the council allied with him, with the task of presenting their case along with the protocols, reports, and letters issued by the Cyrillian council. The date of their mission is uncertain, but a date not long after the session of 10–11 July in which the newly arrived Roman delegates had been informed of the decisions against Nestorius and had formally declared their support suggests itself. The mission undertaken by Irenaeus in response to it must have happened not long after that (he arrived three days after the 'Egyptians'); he certainly left Ephesus before the subsequent Cyrillian sessions of 16–17 July. When hearing of these, the bishops in John's party sent a further report after him (doc. 83).

Yet again a distinction has to be made between the date of composition of reports and letters and the date of their presentation to their addressees. The former would place them before the session of 16–17 July. The first of the reports given here (the third overall), was clearly drafted even earlier,

301 A minority of Greek MSS and the Latin version read 'he has triumphed'.
302 Phil 1:29.
303 John 3:18.

but had not yet been sent to Constantinople when the following report was prepared for dispatch to the capital.

The reports – sent to the emperor, the women in the imperial household, and high-ranking officials – with slightly varying emphases all protest against the lawless actions of Cyril, especially in conducting a meeting before the arrival of the eastern bishops, and his espousal of Apollinarian doctrine as demonstrated by his Twelve Chapters. The reports communicate his deposition by the council (that is the council around John) along with Memnon, responsible for severe disturbances in the city, which the reports variously instantiate.

(78) (THIRD) REPORT OF THE EASTERNERS TO THEODOSIUS II[304]

[129] Report of the eastern council to the victorious emperor, again announcing the deposition of Cyril and Memnon.[305]

(1) Your piety, illustrious for doing good for both the world and the churches of God, ordered us to convene at Ephesus, in order to secure profit and peace for the church, and not in order to fill everything with chaos and confusion; and the decrees of your authority clearly and explicitly express your pious and peaceful objectives for the churches of God. But he who was both born and reared for the destruction of the churches, as it appears, namely Cyril of Alexandria, taking to assist him the insolence of Memnon of Ephesus, violated your serene and pious decree from the very first, revealing in everything his impiety. For although your authority had decreed that there was to be an examination and a precise investigation of the faith [130] with everyone in harmony and at peace, Cyril, being under accusation of Apollinarian doctrine, or rather having convicted himself through the anathemas he recently sent to the imperial city with his own signature, in which he stands convicted of sharing the beliefs of the impious and heretical Apollinarius, paid no need to any of this, as if in times without emperors, and has proceeded to every kind of lawlessness. Despite the fact that he will have to render account for the way in which he has a perverted belief about our Lord Jesus Christ, he has usurped an

304 CV 158, ACO I.1.5, 129–31; Latin version in CC 97, ACO I.4, 46–7.

305 This report and the documents that follow (CV 158–62) were taken to Constantinople by Count Irenaeus, who made the journey before 16 July (ACO I.1.8, 11).

authority granted to him neither by the canons nor by your decrees, and has proceeded to every kind of lawlessness and disorder.

(2) Stirred into action by this, the holy council, which rejected his plans for the destruction of faith in Christ, deposed him on account of everything said above, and Memnon also, for being his accomplice and fellow combatant in everything, for he has incited countless disturbances against the most holy bishops who refused to assent to his heretical misbelief and has closed the churches and every place of prayer, as in the pagan times of hostility to God. He also recruited a mass of natives of Ephesus, with the result that every day we are in extreme danger, while we ourselves are concentrating not on self-defence but on the correct doctrines of piety; for to eradicate these men is nothing other than to uphold orthodoxy.

(3) Your authority will be able to discern the impiety of his thoughts from his Chapters themselves. For as if raising up from Hades the impious Apollinarius, who died in heresy, and making war on the churches and the orthodox faith, he stands convicted in what he has published of issuing a general anathematization of the evangelists and apostles and the forefathers of the church after them, who, guided by the Holy Spirit and not by their own reasoning, preached the pious faith and proclaimed the gospel. Clean contrary to them are the beliefs and teaching of this man who wishes, by a word of command, to make his impiety dominate the whole world. This we could not endure, and have put up proper resistance, relying on divine help and the policy of your piety; for we know that you put nothing before the sound faith in which you and your thrice-blessed forebears were reared and so received everlasting rule of the empire, while you always suppress those who oppose the apostolic doctrines. Among these is the above-mentioned Cyril who, through Memnon as his accomplice, has taken possession of Ephesus like a citadel, and has deservedly incurred deposition together with him. For in addition to what has been mentioned, they have contrived every kind of attack and disturbance against us. We assembled together, neglecting our cities and homelands and our own selves, in order to confirm your decree, but are now the victims of tyranny, unless your piety prevents this by decreeing that we should meet somewhere else nearby, where from the scriptures and the books written by the fathers we shall be able to produce a clear refutation both of Cyril and of those suborned by him.

(4) The latter we leniently subjected to excommunication, offering them hope of salvation, if they repent. They, as if on a barbarian campaign, have right up to the present time furnished him with the wherewithal to spread disorder. Of them, some were deposed a long time back and have

now been adopted by him, others had been excommunicated by their own metropolitans and have now been received into communion by him, while others had been caught on various charges and have now been honoured by him. These things he has done in an attempt to use their numerousness to ratify his heretical beliefs, forgetting that in the matter of piety it is not mere numbers that are important but correctness of doctrine, the truth of the apostolic teaching, and men who are able to give their pious support to this on the basis of apostolic proofs and testimonies, and not on that of insolence and tyrannical power. Accordingly, [131] we beg and beseech your authority to come speedily to the defence of piety now under attack, and impose a swift curb on their madness and tyranny, which, like a whirlwind, is sweeping the more insolent into heretical misbelief. For it is only right that your piety, who takes thought for the churches of Persia and among the barbarians, should not overlook the churches in the Roman Empire that are in sore distress.

(79) (FOURTH) REPORT OF THE EASTERNERS TO THEODOSIUS II[306]

[131] Report of the same to the most pious emperor, which they gave together with the preceding report to the most magnificent Count Irenaeus.

When we received the letter of your piety,[307] we had hoped to be delivered from the Egyptian storm that had struck the holy churches of God, but our hopes have been disappointed. For those men have become all the more brazen as a result of their folly; they pay no heed to the deposition justly and lawfully imposed upon them, nor have they learnt prudence from being censured by your authority, but trampling on both the laws of your piety and the canons of the holy fathers (for which some of them have been deposed and others excommunicated), they celebrate in houses of prayer and perform the synaxis, while (as we have already informed your Christ-loving headship) we, who merely wanted to pray in the holy church of the apostle[308] after receiving the letter of your serenity, replete with piety, were not only prevented, but even stoned and pursued a great distance, with the result that to save our lives we had to run in flight. But they think that

306 CV 159, ACO I.1.5, 131; Latin version in CC 98, ACO I.4, 48.

307 The letter of Theodosius II to the council of 29 June (CV 83, doc. 65, pp. 356 ff.).

308 The church of St John the Divine at Ephesus.

they are free to do absolutely anything, and they have refused to attend an assembly, examine the matters under discussion, and defend Cyril's heretical chapters, since they deny the manifest proofs of the impiety they contain. Instead, they preen themselves on insolence alone, although the scrutiny of the prescribed questions requires not insolence but calm, insight, and knowledge of doctrine. It is this that has compelled us to have the most magnificent Count Irenaeus go to your piety and inform you of the matter. For he has accurate knowledge of what has taken place, and we have taught him many remedies that could restore peace to the holy churches of God; we entreat your clemency to learn these remedies patiently from him and to give orders that the decisions of your piety be put speedily into effect, so that we do not have to spend time here to no purpose.

(80) REPORT OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE EMPRESSES[309]

[131] Report of the same to the empresses.

Although we expected to have other news to send to your piety, we have no choice but to communicate the opposite, since the tyrannical indiscipline of Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus leaves us no choice. Because of the procedure laid down by the ecclesiastical statutes and the pious decrees of our Christ-loving emperors, they ought to have waited for the arrival of the most God-beloved bishops who were just about to arrive, carried out a joint examination of the pious faith, [132] investigated the questions prescribed, and confirmed the apostolic doctrine after careful investigation. Yet after writing to us that they were waiting for our arrival, and learning that we were only three stages away, they convened a tyrannical assembly on their own and perpetrated decisions that were contrary to law and statute and utterly outrageous. And this they did despite the fact that the most magnificent and most glorious Count Candidianus had been sent by our most pious and Christ-loving emperors for the sake of good order, and had charged them both by word of mouth and in writing to wait for the most God-beloved bishops who had been summoned and to make no innovations on the subject of the pious faith, but to follow what had been decreed by the divine policy of our emperors.

309 CV 160, ACO I.1.5, 131–2; Latin version in CC 99, ACO I.4, 48–9. The 'empresses' are Eudocia and Pulcheria.

But nevertheless, even though they had heard the imperial letter and the instructions of the most magnificent Count Candidianus, they despised good order and, in the words of the prophet, 'they have broken the eggs of asps and weave a spider's web', but 'the one about to eat of their eggs found, on breaking them, a wind egg, and in it is a basilisk'.[310] Therefore let us exclaim with confidence, 'Their web will not become a garment, nor will they be clothed from the works of their hands'.[311]

For this reason, on witnessing their many outrages (for they closed the churches and holy *martyria*, and did not allow the celebration of the feast of holy Pentecost, and in addition to this sent the servants of their tyrannical lawlessness into the houses of the bishops, and by threatening irreparable violence forced them to sign the product of their lawlessness), for this reason we have deposed the above-mentioned Cyril and Memnon and stripped them of the episcopacy, while those who assisted their indiscipline and were seduced by either flattery or intimidation we have excommunicated, until they come to perceive their own defects, sincerely repent, anathematize the heretical chapters of Cyril (which agree with the blasphemy of Apollinarius, Arius, and Eunomius), recover the faith of the holy fathers convened at Nicaea, and finally, by joining us in an assembly calmly and without disturbance, in accordance with the pious decrees of our Christ-loving emperors, agree to an exact investigation of the matters under discussion, and uphold without deceit the purity of the faith of the gospels.

(81) LETTER OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE PREFECT AND THE *MAGISTER*[312]

[132] Letter of the same to the prefect and the *magister* likewise.[313]

We have come to the pit of misfortune, as the saying goes; we are struggling with inescapable dangers and virtually every day we see our death before our eyes. Every barbaric madness is surpassed by the outrages committed against us by Cyril and Memnon and those with them, and they

310 Isa 59:5. The use of this bizarre passage points to authorship of this report (and similar ones) by Theodoret, who cited the same passage in his farewell homily at Chalcedon (doc. 125).

311 Isa 59:6.

312 CV 161, ACO I.1.5, 132–3; Latin version in CC 100, ACO I.4, 49.

313 The Latin translates this as *uno tenore* ('in one and the same tenor'), that is, these two officials received not a joint letter but separate letters that were identical.

have omitted no form of violence. For they perpetrate constant attacks, as in war; our residences have twice already been written upon, so as to point them out to those intending to attack them; every house of prayer has been closed to us. Although we are consumed by disease and long to enjoy a little air, we do not dare to stick our heads out, fearing our fellow countrymen as if they were hostile barbarians. [133] They have trampled upon the canons of the holy fathers; those who have been deposed and excommunicated have the audacity to perform priestly functions, pouring forth their impious teaching to the people of God, while we remain shut in, expecting to be attacked. We therefore beg and entreat your magnificence not to leave us trapped in the midst of such misfortune, but to rescue us as soon as possible from imminent death, and to arrange for us to make our way to the imperial city in order to render an account in defence of the faith and refute the heretical misbelief and extreme lawlessness of the men mentioned above. For if this does not happen, we shall utterly perish and become the victims of their madness. Therefore we again entreat and adjure your magnificence, by your children, by those dearest to you, and by the just judgement of God, not to overlook us, but to rescue us from here as soon as possible so that we may enjoy the air of freedom.

(82) LETTER OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE *PRAEPOSITUS* AND SCHOLASTICIUS[314]

[133] Letter of the same to the *praepositus* and {the eunuch}[315] Scholasticius likewise.[316]

Among offences nothing is more dangerous than arrogance, for it paves the way to every outrage. Under its influence the Egyptians and those arrayed with them contravene the ecclesiastical statutes and trample on the pious decrees of our most God-beloved emperors. For neither the first nor the second nor the third [imperial] letter has taught them good sense, nor has the lawful deposition we imposed on them quenched their insolence, but

314 CV 162, ACO I.1.5, 133; Latin version in CC 101, ACO I.4, 50.

315 Supplied from the Latin.

316 The rubric distinguishes the unnamed praepositus and the eunuch Scholaticius: the addition of 'likewise' further indicates two separate letters and hence also suggests two distinct addressees. Yet there remains some uncertainty whether the address could instead refer to one and the same person (see Millar (2006) 172, n. 17). For a *cubicularius* of this name see p. 424 below and 'Scholasticius 1', *PLRE* II, 982.

they assemble in the houses of prayer contrary to law, celebrate the synaxis contrary to statute, although the congregations do not attend them since they have set guards at every house of God and do not let anyone enter except themselves. We have already informed your magnificence in another letter[317] of the danger we incurred when we wanted to pray in the holy church of the apostle after receiving through the most wondrous *magistrianus* Palladius the letter of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors.[318] For we were not only prevented from praying, but were even stoned and pursued a great distance. Since, however, you are nurslings of piety and so eminent in every virtue that your renown circulates in the mouths of all, and since you strive with zeal on behalf of holy church, exerting yourselves in every way to ensure its constant attendance by favourable winds, we beseech your greatness to read this our letter to our most pious and Christ-loving emperor, and to make every effort to bring the present turmoil to an end, so that a joint assembly may be held peacefully and without disturbance, where each party of those in dispute will be able to substantiate what is disputed.

b. After the Sessions of 16–17 July

Note

When the bishops around John learned of the sessions held by the Cyrillians on 16 and 17 July, which had summoned John and eventually declared his deposition along with some 30 supporters, they sent another report in haste after Count Irenaeus (doc. 83), who must have left Ephesus a few days earlier, in the hope that he might deliver this latest report together with the documents handed to him earlier. The following letter from Irenaeus to John and his supporters in Ephesus gives an account of the circumstances and effects of his delivery (doc. 84). Of particular interest is Irenaeus' report of an initially favourable response to the Easterners' cause in the imperial consistory and an 'inexplicable' change of heart by a number of its members soon after the arrival of Cyril's *syncellus*. Though he does not say as much overtly, the suspicion of 'inducements' lingers over his statements.[319]

317 The letter is not extant.

318 This must refer to Theodosius II's letter to the council of 29 June (doc. 65, pp. 356ff. above).

319 A later letter by Acacius of Beroea (doc. 133; written perhaps in November 431) presents us with the story of the distribution of bribes by a close relative, another of Cyril's agents in

The departure of his friend Count Irenaeus for Constantinople provided Nestorius with the opportunity to write to addressees in the capital. There is preserved a letter (without any other indication of date) to the eunuch Scholasticius (doc. 85)[320] – the only letter written by Nestorius in July preserved – in which he rails against the outrages and lawlessness of the 'Egyptians', their insolent refusal to heed imperial commands, and repeated acts of violence. Scholasticius is implored to read this letter to the emperor. His access to the emperor, allowing him to act as a go-between, shows his importance. It is confirmed by his receipt of significant bribes from Cyril (doc. 118).

(83) (FIFTH) REPORT OF THE EASTERNERS TO THEODOSIUS II[321]

[133] [Greek version] Report of the Easterners to the emperor, which they prefaced with the creed of the holy fathers at Nicaea, reporting the decrees of the holy ecumenical council relating to the plaints presented to it by the most holy Cyril and Memnon, and which was sent to Count Irenaeus and delivered through him.

[Latin version] Another letter from the same council to the emperor Theodosius, which they wrote after the departure of Irenaeus, informing him of the proceedings against them by their opponents, and which they sent to the aforesaid count, so that he might present to the emperor this letter along with the others.[322]

(1) Truly worthy of lamentation, dirges, and tears are the outrages committed by those called bishops as on a stage and in a theatre, and they make a mockery of the great and ineffable mysteries of the church. [134] For Cyril and Memnon, although deposed by us because of their many

the capital, his nephew Paul. He is identified as 'count of the officers of the consistory'; his office and resultant close links to high-ranking officials in the administration must have been another key to Cyril's eventual success in the consistory.

320 This is the same Scholasticius as the recipient of a letter from the Easterners, translated immediately above; see n. 316.

321 CV 163, ACO I.1.5, 133–5; Latin version in CC 102, ACO I.4, 50–1.

322 This introductory note (of which the Latin version provides the fullest form) gives information that could not have been deduced from the letter, and must go back to when the documents of the Easterners were first assembled in a sequence, doubtless soon after their composition.

illegalities and because of the impious beliefs of Apollinarius which we found in the chapters sent by him, have (as we have now learnt) claimed to have been wronged by us in a plaint they have presented to the others who committed those lawless acts, signed those heretical chapters, and were consequently subjected by us to the penalty of excommunication. Using as judges those subject and liable to the same charges, they summoned us to judgement, even though we had chosen to keep the orthodox faith unharmed. Then, when we most properly replied that it was necessary to wait for the decision of your piety (and we said this two or three times), they made a mockery of the statutes of piety by restoring priestly functions to them (as they suppose), acting like someone who, being bound and unable to free himself from his bonds, were to try to release another. For if our deposition of Memnon and Cyril was not to be credited, then it was unnecessary either for a plaint to be presented or for those deposed to be released (as they suppose). But if it was truly to be credited, as indeed it was, the excommunication was equally trustworthy and sure, for it was the same persons who carried out both the one and the other. This being the case, how could those who had been excommunicated and prohibited from every priestly ministry possibly restore priestly functions to those deposed? And indeed [by so doing] they have exposed themselves to yet graver charges; for, despite being excommunicate, they ventured rashly on communion, and illegally entered into communion with those deposed even before their laughable release.

(2) We therefore entreat your authority not to overlook the flouting of the ecclesiastical statutes, but to hasten to the aid of the faith that is being warred against and ourselves who are being plotted against (for they utter countless unendurable threats against us) and to send instructions that we are to leave here and come to the imperial city, so that we may prove their lawlessness and impiety in the presence of your piety; for it is impossible in our view for the present matter to be resolved in an orderly and lawful manner without the involvement of your authority. But if this is not pleasing to your serenity, we ask to be summoned to Nicomedia, so that we may with ease relate the situation to your authority and receive your piety's decrees.

(3) We urge your Christ-loving head to direct that each metropolitan who is summoned is to be accompanied by only two most God-beloved bishops, for a multitude is superfluous for an examination of doctrine and is likely to produce only uproar. This is why the above-mentioned persons arrived with a multitude, since they had confidence in this alone and not in the true and correct doctrine, and intended by means of a multitude to

realize their own plans and to produce a misleading quantity of signatures. But we, in obedience to your decree and thinking that a few would suffice for an examination of doctrine, came with three from each province,[323] and right up till now, in accordance with the decrees of your piety, we have not sent most God-beloved bishops to you, as those who readily perpetrate everything have done, but have sent the necessary information by letter, in order not to contravene your pious decrees. In addition to this, we beseech your piety to order everyone [135] to sign the creed of Nicaea, which we have placed at the beginning of this our letter, and to add nothing alien to it, neither asserting that our Lord Jesus Christ was a mere man (for he is perfect God and perfect man), nor making Christ's Godhead passible; for both are equally reckless.

(84) LETTER OF COUNT IRENAEUS TO THE EASTERNERS[324]

[135] [Greek version] Letter written by Count Irenaeus to the Easterners about the proceedings on the matter after his entry into Constantinople and delivery of the reports.

[Latin version] Letter of Count Irenaeus which he wrote back to all the bishops by whom he had been sent, before the arrival of John count of the largesses.

(1) It is only now and with difficulty that I have been able to send a letter to your sacredness and find a courier of the kind I wanted, in order to inform your godly disposition of what has happened, by the grace of Christ, in relation to the present matter. We arrived at the imperial city three days after the Egyptians; the dangers I incurred on my very arrival it would not be easy to express by word, nor to convey anything of them in a letter.

(2) For those fine fellows who had arrived already and manipulated everything adroitly and to their own advantage (enough said!) had, so to say, captured the ears of all beforehand, deceiving some with lies, as they chanced, and turning others against us through false accusations. They

323 The imperial letter of convocation had asked each metropolitan to bring 'a few' suffragans with him (doc. 28, p. 198). For the number of bishops who came from each province, see the lists in Price (2012b) 397–404.

324 CV 164, ACO I.1.5, 135–6; Latin version in CC 109, ACO I.4, 60–1.

so won over everyone, together and individually, that the great officials, those holding dignities, and those in various government positions were persuaded that it was after a proper examination, duly followed by a verdict, with all the God-beloved bishops together delivering one and the same verdict against one condemned by them by default, that this astonishing deposition took place.

(3) Without contradiction they persuaded the most magnificent and Christ-loving *cubicularius* Scholasticius that at Ephesus he [Nestorius] could not bear to hear the expression 'Theotokos' at all. Nevertheless, through the irresistible power of truth and your prayers, I managed by God's mercy to escape the preliminary dangers (as I have said), to meet the most magnificent officials, and to explain to them, as far as time allowed, the whole truth of the matter. They, on receiving our information, had no choice but to convey to the hearing of those in authority all the offences violently committed by the Egyptian and his supporters in the present affair and against you yourselves. Finally, not to prolong my account, after much had been said and done in the meantime by those on our side and by those on Cyril's, it was decided that the most pious emperor, attended by his great officials, would grant a hearing to both me and the Egyptians, who would defend ourselves and the case itself – and this even though I repeatedly testified that I had not come for this purpose nor received such instructions from the most God-beloved bishops, but simply as a bearer of letters. But I was almost torn to pieces for saying this, and the decision was put into effect without delay.

(4) God's power helped us on this occasion also and [136] pointed the heart of the ruler to the truth, and proved by the facts themselves that truly 'the heart of a king is in the hand of God'.[325] For my opponents were condemned (I must get to the conclusion concisely), since they could in no way corroborate either the minutes of the deposition or the lies that had been uttered there, but it was manifestly proved by all the evidence that the Egyptian had neither convened the council properly nor had a right to sit in judgement (being himself one of those to be judged) nor to initiate proceedings at all contrary to the will of the most magnificent Count Candidianus. For all the instructions issued by most magnificent Count Candidianus, the *sacra* addressed through him to the council, and other related documents were read out, when at one point of the hearing the emperor gave the order; thanks to your prayers, nothing was omitted of the

325 Prov 21:1.

proofs of the lawless acts committed there. As a result, the enemies of the truth received a unanimous condemnation from all, the judgement of your religiousness was received and ratified, and [notification of] the deposition of the Egyptian and his supporters[326] was sent immediately by the most pious emperor to the holy church of God, to the effect that Cyril and his supporters had transacted everything violently and contrary to law, and deserved yet further penalties for their offences.

(5) This was how the proceedings ended, and this was the conclusion of the hearing. But when John, Cyril's physician and *syncellus*, arrived – and you know about his arrival – we noted that most of the officials became (as it were) different people and could not bear even to hear from us about the judgement delivered in their presence or even by themselves. For some of them say at present that the proceedings of both parties should have force, and that the depositions not only of the two, as had been resolved, but of all three persons should be ratified, while others of them say that the depositions of all of them ought equally to be annulled, and that some of the most God-beloved bishops should be summoned here, so that both the doctrine of the faith and the unlawful proceedings at Ephesus should be examined in the light of the complete truth. There are yet others who do everything and make every exertion in the hope of being sent by the most pious emperor to Ephesus with some decrees and, according to what they observe and can accomplish, as they put it, settle the whole matter – something that those who love you pray may not be realized, knowing as they do the intentions of those exerting themselves and what led them to this plan.[327]

(6) But let this proceed as the Lord wills. I entreat your sacredness to pray earnestly for me, since I have had to endure these dangers and even now am not out of danger because of the number of those plotting daily; for God is my witness that, when summoned to the trial in the emperor's presence, I expected nothing other than to be cast into the waves of the sea. 'The Lord', according to the scripture, 'has stood by me, and I have been delivered from the mouth of the lion',[328] or rather from that of countless lion cubs.

326 The reference is simply to Memnon of Ephesus.

327 The implication is that they were covert agents of Cyril.

328 2 Tim 4:17.

(85) LETTER OF NESTORIUS TO THE EUNUCH SCHOLASTICIUS[329]

[51] Letter of Nestorius to Scholasticius, a eunuch of the emperor Theodosius.

(1) I admire your God-loving soul, and most certainly as long as it is firm and does not wander into error, so as to approve the calumnies of the impure, who allege that we have rejected the expression Theotokos. It is a term, as you know, that we have often used, for we have said [that the names Theotokos and Anthropotokos should both be used],[330] lest anyone should suppose that Jesus Christ is either a mere man or God without manhood. For if these offspring of demons were to have made full and true satisfaction, they would certainly have said that what we said at Constantinople, as your worthiness well knows, [has also been said by us here],[331] but now it is emphatically the case that there has been no discussion between us. [52] For how could this have taken place, when we have not even seen one another? If they call words exchanged between myself and other bishops, uttered privately in speculative inquiry,[332] 'a dialogue between us and Cyril', they are lying. Know that what I have often said to them, to mutual satisfaction, and it is the belief of both them and us that the holy Virgin should be called both Theotokos and Anthropotokos[333] – Theotokos, not as if God the Word received the beginning of his existence from her (for how could this be, when he is the creator of the Virgin?), but lest anyone should suppose that the one who was born was a mere man; and Anthropotokos, lest like the Manichees we should reject the incarnation and our first fruits.[334] This was said by myself to the bishops, as in a preliminary practice and often mutually to each other, and both parties repeatedly said that they were satisfied, to the extent that they even applauded this as they left; but Cyril has totally shunned, and still shuns, discussion with us both previously and

329 Extant only in a Latin version, CC 103, ACO I.4, 51–3. The text of the letter is repeatedly defective, but the meaning is generally clear. It may be surmised that the letter was written in consequence of the report from Count Irenaeus about Scholasticius' misrepresentation of Nestorius contained in the preceding document. See 'Scholasticius 1' *PLRE* II, 982.

330 This supplement to a lacuna is suggested by Schwartz, *exempli gratia*.

331 This is a supplement suggested by Schwartz, *exempli gratia*.

332 The Latin is *in exercitationis experimentum*.

333 The Greek text is likely to have had both these words. The Latin runs *dei partricem et hominis*.

334 Cf. 1 Cor 15:23, 'Christ the firstfruits'.

even now, thinking by these means to escape condemnation of the chapters he wrote, whose heretical character cannot be denied.

(2) How then can your worthiness have accepted an accusation against us of this kind, although you must certainly remember that we uttered both expressions even in Constantinople, in relation to the mystery of the dispensation and the ineffable union? Do not, then, I beg you, give ready credence to the charges brought against us. For we believe that the use of the term Theotokos, if it is accompanied by Anthropotokos, is a sure sign of piety.[335] When we say [Christotokos, just as when we say][336] 'Christ', 'Jesus', 'Son', 'only-begotten', and 'Lord', the expression signifies both. But to those who do not approve of this term, we have offered the formula 'Theotokos and Anthropotokos', as indicative of the two natures, Godhead and manhood, in order that it may escape no one that we do not fall into the errors of either Mani or Paul [of Samosata], but are protected against both. For he who says that what is consubstantial with us was born from the Virgin, while being full of inseparable Godhead, proclaims in its integrity the whole mystery of our Lord's incarnation; but the rejection of either of them abolishes the whole dispensation, and for those who deny it [their disgrace][337] has recoiled on their own heads, and will soon do so all the more.

(3) But what is altogether worse and causes most harm, and what provokes great anger from Christ the Lord and deserves thunder and lightning a thousandfold, is to call[338] the Godhead of the Only-begotten mortal and to say that God the Word died, needed to rest in the tomb, and received resurrection together with the flesh, assertions that are alien to the orthodoxy of the church and which we shall never accept. Perish the thought that we should suppose that the Godhead which gave life to our first fruits was ever deprived of life or needed another greater than itself to give it life! Anyone who said of the one whose very flesh did not see corruption[339] that his Godhead suffered corruption together with the flesh would have to have been possessed by a demon. For the Godhead is incorruptible and incapable of any change, according to the statement made by God through the prophet: 'I am [who] I am, and I shall not be changed.'[340]

335 For Nestorius' belated acceptance of Theotokos (when used in conjunction with Anthropotokos), in response to pressure from John of Antioch, see doc. 24, pp. 180ff.

336 This is Schwartz's supplement to a brief lacuna.

337 We adopt the supplement proposed by Loofs on the basis of 2 Esd 13:36 (= Neh 4:4).

338 Schwartz adds *praesumunt*, meaning 'that they have the temerity to call'.

339 Cf. Acts 2:31.

340 Exod 3:14, Mal 3:6.

(4) Your soul dear to God can take everything that the fathers have written and learn from them that our teaching is orthodox, and that those vile people are hoping to overcome the word of truth through deception. [53] For by slipping in names that are shared by orthodox fathers they try to deceive the more simple-minded. For example, there is a certain Basil of Ancyra, who was one of the heretics, and there is also a Basil of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who was one of those who underwent many perils in defence of the faith. There is also the heretic Melito, and another Melito who was orthodox. There is Vitalis, who was a bishop of the orthodox, and another Vitalis who was consecrated by the impious Apollinarius. Many others have the same name, and – not [to proceed] through each one – taking [the works of heretics],[341] they present similar names to the simple-minded and lead them into perdition by means of equivocation, because they are unaware that there is also a Basil of Ancyra. Indeed many are easily seduced in this way by the skill of those who employ equivocation in order to deceive. But I beg you yourself to avoid this, since you are a vessel of complete and untainted orthodoxy; be so good as to devote yourself to the labour of excising a heresy that depends on multiple fraud. For God is my witness that, if the doctrines that [are] now [being spread abroad],[342] I know not how, by these most impure people were to prevail in the churches, the inevitable consequence would be that the churches would hold the beliefs transmitted by Arius, Eunomius, and Apollinarius.

(5) The Lord of the universe will demand nothing more of me beyond mentioning the matter to those who have the power to prevent it. This I have done from the first and right up till now, and I have not rested from constantly exhorting you servants of God not to neglect the battered dignity of religion; for if the tenets of orthodoxy were to receive due confirmation through your zeal, I myself (God be my witness) would most readily renounce the honour of the episcopacy. And lest you suppose that this is a pretence on my part, if religion is confirmed and orthodoxy restored to the churches, do require of me that I then send you all[343] a letter of farewell and return voluntarily to my former life in a monastery; for in my eyes nothing is more godly or blessed than repose of this kind. It would be my wish that

341 These supplements are suggested by Schwartz.

342 Schwartz's suggested supplement to this lacuna is 'are being preached'.

343 The pronoun is in the plural, and picks up 'you servants of God'. Both here and a few lines below Nestorius is clearly addressing a larger group than Scholasticius alone, expecting (as was customary) that he would show it to others.

the reports they have sent attacking us and the most religious bishops of the East come up for discussion in the presence of the most pious and Christ-loving emperor, in the presence either of myself as well or of some people sent there, so that you might be stirred by them to crush those who by their lies have caused all this uproar. For of all the things they have related not one is true.

4. THE 'SESSION' OF 22 JULY

INTRODUCTION

Giving the date of 22 July 431, a set of minutes of the Cyrillian part of the council purports to record a further formal session of this group. Its final decree (*horos*) on the sufficiency of the Nicene Creed was later received as one of the central elements of the Ephesine Council's work and proved highly influential in both the medium and longer term. Already at the Second Council of Ephesus (449) it gained decisive significance in providing the basis for the decisions taken there against Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum; and in Chalcedon, two years later, its limiting force was arguably the main stumbling block to be overcome before a new doctrinal definition could be agreed.

The importance of the decree, later listed in conciliar collections as the so-called Canon 7 of the Council of Ephesus,[1] makes the historical and literary questions posed by the text all the more intriguing. In historical perspective it can be noted, first, that in the flurry of documents drafted, and of letters and reports exchanged during the months of July and August, the meeting and its decision find no direct resonance, nor do the documents from this period offer context or motivation for the meeting or its decision in any straightforward manner. From the point of view of record-taking, secondly, and the representation of a 'meeting' by its minutes, the text displays a number of features that require critical examination. Both questions are inextricably entwined.

1 This canon only became no. 7 when the decree at the end of the conciliar encyclical of 17 July (or immediately afterwards) was divided up into six canons in canonical collections of the time of Justinian, when these 'six' canons were added to the corpus of canon law and provided ammunition to support the condemnation of the Three Chapters. See the summary analysis of the canonical corpora in Wagschal (2015) 55. And it was in the context of the Three Chapters Controversy that the original purpose of this canon, to condemn a credal text composed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, became important again.

If we take the question of textual representation first, in 1928 the Ephesine Acta's editor Eduard Schwartz already signalled some features of the Acts that to him betrayed the work of an editorial hand.[2] He opined that these features pointed to an Alexandrian origin. More recently, Thomas Graumann analysed the text as principally a compilation of written material rather than the product of the recording of 'live' exchanges in a session.[3] Independently of this study, Luise Abramowski arrived at a similar conclusion, understanding the protocol as a hybrid form between 'real' discussion and literary composition.[4] Without discussing the question of the relation of the text to actual proceedings, Bernhard Uphus wished to identify it as the prototype of the conciliar genre *horos* (decree), underscoring the importance of editorial or redactorial design, even if the many irregularities and missing elements compared to later forms of such documents which he notes leave the analysis of generic characteristics open to debate.[5] From all of these analyses emerges the clear presence of compositional intentionality that shapes the document and which is the key to its understanding. The recent examination by Richard Price more sceptically posits two editions by two different compilers which were then clumsily conflated – an interpretation which, if adopted, challenges the notion of an overall editorial intention achieved by the minutes before us.[6]

When we assess the structure of the document, the 'meeting' as it is portrayed in the minutes deals with what are essentially two different topics, whose deeper connection only surfaces indirectly and on the level of composition. After the document header and a list of participants – taken with few additions from the session of 22 June – the first substantive part of the agenda commences with the mention by the Alexandrian presbyter Peter of a purported 'previous decree' of the council which he offers for reading; the 'reading' of several attendant pieces ensues. There follows, secondly, the investigation of a case brought by the presbyter Charisius, at the end of which, thirdly, a decree about the Nicene Creed is finalized, to which, fourthly, extracts from the pen of Nestorius are appended; a subscription list closes the composition. A closer inspection of these

2 Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, xviiif.
3 Graumann (2002) 400–409; cf. ibid. (2010) 26–32.
4 Abramowski (2004) 382–90.
5 Uphus (2004) 15–20.
6 Price (2012a) 14–20.

basic elements of the text reveals the uncertain character of each and their precarious interconnection.

The opening section of the text is presented as if recalling the council's previous *horos* and read out by the Alexandrian presbyter Peter, who had already introduced the agenda at the session of 22 June and officiated as the reader there. However, nothing that could be called a decree is read out after his announcement. Instead Peter recites the Nicene Creed – introduced expressly as being issued by that council, and thus set apart from anything the Ephesine Council might have decreed. A narrative text goes on to declare this creed's sufficiency while pointing out, at the same time, the need to safeguard its proper interpretation, which is said to be assured by the orthodox fathers; this is appropriately followed by a series of patristic citations. These sections do not add up to a formal 'decree' of whatever description.

Moreover, the historical possibility of recalling a 'previous decree' is problematic. The various documents issued by the Cyrillian part council prior to 22 July show no sign of any 'decree' on the status of the Nicene Creed and its relationship to the work of the fathers. Peter's phrase appears rather to pre-empt the decision soon to be taken at this very meeting and recorded towards the end of the 'minutes'. The section of the text expressing the creed's sufficiency and the need for 'patristic' testimonies in its interpretation, while allegedly uttered by the presbyter – since no introductory statement sets it apart from the Nicene Creed – already reads like a written bridge explaining the relevance of the patristic citations that follow. These are taken directly from the session of 22 June, crucially also including the introductory statements recorded there, which removes any doubt over the editorial nature of this transposition and reuse of material. For the reader of the 'minutes' of 22 July, Peter's seeming proposal and the subsequent order by Flavian of Philippi do not stand out. Both statements had been made in that earlier meeting by the same two persons in direct speech. The reused passage does not present itself expressly as a citation of the earlier session. Instead the transfer of the very words from the relevant section of the minutes of 22 June to the 'minutes' of the meeting of 22 July neatly creates the semblance of 'live' spoken interventions in the new context. Even so it is an undeniable editorial insertion, as are the excerpts themselves. The quotations presented are identical to those of 22 June – the only supplement being four additional excerpts that represent an 'orthodox' Constantinopolitan tradition (in implied contrast to Nestorius' recent errors). In all, the textual elements are taken from the record of

22 June, but repositioned to create a new order and thereby present a clearer argument. Given the stated requirement for the Nicene Creed's 'patristic' interpretation, the excerpts now find their appropriate place in its direct proximity, while in the protocol of 22 June the same excerpts were placed in juxtaposition to extracts from Nestorius' writings, without any explicit connection to the creed. The rearrangement, in the protocol of 22 July, of material originally part of the record of 22 June, thereby makes explicit for the first time the link between the creed and the statements of fathers as norms of orthodox theological reflection. Rather than recalling a previous decree (as Peter's introductory statement intimated), this passage draws out what might in hindsight reveal the unspoken, and slightly obscure, reasoning implicit in the presentation of the case for orthodoxy and against Nestorius in the documents of 22 June. In a letter written several years later, Cyril reveals his responsibility for an editorial insertion of patristic excerpts in unspecified Ephesine Acts for this very purpose.[7] While this admission could in theory also apply to the introduction of a patristic florilegium in the records of 22 June, the clear and explicit justification of its rationale conforms more closely with the presentation and stated intention in the record of 22 July; it may therefore be considered confirmation of the editorial nature of this passage – and with it, of the entire context concerning the purported decree.

It is to be noted that the approval of Cyril's letter(s) at the earlier session is not repeated – a reflex surely of the subsequent controversies with the oriental bishops.

The second part of the 'minutes' is concerned with a seemingly unrelated appeal by the presbyter Charisius from Philadelphia in Lydia (§76ff). The passage has a separate narrative introduction, which – in three parallel genitive absolutes – situates the case in the council's proceedings: it recalls the council's convocation by imperial command, its decree on the authority of the Nicene Creed (again taken as already in

7 See Cyril, *ep.* 55 (ACO I.1.4, 51,9–11): 'Because some do not understand the meaning of the creed ..., *I inserted* the opinions or exposition of the holy fathers in the record of the proceedings there [at Ephesus]'. He says the same in *ep.* 33 (ACO I.1.7, 149,3). This admission of an editorial insertion of the florilegium of fathers can theoretically refer either to the proceedings of 22 June or to those of 22 July where the florilegium is used again, or both. In the record of 22 July the excerpts are expressly introduced as safeguarding the interpretation of the creed, an aspect not apparent in their juxtaposition with Nestorian excerpts on the earlier occasion. Cyril's statement is, therefore, more closely reminiscent of the arrangement in the '22 July' record, which shows strong signs of editorial confection overall.

existence), and the treatment of other issues as the context for Charisius' presentation of a petition. The import of his case is summarized and the narrative introductory statement ends with an explanation of the reasons for attaching the following documentation. It is noteworthy that its final sentence expressly justifies the following insertion of the relevant material, required for a precise explanation of the issue. With it the narrative's ultimate focus is firmly directed to the subsequent documentary compilation and the rationale of its inclusion in the record. In this way, even though it initially purports to provide historical context for the matter in hand of the 'session' (within the work of the council), the passage clearly speaks principally to the motives and aims of the editorial composition of the ensuing textual elements. Accordingly, there follows a presentation of Charisius' 'case' exclusively via the assemblage of relevant documentation and without even the slightest semblance of an oral inquiry into the matter. This documentation consists of Charisius' petition (*libellus*); a copy of the creed-like text mentioned therein (§76.4–11), the reading of which the petition requests; and the records of the depositions and signatures made by a group of Quartodeciman 'heretics' who were reconciled to the church by subscribing to this credal document (§76.12–32). Their reading was also requested in the *libellus*. No direct speech concerning any of these documents is provided.

As a petition in the proper sense of the word the text is peculiar; strictly, it is without purpose, except perhaps in demanding the punishment of Nestorius' agents. Surprisingly, Charisius does not even make a request for his rehabilitation, even though he had been excluded from communion and the exercise of his presbyteral office. If the synod made any decision about his person or the legal status of the former Quartodecimans (who had allegedly fallen from one error into another, worse heresy by signing a non-Nicene, heterodox confession) or about the agents of Nestorius denounced by Charisius as responsible for it, the record does not contain it. The retention of any such decision in the document, if it had indeed been taken, would have been alien to the purpose of the editors and the sequence of the material. The cases of Charisius and the Quartodecimans as such are of no interest to the protocol, but serve simply to put on record the incriminated creed-like exposition of 'Antiochene' theology and its 'misuse' in the case in question. Either this peculiarity needs to be ascribed to the designs of the protocol, as suggested here, or the case brought by Charisius was dictated from the outset by the intentions of the council's leadership (that is, chiefly, by Cyril) and limited to the

denunciation of Nestorian activity, in which case it never had any real disciplinary import.[8]

Since this 'falsified creed' (as it is called) was the focus, one might expect it to be subjected to critical theological examination. Yet its theology is not specifically evaluated or expressly debated. On the contrary, there is no evidence of an investigation, no recording of individual voices, questions, or expressions of opinion, nor even of collective utterances by 'the council' in the style frequently observed in other cases and employed in the opening part of the 'session'. Instead, the text of the protocol moves on directly to the decree that resulted, prohibiting the use of confessions other than the Nicene Creed in cases of conversion from heresy (or from paganism or Judaism) such as the one documented, and detailing the penalties for its transgression. This is the later so-called Canon 7 of Ephesus. The reference to the reading of the documentation before the verdict ('when this had been read' – once more a genitive absolute) is most probably no more than an editorial bridge connecting the written documents and the decree; whether 'reading' took place must be doubted. The crucial decree is given in reported speech. In it, a short colon – very possibly an editorial insertion[9] – links the decision to the document that follows – the florilegium of 'heretical' excerpts from Nestorius that had already been presented in the minutes of 22 June. This florilegium even concludes (§78.26) with an evaluative 'statement' purportedly spoken by the presbyter Peter and identical to the comment he had made on the earlier occasion – the editorial copying and transfer of this material is evident.

Different from the attendance list, the concluding list of signatures reflects the movements of bishops going over to Cyril's side after the first session and has some historical plausibility for the situation in or around July.[10] The question of what inferences can be drawn from this observation needs to occupy us presently.

This peculiar textual composition, then, is notable first for the repeated reuse of materials from the session of 22 June, rearranged in a new composition to serve a different purpose. The textual complexity and the problematic relationship of this protocol with the one of the meeting on 22 June has led to a variety of efforts in the manuscript tradition to

8 As has been suggested by Price (2012a) 21.

9 Already suggested by Schwartz, *Praefatio* ACO I.1.4, xviiii.

10 See Price (2012a) 18.

interweave the material from these two occasions.[11] They signal a problem that merits further discussion, for which this introductory sketch has sought to provide a few initial points of departure.

It is also to be noted that the material relating to the petition brought by Charisius could stand on its own and resembles the shape of other decisions on disciplinary matters, which are sometimes composed solely from pieces of attendant documentation and without any record of discussion. However, the narrative vestment that introduces it already looks beyond the specific case and points to something of more general significance. To this wider case is related the first section on the 'previous decree'.

If the Charisius case can in theory be read as an item for distinc conciliar decision (however much reshaped in the editing), the openin sections transform the subject matter and create a largely fictitious pictur of a session with a completely different theme and objective, namely a definition of the norms of orthodoxy. This is the principal interest of the final editorial shaping. Its core message is contained in the narrative sections of the document. Both the 'readings' of the Nicene Creed with attendant extracts from 'fathers', and the documentation of the Quartodeciman conversions bring out this central intended message: the council decrees the normativity of the Nicene Creed and the need to interpret it in the light of the fathers. The violation of this principle is illustrated by the Quartodeciman case and the use of a different exposition of faith on this occasion. The decree proscribes this kind of practice and imposes the same penalties on those holding the sentiments expressed in it, or by Nestorius. The latter is pilloried once more by the appended presentation of extracts from his writings. With this structure, the 'minutes' are expressive of a coherent theological stance and agenda, and are revealed as the artful product of editorial composition.

The suggested composition and editorial intention of the minutes is reflected in the structure of the final *horos* itself. It consists of three regulations, expressed in three sentences. The second and third of these are characterized by the historic specificity of the Quartodecimans' case and relate to the material presented in its context. The second regulation specifies the disciplinary penalties for *using* a different creed (i.e. other than that of Nicaea) in the context of conversions, such as had been done in the case of the Quartodecimans from Philadelphia. While this ruling was concerned with practice, the third, in contrast, is concerned with theology:

11 For which Schwartz's apparatus to the relevant parts of ACO need to be consulted.

it imposes penalties on those *thinking* or *teaching* the ideas contained in the incriminated exposition (the 'falsified creed'); an editorial insertion expands this verdict to include the thinking of Nestorius and provides the motivation for appending again the extracts from his writings used in the earlier session. Different from both, the first regulation is phrased in indirect speech and only reports the council's decision to proscribe the production or composition of a creed other than that of Nicaea. Not overtly concerned with a distinct case, it rather offers a universal rule and yardstick for orthodoxy. This effective canonization of the Nicene Creed in general serves both to preface and lay the foundations for the concrete penalties imposed for concrete offences in the second and third regulations, and in this the *horos* mirrors the overall arrangement of the entire 'minutes', where the principal declaration of the creed's normativity (said to have been previously defined in the council) prefaces and establishes the basis for the concrete case brought by Charisius. In the *horos* itself as in the entire 'minutes', then, a careful editorial composition may be observed that envelops the specific case brought by Charisius and the rulings it prompted by an expansive, generalizing decree on the authority of the Nicene Creed that abstracts from the specific case and formulates a general rule about the norms of orthodoxy.

If these 'minutes' do not – on this reading – represent actual proceedings, then, we should nevertheless not assume that the text completely lacks a basis in reality. Taken on its own, the dossier on the Charisius case resembles documents of other disciplinary decisions by the council. The documents, of uncertain dates, relating to further decisions taken by the council, in the style of either annotated petitions or decrees furnished with attendant documentation or synodical letters (cf. docs 102–105),[12] offer us no possibility of contextualization or precise placing in the work of the bishops at Ephesus; so too in the present case the information brought by Charisius may well have been a topic of synodical discussion at some stage. Two other documents record decisions by the council on particular disciplinary matters in the province of Pamphylia (docs 102 and 105); one could, for instance, imagine Charisius' original case being heard in a meeting similar to the one which dealt with those.

However, the meeting's topic and decree on Nicene normativity, as it is construed in the minutes before us, may be contextualized (rather more indirectly) either by the developments in Ephesus during the summer, or

12 Graumann (2010) 19–25.

even more plausibly (I shall argue) by subsequent developments and needs. If we wanted to uphold the historicity of such a decision in the summer of 431, we would have to posit an undocumented meeting prior to the 'session' here represented, such that Peter could subsequently report it in summary, reciting blocks of text but without setting out a 'decree'. On the strength mainly of the subscription list, which includes bishops who went over to Cyril's side shortly after the session of 22 June, Richard Price credits a decree on the Nicene Creed (not necessarily taken on 22 July) with historical probability. Such a decree consisted, in his view, of little more than a preface, the decree itself (so-called Canon 7, without reference to the Charisius case), and the subscription list.[13] Can the likely historicity of the subscription list on its own sustain the veracity of a synodical decree taken in the month of July?[14] The evidence provided by the list used in the editorial composition of the 'minutes' of 22 July (and any residual uncertainty over its original context) must be weighed against the complete silence otherwise about the decree in the documents of the time.

If the historicity of a decree by the Cyrillians in July 431 is maintained, such a decision might theoretically have been made in response to the emperor's forceful demands, to which letters from both sides in July allude, for a confirmation of 'the faith' (understood by all to mean the Nicene Creed). Yet this hypostasis fails to account for the perplexing silence about such a response in the form of the 'decree of 22 July' in the Cyrillian party's communications with the court. Theodosius' demand may nevertheless help to provide a potential context. Twice over the course

13 Price (2012a) 18.

14 Potential contexts for the list other than the decree of Canon 7 – a question which Price considers 'excessively sceptical' (ibid.) – are uncertain but not inconceivable. Only a strongly abbreviated subscription list is retained in the records of the Cyrillian session of 16–17 July. The most obvious difference between the list of '22 July' and the abbreviated list of 17 July – in so far as they overlap – is the missing subscription of Cyril (being a plaintiff) on the latter. This deficiency would have easily been 'rectified' and the normal sequence of the leading names restored along with it, if this hypothetical list had been the one used by the compiler of the records of 22 July after the council. The meeting of 10–11 July (the record of which itself only received subscription by the papal legates) may also have given occasion to survey a consolidated list of signatories including the bishops joining Cyril's council after 22 June. The papal legates were presented with the protocol of that meeting, surely now displaying an expanded signature list representative of the situation in July. If the hypothesis of an Alexandrian origin of the final compilation of the 'minutes' made after the council in Cyril's chancellery convinces, all this material would have been available to the compiler.

of the summer the bishops of the Antiochene party confirmed in writing their adherence to the Nicene Creed, first in response to the imperial *sacra* brought by Count John in August (doc. 90), and again at the time of the colloquia at Chalcedon in September, when the emperor again demanded such a declaration (doc. 114; cf. 109). Might either context provide a background for an analogous Cyrillian declaration in the shape of 'Canon 7'? The silence in the documents around the time of John's mission already mentioned must rule out the former possibility, and in fact militates against a decision taken any time prior to John's mission. Had a ready-made decree been 'on the books' of the Cyrillian party when he arrived, it would certainly have been apposite and beneficial to their cause to point out this fact and perhaps even present a copy.

The context of the Chalcedonian colloquia is more complex to evaluate. There survives no communication from the Cyrillian group of the time. The Easterners affirmed their stance by signing the Nicene Creed, and two copies were sent to Ephesus and returned to Chalcedon with the added signatures of those having remained there.[15] Could a similar procedure have been employed on the Cyrillian side and in response to the same imperial demand? At first glance such an hypothesis appears difficult to reconcile with the fact that both Cyril's and Memnon's signatures can be found in their usual prominent places. After their suspension from office and house arrest in July their signing is impossible. We would need to surmise the editorial 'normalization' of the list – adding both bishops – at the time of the editorial composition of the 'minutes' after the council, when they had been reinstated by imperial decree.

If we consider, then, an alternative later context for an editorial composition that could account for the emphatic 'canonization' of the Nicene Creed, we can start from observations, already noted by Eduard Schwartz, which point towards Alexandrian editorial intervention. Note the Egyptian dating of the text and, importantly, the fact that only the Alexandrian presbyter Peter is introduced as speaking. He had already made an appearance as Cyril's most important assistant at the meeting of 22 June and, with a high degree of probability, was one of a small editorial team charged with creating the 'minutes' of that meeting. His 'speaking' in the text of 22 July may in the same way indicate that it was he who undertook the compositorial and editorial work from which this text originates. With Peter's central role in carrying out the textual work,

15 See docs 113–14, pp. 556–9.

ultimate responsibility must lie with his bishop, Cyril, on whose behalf and authority he worked. This hypothesis can be strengthened by a few remarks in Cyril's correspondence that come close to affirming his personal responsibility and active involvement in the creation of this text.[16]

If the Alexandrian character, purpose, and origin of the text is accepted, a different context may be proposed as an hypothesis. Cyril's letter stating his involvement in the creation of a conciliar record like the one in view here (he does not identify the document unambiguously) stems from the period in which an agreement with John of Antioch was reached – the so-called Reunion of 433 – and which required Cyril to defend his willingness to accept it. The defining text celebrating the re-establishment of communion with John, Cyril's Letter 39, contains (with some variation) a formula originally drafted by the Antiochene side in Ephesus in 431 (doc. 90) and used to set out a Christology acceptable to both sides in 433, known as the Formula of Reunion.[17] Even though the bishops in 431 had already emphasized their understanding of the formula as a mere commentary on the Nicene Creed and elucidation of its teaching, the perception that Cyril had in fact agreed (in his letter of 433) to an alternative authoritative dogmatic formulation exposed him to criticism by his own supporters, especially since the formula was in origin an Antiochene document expressive of Antiochene Christology. The letter in which Cyril cited and approved the formula was certainly treated later in a way consonant with such a perception and employed as a valid doctrinal yardstick at the Constantinopolitan Synod that condemned Eutyches in 448. Importantly, some actually expressed at the time the view that in agreeing to the Union, Cyril had accepted a 'new creed'.[18] In a letter to Acacius of Melitene (of 433/4), Cyril rejects this perception as absurd, and points to the 'foresight' of the Ephesine Council noting 'that it was essential no other statement of faith should be introduced ... in addition to the existing one'[19] – a remark

16 Cyril, *ep.* 55; cf. *ep.* 33 (see p. 434 above, n. 7).

17 Cyril, *ep.* 39 (CV 127, ACO I.1.4, 15–20); the formula at §5 (17,9–20). See trans. McEnerny (1987) I, 147–52; McGuckin 343–8; and, from the Acts of Chalcedon, Price and Gaddis I, 178–83.

18 Cyr., *ep.* 40.6 (to Acacius of Melitene) reports such accusations: 'I learn that they [sc. the Easterners] are even asserting that we have just accepted a statement of faith or new symbol [πίστεως ἔκθεσιν ἤτοι σύμβολον καινόν] ...' (ACO I.1.4, 23,18f., trans. Wickham 43).

19 Cyril, *ep.* 40.7 (ACO I.1.4, 24,1–4; trans. Wickham 45). Cyril had already insisted strongly on the inviolate character of the Nicene Creed, which did not allow alteration of a

that must be read as an allusion to the 'decree of 22 July', even though ascribing foresight to the council falls just short of claiming the issuing of a formal decree on the matter. Such an assertion, however, can be found in what Cyril writes to Acacius of Beroea during the negotiations for the desired reunion (probably in the summer of 432), when he distinctly refers to a written document produced in Ephesus:

'There was made in Ephesus about this a specific memorandum [πέπρακται ... ἰδικόν ὑπόμνημα]. The synod confirmed the faith expounded by our holy fathers gathering in Nicaea in their time. And I have sent [sc. with this letter] this [sc. record or document] for the ready information of your holiness.'[20]

The relevant document sent to Acacius must be either the editorial confection of the 'minutes' of 22 July already or (more probably, since the term ὑπόμνημα is in the singular) the core formula known as Canon 7. That the decree should be a complete fabrication created after the council is improbable on either hypothesis. The Cyrillians, we may tentatively surmise, took some resolution about the Nicene Creed in Ephesus – whatever its documentary format and procedural circumstance at the time. However the confection of a protocol of 22 July in the shape it is transmitted owes its origin and inspiration to a different context.

The particular attention paid to Nicene sufficiency and authority, and the editorial shaping of a record emphatically insisting on the exclusivity of the Nicene Creed (properly interpreted) against both Nestorian thinking and an anonymous Antiochene credal exposition, find their most probable motivation in the discussions surrounding the Union. Here the emphatic insistence on the sole validity of the Nicene Creed, as a formal synodical decree already taken in 431, provided a welcome rebuttal of any suggestion that in accepting this formula Cyril might have endorsed Antiochene-sounding theological tenets. If the Ephesine Council had firmly decreed the sufficiency and exclusivity of the Nicene Creed,

single word or syllable, in the very letter written to John of Antioch by which he announced the Union (*ep.* 39). While this may be an echo of the 'decree of 22 July', the *horos* is not overtly referenced.

20 Cyril, *ep.* 33.5 (to Acacius of Beroea), ACO I.1.7, 149,3–6. At the height of the controversy over Theodore, in 438, Cyril claimed that the council in Ephesus had thought it sufficient to condemn the thinking of Theodore, in the shape of the *ekthesis* presented by Charisius, but had prudently avoided naming him and condemning his person; Cyril, *ep.* 72.3f. (to Proclus of Constantinople), ed. Schwartz (1927) 17–19; trans. Price (2009a) I, 331–3.

any attribution of authoritative, credal-like status to the formula would have been ruled out in advance, and so the 'decree of 22 July' served to reduce the significance and authority of the formula and the statements it contained. Furthermore, the 'decree of 22 July' opened a broader horizon by moving beyond Nestorius personally and targeting also the founding father of Antiochene theology, namely Theodore of Mopsuestia (known to have been the author of the 'anonymous' *ekthesis* condemned).[21] This, too, would have been a welcome refutation of any suspicion that Cyril was prepared to entertain Antiochene thinking so long as it was not directly associated with Nestorius. Moreover, it also chimes well with the emerging concerns of the early and mid-430s, when Theodore and Diodore of Tarsus attracted the critical attention of Cyril and his allies. In Edessa, the local bishop Rabbula had already initiated a campaign against Theodore's alleged heterodoxy in 431,[22] which perhaps provides further context for the criticism of the *ekthesis* at the council and proves that it was not only late in the decade that such concerns came to the fore. At that later time, in 439/40, only tactful holding back from condemnation of the deceased (in part under imperial pressure) eventually halted these efforts.[23] It could seem an attractive hypothesis to ascribe the shape and intention of the 'minutes' of 22 July to the editorial designs of Cyril at around the time of the Union and in the context of explaining his assent to it.

21 See also Kinzig (2017) II, 59–64, §204b.

22 Rabbula's participation in the council is debated; see Vogt (1993) 444–5 and Blum (1969) 160–5; Phenix and Horn (2017) clxiv–clxxiii. He seems to have turned away from the Easterners and sided with Cyril possibly even before the council. His campaign against Theodore started soon after (if not perhaps already before) the council. See Phenix and Horn, ibid.

23 Behr (2011) 88–91 and 95–9. The importance of imperial pressure for the cessation of the attacks in 439/40 is also pointed out in Price (2009a) I, 275–6.

(86) PROTOCOL OF THE 'SESSION' OF 22 JULY[24]

73. [84] Minutes of the proceedings of the holy council at Ephesus for the confirmation of the symbol of the holy fathers at Nicaea and concerning the petition presented by the presbyter Charisius.

After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, eleven days before the Kalends of August, which is 28 Epiphi according to the Egyptians, the council convened in the metropolis of Ephesus by decree of the most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors. There were seated in the episcopal residence of the most religious Bishop Memnon the most God-beloved and most religious bishops:[25] (1) Cyril of Alexandria, also representing the most holy and most sacred Celestine, archbishop of the church of Rome, (2) [85] Juvenal of Jerusalem, (3) Memnon of Ephesus, (4) Flavian of Philippi, also representing Rufus the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, (5) Firmus of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima, (6) Theodotus of Ancyra in Galatia, (7) Acacius of Melitene, (8) Erennianus of Myra in Lycia, (9) Iconius of Gortyna in Crete, (10) Perigenes of Corinth in Hellas, (11) Cyrus of Aphrodisias in Caria, (12) Valerianus of Iconium, (12a) {Palladius of Amaseia in Helenopontus},[26] (13) Hesychius of Parium, (14) Hellanicus of Rhodes, (15) Dynatus of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus, (16) Eucharius of Dyrrachium in Epirus Nova, (17) Perrebius of Pharmalus, (18) Eudoxius of Choma in Lycia, (19) Silvanus of Ceretapa in Phrygia, (20) Verinianus of Perge in Pamphylia, (21) Amphilochius of Side, (22) Epiphanius of Creteia in Honorias, (23) Gregory of Cerasus in Pontus Polemoniacus, (24) Senecion of Scodra, (25) Dalmatius of Cyzicus, (26) Docimasius of Maronea in Thrace, (27) John of Proconnesus, (28)

24 CA 73–9, ACO I.1.7, 84–117; Latin versions in CC 46, ACO I.3, 119–40 (with a much-abbreviated attendance list); CP 38, ACO I.5, 85–116; *Acts of Chalcedon*, ACO II.3, 196–235.

25 The following list reproduces the attendance list of 22 June, with a few omissions (almost all of which can be supplied from the version in the Acts of Chalcedon) and the following additions: the three Roman legates (155–7) and six bishops who had given their support to the Cyrillian side since 22 June – the metropolitans of Cyzicus (Hellespontus), Myra (Lycia), and Perge (Pamphylia I), and three suffragans from Bithynia (151–3). The three metropolitans will have brought their suffragans with them, but the compilers of the list ignored them. It is significant that the Latin versions do not include the metropolitan of Myra (8) or the three suffragans from Bithynia, which suggests that it represents an earlier version of the list.

26 Supplied from two of the Latin versions, CC 46 and the Acts of Chalcedon.

Daniel of Colonia in Cappadocia Secunda, (29) Romanus of Raphia, (30) Paulianus of Maiuma, (31) Paul of Anthedon, (32) Fidus of Joppa, (33) Aeanes of Sycamazon, (34) Theodore of Gadara, (35) Letoeus of Livias, (36) Theodulus[27] of Elusa, (37) Theodore of Arindela, (38) Peter of Parembolae, (39) John of Augustopolis, (40) Saidas of Phaeno, (41) Rufinus of Gabae, (42) Anysius of Thebes, (43) [86] Callicrates of Naupactus, (44) Domninus of Opus, (45) Nicias of Megara, (46) Agathocles of Coronaea, (47) Felix of Apollonia and Byllis, (48) Theodore of Dodona, (49) Anderius of Chersonesus in Crete, (49a) {Prothymius of Comana},[28] (50) Cyril of Coela in the Chersonese, (51) Paul of Lappa, (52) Zenobius of Cnossus, (53) Lucian of Topirus in Thrace, (54) Ennepius of Maximianopolis, (55) Secundianus of Lamia, (56) Dio of Thebes in Thessaly, (57) Theodore of Echinus, (58) Martyrius of Ilistra, (59) Thomas of Derbe, (60) Athanasius of the island of Paros, (61) Themistius of Iasus, (62) Aphthonetus of Heraclea, (63) Philetus of Amyzon, (64) Apellas of Cibyra, (65) Spudasius of Ceramus, (66) Archelaus of Myndus, (67) Phanias of Harpasa, (68) Promachius of Alinda, (69) Philip of Pergamum in Asia, (70) Maximus of Cyme, (71) Dorotheus of Myrina, (72) Maximus of Assus, (73) Euporus of Hypaepa, (74) Alexander of Arcadiopolis, (75) Eutychius of Theodosiopolis, (76) Rhodo of Palaeopolis, (77) Eutropius of Euaza, (78) Aphobius of Coloe, (79) Nestorius of Sion, (80) Heracleon of Tralles, (81) Theodotus of Nysa, (82) Theodore of Aninetus, (83) Timothy of Briulla, (84) Theodosius of Mastaura, (85) [87] Tychicus of Erythrae, (86) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (87) Euthalius of Colophon, (88) Modestus of Anaea, (89) Theosebius of Priene, (90) Eusebius of Magnesia by Sipylus, (91) Sapricius of Paphos in Cyprus, (92) Zeno of Curium in Cyprus, (93) Reginus of Constantia, (94) Evagrius of Soli, (95) Caesarius *chorepiscopus*, (96) Tribonianus of Aspendus in Pamphylia, (97) Nunechius of Selge, (98) Solon of Carallia, (99) Acacius of Cotenna, (99a) {Paviscus of Apollonopolis},[29] (100) Nesius of Colybrassus, (101) Matidianus of Coracesium, (102) Nectarius of Sennea, (103) Eutropius of Etenna,

27 This name appears as Apellas in the MSS (Greek and Latin) at this point and occasionally as Abdelas, but Theodulus is the dominant form (ACO 1.1.8, 19).

28 Supplied from the list in the Acts of Chalcedon.

29 This and the three later additional names (118a, 134a, and 143a) are supplied from the Acts of Chalcedon. Paviscus appears in the attendance list of the session of 22 June, and should therefore appear in this one, but the placing of his name in the middle of the sequence of bishops of Pamphylia II, rather than with the other Egyptian bishops, is an error. Two of these bishops (Daniel and Theopemptus) were probably at Constantinople by this time

(104) Tarianus of Lyrbe, (105) Eusebius of Aspona in Galatia, (106) Philumenus of Cinna, (107) Eusebius of Heraclea in Honorias, (108) Paralius of Andrapa in Helenopontus, (109) Hermogenes of Rhinocolura, (110) Euoptius of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, (111) Eusebius of Pelusium, (112) Adelphius of Onuphris, (113) Paul of Phlabonis, (114) Phoebammon of Coptos, (115) Macarius of Metelis, (116) Adelphius of Sais, (117) Macedonius of Xois, (118) Marinus of Heliopolis, (118a) {Eulogius of Terenuthis}, (119) Metrodorus of Leontopolis, (120) Macarius of Antaeopolis, (121) Peter of Oxyrhynchus, (122) Strategius of Athribis, (123) Athanasius of Paralus, (124) Silvanus of Coprithis, (125) John of Hephaestus, (126) [88] Aristobulus of Thmuis, (127) Theon of Sethroites, (128) Lampetius of Casium, (129) Cyrus of Achaea, (130) Publius of Olbia, (131) Samuel of Dysthis, (132) Zenobius of Barca, (133) Zeno of Taucheira, (134) Sopater of Septimiace, (134a) {Daniel of Darnis}, (135) Eusebius of Nilopolis, (136) Heraclides of Heracleopolis, (137) Chrysaorius of Aphroditopolis, (138) Andrew of Hermopolis Maior, (139) Sabinus of Panopolis, (140) Abraham of Ostracine, (141) Hieracis of Aphnaeum, (142) Alypius of Sele, (143) Alexander of Cleopatris, (143a) {Theopemptus of Cabasa}, (144) Isaac of Tava, (145) Ammon of Buto, (146) Heraclius of Thinis, (147) Isaac of Helearchia, (148) Heraclius of Tamiathis, (149) Theonas of Psinchos, (150) Ammonius of Panephysis, (151) Eugenius of Apollonia, (152) Callinicus of Apamea, (153) Peter of Prusa in Bithynia,[30] (154) Bessulas deacon of Carthage, (155–156) Arcadius and Projectus the most religious bishops and legates, (157) the most religious Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see of Rome.[31]

74. (1) Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'Your holy and great council, exercising every forethought for the orthodox and apostolic faith and the doctrines of the truth, and also taking forethought for the state and discipline of the churches, issued a decree which we have to hand and, if it please your sacredness, will read out.'

(2) [89] The holy council said: 'Let the decree issued by this holy ecumenical council be read out and inserted in the proceedings.'

(see pp. 413 and 516, n. 57), and so their omission from the list in the Greek Acts may well represent an intelligent correction at some stage in the textual transmission.

30 The three preceding names, all of Bithynian bishops, are lacking in the list in CP 38.

31 In the Latin version of CC 46 the names of the Roman legates are shifted to a place of honour at the top of the list, immediately after Cyril of Alexandria.

(3) The Council of Nicaea issued this creed:

We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, both those in heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not,' and 'Before being begotten he was not,' and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.[32]

(4)[33] It is right that all should assent to this holy creed, for it is pious and sufficient to secure the benefit of the world under heaven. But because there are people who pretend to profess and accept it, but in fact misinterpret the force of the ideas according to their own opinions and distort the truth, being sons of error and children of perdition, it has become absolutely necessary to set out passages from the holy and orthodox fathers that can show convincingly in what way they understood the creed and had the confidence to proclaim it, so that, evidently, all who hold the orthodox and irreproachable faith may understand, interpret, and proclaim it accordingly.

75.[34] (1) Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'Because we have to hand the books of the most holy and most sacred fathers, bishops, and various martyrs, and have chosen a few chapters out of them, we shall, if it please you, read them out.'

(2) Flavian bishop of Philippi: 'And let them, after they have been read out, be inserted [in the minutes].'

32 The Nicene Creed was seen to have condemned Nestorius' teaching in advance, as Cyril argued in his *Second Letter to Nestorius* (doc. 10).

33 The following passage serves as a bridge between two texts that had already been read out and acclaimed at the first session of the council on 22 June 431 – the Nicene Creed (§43) and the florilegium of excerpts from the Fathers (§54).

34 The florilegium is now read out, prefaced by the words of Peter and Flavian that introduced it at the session of 22 June. Four additional passages (19–22) are added at the end. For fuller annotation see our notes above (pp. 259–67).

There was read the following.[35]

Peter the most holy Bishop and Martyr, from the Book *Concerning the Godhead*[36]

(3) (1)[37] Because grace and truth came truly through Jesus Christ[38] (which is how we have been saved by grace, according to the apostolic saying, 'And this is not from us but the gift of God, not from works lest anyone should boast'),[39] the Word became flesh by the will of God and, 'being found in form as a man',[40] was not deprived of Godhead. For it was not in order to depart completely from his power or glory that he become poor, although he was rich,[41] but so that he might accept death on behalf of us sinners, 'the righteous for the unrighteous, so that he might offer us to God, being mortified in the flesh but made alive in the spirit'.[42]

(4) (2) [90] *And further down* – This is why the evangelist says truly, 'The Word became flesh and dwelt among us,'[43] from the moment, that is, when the angel greeted the Virgin, saying, 'Hail, O favoured one, the Lord is with you.'[44] For Gabriel's statement, 'The Lord is with you' is now to be understood as meaning, 'God the Word is with you'. It meant that he was being generated in the womb and becoming flesh, as it is written, 'The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you, and therefore the holy one to be born will be called the Son of God.'[45]

(5) (3) *And yet further down* – God the Word became flesh in the womb of the Virgin in the absence of a man and according to the will of God who is able to work all things, and did not need the work or presence of

35 We identify the works excerpted and cited here by their reference numbers in CPG and CPL, respectively.

36 CPG 1635; only the passages excerpted here are extant.

37 The second number in each case is that of the particular text as it appears in acts of the session of 22 June.

38 John 1:17.

39 Eph 2:8.

40 Phil 2:8.

41 2 Cor 8:9.

42 1 Pet 3:18.

43 John 1:14.

44 Luke 1:18.

45 Luke 1:35.

a man. For the power of God worked more effectively than man, when it overshadowed the Virgin through the coming of the Holy Spirit.

Athanasius the most holy Bishop of Alexandria, from the Book *Against the Arians*[46]

(6) (4) Many have been made holy and pure of all sin: Jeremiah was sanctified even from the womb,[47] and John, while still in the womb, leapt for joy at the voice of Mary the Theotokos.[48] Nevertheless 'death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over those who had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression',[49] and so it was that men remained no less mortal and corruptible, liable to their natural passions. But now that the Word has become man and has appropriated the things of the flesh, these no longer affect the body, because of the Word who has come to be in it, but they have been destroyed by him; henceforth men no longer remain sinful and dead according to their passions, but, being raised by the power of the Word, they remain forever immortal and incorruptible. In consequence also, since the flesh is generated from Mary the Theotokos, the very one is said to have been born who bestows on others their birth into existence, in order to take our birth into himself, and so that we may no longer, as mere earth, depart to the earth, but being conjoined to the Word from heaven may be led up to heaven by him. Therefore it is not inappropriate that he has taken into himself in this way the other passions of the body as well, so that we, no longer as men but as belonging to the Word, may come to share in eternal life. For no longer do we all die in Adam, according to our former origin, but now that our origin and every fleshly weakness has been taken into the Word, we are raised from the earth, since the curse because of sin has been abolished because of the one who in us 'became a curse for our sake'.[50]

46 *Contra Arianos* (CPG 2093), III. 33.
47 Jer 1:5.
48 Luke 1:44.
49 Rom 5:14.
50 Gal 3:13.

The Same, from the *Letter to Epictetus*

(7) (5)[51] How did those who are called Christians venture even to doubt that the Lord who proceeded from Mary is both the Son of God in essence and nature and also (as regards the flesh) of the seed of David and of the flesh of holy Mary? And who have been so presumptuous as to say that the Christ who suffered and was crucified in the flesh is not Lord, Saviour, God, and Son of the Father? Or how do they wish to be called Christians who say that the Word has come into a holy man as upon one of the prophets, and has not himself become man, taking his body from Mary, but that Christ is a different person from the Word of God who before Mary and before the ages was the Son of the Father? Or how can they be Christians who say that the Son is a different person from the Word of God?

(8) (6)[52] *And further down* – This did not come to pass putatively (God forbid!), as some again have supposed; but the salvation of the whole man took place through the Saviour becoming man in reality and truth. [91] For if the Word was in the body putatively, in their view, and by putative is meant imaginary, then also the salvation and resurrection of mankind would turn out to be in mere appearance, following the most impious Mani. But our salvation is not imaginary, nor is it of the body only that salvation has truly taken place, but of the whole man, soul and body. That which was from Mary according to the divine scriptures was human by nature and yet truly the Saviour's.

Julius the most holy Bishop of Rome, from the *Letter to Prosdocius*[53]

(9) (7) To complete the faith, the Son of God is proclaimed to have become flesh from the Virgin Mary and to have dwelt among men, not acting in a man, as was the case with the prophets and apostles, but being perfect God in the flesh and perfect man in the spirit – not two sons, one a genuine son who assumed a man and the other a mortal man who was assumed by God, but one God only-begotten in heaven and only-begotten on earth.

51 Athanasius, *Letter to Epictetus* (CPG 2095), 2.

52 Ibid., 7.

53 This and the following passage are actually from Apollinarius (*c.* 315–*c.* 390).

Felix the most holy bishop of Rome and martyr, from the *Letter to Bishop Maximin and the clergy of Alexandria*[54]

(10) (8) Concerning the enfleshment of the Word and the faith, we believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, born from the Virgin Mary, that he is the eternal Son and Word of God and not a man assumed by God, so as to be another [person] apart from him; for the Son of God did not assume a man, so that there would be another apart from him, but being perfect God he became also perfect man, enfleshed from the Virgin.

Theophilus the most holy Bishop of Alexandria, from the *Fifth Paschal Letter*[55]

(11) (9) For there exist even now remains of the miracles of that time. They should not disbelieve that the power of God is able to make a virgin give birth, in whom the living Word of God came to be in our likeness, since otherwise it would have been impossible for him to enter into closer communication with us. But so that he should not take a body from pleasure and sleep, as happens with other men, he took a body in the likeness of this from the Virgin, being born as man, appearing like us according to the form of a servant, but proved by his works to be the creator and lord of the universe, performing the works of God.

The same, from the *Sixth Paschal Letter*[56]

(12) (10) Just as the best artists not only display their art in precious materials to general admiration but often take cheap clay and soluble wax to show the power of their skill and gain far greater praise, so the supreme artist of all, the living and active Word of God, beautifying the universe with the harmony of order, did not come to us through taking a heavenly body as a precious material, but displayed the greatness of his art in clay, transforming man who was fashioned out of clay. He came forth as man from the Virgin in a novel manner, changing the mode of generation and choosing to become

54 Apollinarius, fr. 186 (Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 318).
55 CPG 2582.
56 CPG 2583.

like us in all respects except sin.[57] In being born, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and suckled, and lying as a babe in a manger, [92] he accepted for the reasons given the weakness of our nature. But while still a baby he confounded the enemy and his army, drawing the Magi to a change of mind and making them ignore the king who had sent them.[58]

Cyprian the most holy Bishop and Martyr, from *On Almsgiving*[59]

(13) (11) Many and great, beloved brethren, are the divine benefits with which the lavish and abundant mercy of God the Father and Christ has worked and is always working our salvation. Therefore the Father sent the Son to preserve us and give us life, in order to renew us; and the Son, on being sent, willed to become son of man so as to make us sons of God. He therefore humbled himself so that he might restore the people who were outcast, he was wounded so that he might heal our wounds, he served so that he might lead from servitude into freedom those who were in servitude, and he underwent death so that he might bestow immortality on mortals.

Ambrose the most holy Bishop of Milan[60]

(14) (12) If they do not believe me, let them believe the apostle when he says, 'But when the fulness of time had come, God sent his Son, born from woman, born under the law.'[61] He said '*his* Son', not one of many, not an ordinary one, but indicating the special character of the eternal generation of his own Son. He presents him as having been subsequently 'born from woman', in order to attribute the birth not to the Godhead but to the body assumed, since he was 'born from woman' through the assumed flesh, and 'born under the law' through observance of the law. For his divine generation was before the law, while this one was after the law.

57 Cf. Heb 4:15.
58 Cf. Matt 2:12.
59 Cyprian, *de opere et eleemosynis* (CPL 47) 1.
60 *De fide ad Gratianum* (CPL 150) I. 94.
61 Gal 4:4.

The Same[62]

(15) (13) Let therefore vain questions about words fall silent, because the kingdom of God, as scripture says,[63] consists not in persuasive human words but in the demonstration of power. Let us preserve recognition of the Godhead and the flesh. The Son of God who speaks in each is one, because each nature is in him. It is the same [person] who speaks, but he does not always converse in one way. Note in him now the glory of God and now the sufferings of man, that as God he teaches divine things, because he is the Word, and that as man he says human things, because he spoke in my essence. 'This is the living bread which came down from heaven.'[64] This bread is flesh, as he himself said: 'This bread which I will give is my flesh.'[65] This is he who came down, this is he whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world. scripture itself teaches us that sanctification was needed not by the Godhead but by the flesh.

Gregory the Great the most holy Bishop of Nazianzus[66]

(16) (14) [93] Do not let men deceive or be deceived, supposing that the 'man of the Lord', as they call him, who is rather our Lord and God, is a man without a mind. For we do not separate the man from the Godhead, but we teach as a doctrine that he is one and the same, who was formerly not man but God, as the only and pre-eternal Son, unmixed with the body and the things of the body, but who finally [became] a man, assumed for our salvation, passible in the flesh, impassible in the Godhead, finite in the body, infinite in the spirit, the same both earthly and heavenly, seen [by the eyes] and grasped by the mind, comprehensible and incomprehensible, so that by the same [person], who was both complete man and also God, the complete man who had succumbed to sin might be fashioned anew.

If anyone does not hold that Mary is Theotokos, he is severed from the Godhead.

62 *De fide ad Gratianum* II. 77–8.
63 1 Cor 2:4.
64 John 6:51.
65 John 6:52.
66 Gregory of Nazianzus, *ep.* 101 to Cledonius (CPG 3032).

If anyone [should say] that he passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and was not formed in her at once divinely and humanly (divinely because without a man, humanly because in accordance with the laws of gestation), let him be anathema.

If anyone should say that the man was formed and afterwards put on God, he is to be condemned, for this would not be a generation of God but an avoidance of generation.

If anyone introduces two sons, one from the God and Father and the second from the mother, but not one and the same, may he be deprived of the adoption promised to those with orthodox beliefs. For God and man are two natures, just as soul and body are; but there are not two sons or two Gods, just as there are not two men in the latter case, even if Paul spoke in this way of that which is within a man and that which is outside him. And, to put it concisely, there are indeed different constituents that make up the Saviour, since the invisible is not the same as the visible nor the timeless the same as that which is subject to time; yet there is no difference of person (God forbid!), for the two are one by being compounded, the Godhead having become man and the man having been 'deified' or however one might express it. And I say different constituents, which is the opposite of what is the case as regards the Trinity; for there [we acknowledge] different persons so as not to confound the hypostases, but not different constituents, for the three are one and the same in Godhead.

If anyone says that he worked in him by grace as in a prophet but was not conjoined and moulded with him in essence, may he be empty of the higher operation, or rather full of the opposite.

If anyone does not worship the crucified one, let him be anathema and be numbered among the murderers of God.

If anyone says that he was made perfect by works, or that after his baptism or after his resurrection from the dead he was counted worthy of an adoptive sonship, as the pagans introduce supplementary [gods], let him be anathema. For that which began, or progresses, or is made perfect, is not God, even if it is spoken of in this way on account of a gradual growth.

Basil the most holy Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima[67]

(17) (15) For heaven and earth and the great expanses of the seas, the creatures that live in the waters and the animals on dry land, plants, and the stars and the air, the seasons and the varied order of the universe, do not prove the supremacy of his power so well as the fact that the incomprehensible God was able, impassibly and by means of the flesh, to be bonded to death, so that by his own suffering he might bestow on us freedom from suffering.

[94] **Gregory the most holy Bishop of Nyssa**[68]

(18) (16) Scripture says, 'Let this be thought among you which is also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, did not consider equality with God something to be snatched, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.'[69] What is more poverty-stricken for God than the form of servant? What is humbler for the king of the universe than to enter voluntarily into a share in our poverty-stricken nature? The king of kings and the lord of lords takes on the form of servitude, the judge of all things becomes subject to those in power, the lord of creation lodges in a cave, the one who controls everything finds no room in the inn but is relegated to a manger for animals, the pure and unspotted one accepts the defilement of human nature and, proceeding through all our poverty, comes at last to experience death. Witness the extent of his voluntary poverty: life tastes death, the judge is led to judgement, the lord of the life of all that exists is subjected to the verdict of one giving sentence, the king of all the powers above the cosmos does not reject the hands of the executioners. May this example, it is saying, provide you with a yardstick of humility.

67 *On the Holy Spirit* (CPG 2839) 18.
68 *Sermons on the Beatitudes* (CPG 3161) 1.
69 Phil 2:5–7.

Atticus Bishop of Constantinople[70]

(19) Today Christ the Master has undergone the birth arising from his love of mankind, for in respect of the birth of the divine dignity he pre-existed.

Then to this he adds again – the Word in his love for mankind is emptied, while remaining unemptied in his nature, for 'he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant'.[71] The one without flesh takes on flesh for your sake, for 'the Word became flesh'.[72] The one who does not submit to touching because of the incorporeal character of his nature is touched, the one without beginning submits to a bodily beginning, the perfect one increases, the changeless one progresses, the rich one is in an inn, the one who encircles the sky with clouds is wrapped in swaddling clothes, the king is placed in a manger.

Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium[73]

(20) Since the same one is king and God and yet tasted death because of the dispensation of the passion, the gifts are figures of the mysteries. They[74] bring gold for they recognize him as king. They bring frankincense for they know they are making an offering to God. They add myrrh because of the death in the mystery of the passion.

[95] The Same

(21) If he had not been born in the flesh, you would not have been born again in the spirit; if he had not accepted the form of a servant, you would not have gained the glory of adoption as sons. The reason why the heavenly one appeared on earth was so that you, the earthly one, might ascend to heaven; the reason why Christ emptied himself was so that we might all receive

70 CPG 5650(a). This and the remaining items in the florilegium (17–20) are not to be found in the best witnesses to the Acts of 22 June (as Schwartz shows in a note at ACO I.1.2, 44) and constitute a subsequent addition.

71 Phil 2:7.

72 John 1:4.

73 CPG 3245 (3b and c).

74 The Magi, Matt 2:11.

from his fullness.[75] His death became your immortality, the suffering of the master became the elevation of the slave; yet you use the benefit conferred as an opportunity for blasphemy.

Likewise Atticus Bishop of Constantinople[76]

(22) If anyone is in doubt over the incarnation of the Only-begotten, the conception in a virgin, the participation in suffering, the cross, the passion, and death, may he learn to recognize that these things brought universal salvation and were not unworthy of the clemency of the Almighty. For if it was shameful for God to dwell in a virgin, it would assuredly have been even more shameful to have fashioned her; but since he was no' dishonoured by creating her, he did not judge dwelling in his creatio something to be ashamed of. And if suffering is an evil, then how great thing it is to set people free from suffering! Consequently he both died by putting death to death with a death that was no death, and rose to bestow our resurrection; and all this he underwent not in the nature of the Godhead but by assuming flesh. In respect of the former he dwelt in the inviolability of his own impassibility, but in respect of the latter he suffered and endured everything, in order to become the pioneer and lawgiver of the best mode of life.

76. (1)[77] According to the decree of the most pious and Christ-loving emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, there assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus from (so to speak) the whole world this holy council of most religious bishops from the holy churches everywhere; in session it decreed the authority and validity of the faith expounded through the Holy Spirit by the holy fathers who in their time [96] convened in the city of Nicaea, being 318 in number, and also enacted related matters in the manner required.[78]

75 Cf. Phil 2:7, John 1:16.

76 CPG 5657.

77 The following is not a speech but an editorial narrative to introduce Charisius' plea and the falsified creed. Its contents derive entirely from the document it introduces, and its indication of context is vague.

78 The version of this introduction contained in the *Collectio Veronensis* (ACO I.2, 65–6) begins at this point, where it inserts the words, 'Peter, presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries, said'. This collection fuses the Charisius case with the record of the session of 22 June and presents them as one. Inevitably this required the omission of the first part of the 'session' as it is represented in the *Collectio Atheniensis* because

One Charisius by name, who was presbyter and steward of the holy church of the city of Philadelphia, gave information that some of the heretics stemming from Lydia wished to renounce their error, turn to the light of the truth, and be instructed in the orthodox and pious doctrines of the catholic church; but when they should have been guided into the truth, they were deceived even more and fell, as it were, from one abyss into a yet deeper one. For he gave information that Antony and James, [both] having the title of presbyter, came from Constantinople with letters of commendation from a certain Anastasius[79] and Photius, who were at that time associates of the heretic Nestorius and also had the title of presbyter. And although it was obligatory to put before those returning from error to the truth, and seeking to come from darkness into the light, the apostolic and gospel tradition of faith which the fathers assembled at Nicaea had in their time expounded, they brought an exposition of impious doctrines, set out in the form of a creed, and got those wretches to sign it; in this they outdid every form of impiety. To explain precisely what has just been said, there is now inserted the plaint submitted by the above-mentioned presbyter Charisius and the exposition of that impious heresy about the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, together with the subscription of those who were deceived.

(2) To the most holy and God-beloved ecumenical council meeting in the metropolis of Ephesus from Charisius presbyter and administrator of Philadelphia.

It is the aspiration of all right-thinking people always to pay particular honour and fitting respect to spiritual fathers and teachers. If it ever happens that those who ought to teach instil such things about the faith in those in their charge as harm the ears and hearts of all, then the hierarchy has to be turned

these passages reduplicated the former record. The truncated introduction presented in the *Collectio Veronensis*, therefore, does not allow inferences about the relationship between the component parts and the editorial processes that lead to the form of the 'minutes' before us and transmitted in the *Collectio Atheniensis*. As a result of this conflation, the redactor of the *Collectio Veronensis* also changes the editorial insertion in the final decree in such a way as to refer to the Nestorian excerpts as being written 'above' (ACO I.2, 70,1f.) – which is the case in his own newly arranged compilation – rather than 'below', where all other collections, which copy these excerpts over from the meeting of 22 June, indicate they can be found. In these other collections, they routinely follow after the decree.

79 Anastasius was Nestorius' *syncellus*. He anticipated Nestorius in publicly attacking the expression Theotokos at Constantinople: Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 32.1–2 (380 Hansen). See R. Aigrain, 'Anastase 12', *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1444. In view of his prominence, 'a certain' (τινός) is derogatory.

on its head, and those who choose to be bad teachers have to be confuted by their inferiors. One of these is Nestorius, who is reaping the fruits of his own heresy. Having the most evil disposition towards the Christian faith and having often taught what one should not, he disrupted the whole world under the sun in such a way as to compel the Christ-loving emperors to decree that your holinesses should gather here to confirm the doctrines of orthodoxy; because of this person and out of his love of mankind, the Lord God has assembled all you holy fathers here. For this reason I fall prostrate before your sacredness, and inform you that not only [Nestorius] himself but also the presbyters Anastasius and Photius, his partners in impiety, contrive to disseminate the same heresy in other cities also. They have called, and call till now, on the services of a certain James, whose beliefs are like theirs an to whom they give a share of both their hospitality and their impudence [97] they have already written letters certifying his orthodoxy to the most religious bishops of Lydia. He has committed such outrages as will certainly impel your holinesses, when you learn of them, to impose canonical penalties both on him and on those who call on his services. For going to the city of Philadelphia in Lydia and deceiving some of the more simple (and these are clerics), he has invalidated the exposition of faith of the holy fathers at Nicaea and made them sign another exposition of faith or rather of faithlessness.[80] And this they have done, signing in their simplicity, 'We assent to this [it says] orthodox creed.' This exposition, full of heretical blasphemy and containing the signatures of those ensnared by it, is preserved, and I request that it be read in the presence of your sacredness so that you may be aware of their plot to overturn orthodoxy, and not only this document but also the letter of the above-mentioned persons,[81] where they testify to the orthodoxy of the heretic James who committed these outrages, while I myself, as if a heretic, have been deprived by them of the right to receive communion and celebrate, although my beliefs, as set out below, are orthodox. When these documents have been read, your devoutness will certainly discover their

80 The signatories are Quartodeciman and Novatian heretics, forced into submission to orthodoxy after the persecution initiated by Nestorius (Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 29) and approved by imperial edict (*CTh* XVI. 5.65, of 30 May 428). See Millar (2004) 111–30.

81 This letter is not 'read' at any point in the following proceedings. If it was read in a purported meeting originally, the editor responsible for the final shape of the 'minutes' before us, chose not to include it. Charisius stated here that the main concern of the letter was to affirm the orthodoxy of James. This was a side issue for the purported editor, distracting from his focus on the creed's authority, and this explains the letter's subsequent omission from the material presented.

outrages against orthodoxy, which God through your holinesses will finally frustrate.[82]

(3) I believe in one God, Father, Almighty, creator and maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, consubstantial with the Father, who for us and for our salvation came down from heaven, was enfleshed, born of the holy Virgin, and made man, was crucified for us, died, rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming again to judge the living and the dead; and in the Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete, consubstantial with the Father and the Son, and in the holy catholic church, in the resurrection of the dead, and in life everlasting.[83]

I, Charisius, have presented this plaint as written above, and signed it with my own hand.

A Copy of the Exposition of the Falsified Creed[84]

(4) Those who are being instructed now for the first time in the precision of the ecclesiastical doctrines or who wish to come over to the truth from some heretical error must be taught to profess:

82 Charisius' plea, then, does not present any demand for concrete action concerning his own person. His excommunication by the 'heretical' emissaries of Nestorius might lead one to expect a plea for its formal revocation and his reinstatement into presbyterial rank and office. The meeting makes no decision about his position. Equally, the expectation expressed in the petition that the council might impose penalties on Nestorius' agent James is not at any point taken up in the record. Indirectly, the general annulment of any depositions carried out by Nestorius and his allies (see the encyclical, doc. 74, pp. 398ff.) could be seen to satisfy Charisius' needs.

83 A comparison of this creed with those of Nicaea and Constantinople (see Price and Gaddis II, 12–13) shows how (like the latter) it belongs to a family of creeds that counted as versions of the Nicene Creed but were in fact free adaptations. See Lebon (1936); Kinzig (2017).

84 We learn from Cyril of Alexandria, *ep.* 91.5 (ACO I.5, 315,5) that the 'falsified creed' was attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia, the theologian to whom Nestorius was most indebted. The final anathemas, however, are an evident accommodation to the specific situation of the repentant Quartodecimans from Lydia and cannot have been written by Theodore. We cannot rule out that Nestorius also saw fit to subtly modify and adapt other elements of the text to present concerns. Kinzig (2017) II, 58, §204b cautiously describes it as 'often attributed to' Theodore. The long Christological section of the following creed nevertheless fundamentally expresses the theology of Theodore, who insisted that the manhood of Christ is a distinct subject of attribution to whom the human experiences, particularly birth and death, are to be assigned, while, in virtue of his 'conjunction' (συνάφεια) with God the Logos, he shares in the titles of Son and Lord and in the divine worship owed to God. Recent discussions of Theodore's tenets that we find reflected in the *ekthesis* include Jansen (2009); Gerber (2000); Bruns (1995); McLeod (2000 and 2005). See, in brief, our discussion, pp. 60–61.

We believe in one God, Father everlasting, who did not begin to exist subsequently but was everlasting God from the beginning, and did not subsequently become Father since he was always God [98] and Father. (5) We believe in one Son of God only-begotten, being from the essence of the Father, as really Son and of the same essence as the one of whom he both is and is believed to be the Son. (6) And in the Holy Spirit, who is from the essence of the Father, being not Son but God in essence, as being of that essence of which is the God and Father from whom he is in essence. For 'we have received not the spirit of the world but the Spirit that is from God', as scripture says,[85] separating him from all creation and joining him to God, from whom he is in essence in a way that distinguishes him from all creation, which we consider to be from God not in essence but through being created; we do not consider him to be the Son nor to have received existence through the Son.[86] (7) We profess that the Father is complete in *prosopon* and the Son likewise and the Holy Spirit likewise, while we preserve the doctrine of piety by considering the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit not as three different essences but as one essence acknowledged in sameness of Godhead.

(8) Concerning the dispensation which the Lord God accomplished for our salvation in the incarnation of Christ the Lord, it is necessary to know that God the Word took a complete man who was of the seed of Abraham and David according to the statement in the holy scriptures,[87] being in nature the same as those of whose seed he was, a complete man in his nature, consisting of both rational soul and human flesh. Whom – being a man like us in nature, fashioned in the womb of the Virgin by the power of the Holy Spirit, made from woman and made under the law to redeem us all from the servitude of the law,[88] when we recovered the adoption as sons foreordained from of old – he conjoined ineffably to himself, making him experience death according to the law of mankind, raising him from the dead, raising him to heaven and seating him at the right hand of God, whence, 'being above all rule and authority and dominion and power and every name that is named not in this age only but also in that to come',[89]

85 1 Cor 2:12.

86 The doctrine that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son was held by several of the Fathers concerned to maintain the dignity of the Son, such as Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, but was attacked by Theodoret of Cyrrhus. See de Halleux (1979).

87 Matt 1:1.

88 Cf. Gal 4:4–5.

89 Eph 1:21.

he receives worship from the entire creation as having an inseparable conjunction with the divine nature, in virtue of his relationship with God and of the belief of the entire creation, as it pays worship to him. (9) We do not say 'two Sons' or 'two Lords', because God the Word is the one Son in essence as the only-begotten Son of the Father, to whom being conjoined and partaking in sonship this one shares the name and honour of Son, while God the Word is Lord in essence. It is through being conjoined to him that this Son shares in the honour. We do not say 'two Sons' or 'two Lords' for this reason also, that, while the case with the one who is Lord and Son in essence is obvious, the one assumed for our salvation enjoys inseparable conjunction to him and is thereby elevated to the name and honour of Son and Lord. He is not like each of us, a son in himself, which is why indeed we are called 'many sons' by the blessed Paul;[90] but he alone possesses this unique privilege through his conjunction with God the Word, and by sharing in sonship and lordship he obliterates every thought of a duality of Sons and Lords. Through his conjunction with God the Word he enables us to enjoy a totality of faith, knowledge, and contemplation of him, because of which, in virtue of his relationship to God, he receives worship from the entire creation.

(10) We therefore speak of one Son and Lord Jesus Christ through whom all things came into being. We think in the first instance of God the Word, the Son of God and Lord in essence, and then we connect in thought the one assumed,[91] Jesus of Nazareth, whom 'God anointed with the Spirit and with power',[92] as sharing in sonship and lordship through conjunction with God the Word. (11) He is also called 'the second Adam' by the blessed Paul,[93] as being of the same nature as Adam and yet revealing to us the order of things that is to come. His difference from him is as great as that of the one who bestows ineffable goods in the order that is to come as compared to the one who was the cause of the present tribulations. In the same way he is also called 'the second man'[94] for having revealed the second order; for while Adam (through whom comes our likeness to him) was the origin of the previous one, mortal and passible and burdened with many pains, the

90 Heb 2:10.

91 The phrase is neuter (τό ληφθέν): it is a new nature, rather than a new person, that is assumed.

92 Acts 10:38.

93 Cf. 1 Cor 15:45.

94 1 Cor 15:47.

second one was revealed by Christ the Lord, who, appearing from heaven in the age to come, will lead us all into his own fellowship. For 'the first man', as scripture says, 'is from the earth, earthy, but the second man is the Lord from heaven',[95] that is, the one about to appear from there, to lead all into imitation of himself. Because of this he adds, 'As is the earthy one, so too are those who are earthy, and as is the heavenly one, so too are those who are heavenly; and as we have borne the image of the earthy one, let us also bear the image of the heavenly one.'[96] It is through his appearing, and being seen by all those about to be judged, that the divine nature, which is invisible, will perform the judgement, according to the blessed Paul who says, 'The times of our ignorance God overlooked, but now he summons all men everywhere to repent, because he has fixed a day on which he is going to judge the world in righteousness through a man whom he has appointed, providing assurance by raising him from the dead.'[97]

[100] This is the teaching of the ecclesiastical doctrines; let everyone who holds contrary beliefs be anathema. Let everyone who does not embrace saving repentance be anathema. Let everyone who does not observe the holy day of Easter according to the ordinance of the holy and catholic church be anathema.

(12)[98] Budius son of Junicus, a Philadelphian and a Quartodeciman:[99] Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius,[100] I have approached the most holy and catholic church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I formerly strayed, and assent to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing as well those who do not

95 1 Cor 15:47.

96 1 Cor 15:48–9.

97 Acts 17:30–1.

98 The following affidavits by heretics (mainly Quartodecimans) submitting to the catholic church closely follow a common form. The trivial variations in wording must reflect the fact that the common formula was communicated orally and not in a written form. Our annotation is indebted to Millar (2004) 111–30.

99 The Quartodecimans, who went back to the origins of Christianity, celebrated Easter on the same day as the Jewish Passover, that is, on 14 Nisan, irrespective of which day of the week it fell on. Pope Victor tried and failed to have their practice condemned in the 190s but they came to be viewed as heretics in the third century, and the calculation of Easter (now firmly on a Sunday) by reference to the Jewish Passover was ruled out at the Council of Nicaea. The formal condemnation of Quartodecimans – although the *Chronicon Paschale* claims it for Nicaea – is first expressed in Canon 1 of the Synod of Antioch (*c.* 338?).

100 Bishop of Philadelphia.

observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. The exposition having been read to me, I hereby sign through Hesychius of Philadelphia, a councillor, since I do not know how to write.

(13) Hesychius son of Cerdanepius,[101] a Philadelphian councillor and a Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and made an application, I have approached the most holy and catholic church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and assent to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing as well those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I hereby sign with my own hand.

(14) Rufinus twice,[102] a Philadelphian and a Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy, I have made a prostrate application to the most holy and catholic church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and assent with all my household to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing as well those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and [101] swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable with all my household to the severity of the laws. The exposition having been read to me and satisfied me, I hereby sign by my very own decision and choice.

(15) Eugenius twice, a Philadelphian and a Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged with my entire household the true faith of orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached the most holy catholic church and anathematize every heresy,

101 An inscription from Philadelphia names a group called 'Cerdanetti', which suggests that the correct form of the name may be 'Cerdanettius', according to Feissel (1996).

102 'Twice' goes with the preceding name and means that Rufinus was the son of a Rufinus (Millar (2004) 125, n. 21; Abramowski (2004) 389).

especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and assent with all my household to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable with all my household to the severity of the laws. The exposition having been read to me and satisfied me, I hereby sign with my own hand.

(16) Faustinus, a layman, twice, a Philadelphian and a Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached the catholic church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I formerly strayed, and assent to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing as well those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. The exposition having been read to me, I have come up with all my household and signed this pious creed with my hand.

(17) Damalius and Alexander, employing the hand of Eutropius son of Theodore the most devout deacon: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most devout Bishop Theophanius, we have approached the catholic church, anathematizing every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which we had strayed, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox. Now that the exposition has been read to us, we have sworn a dread oath by the holy Trinity and by the victoriousness and prosperity of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti, not to infringe any of what is written above, declared our faith together with our households, and signed.

(18) Flavius Nymphidius twice, a Philadelphian and *scholasticus*:[103] I renounce all the doctrines and customs [102] that exist in the Quartodeciman heresy and are not accepted by the orthodox faith, agreeing to share the orthodox faith in everything and to accept it.

103 Member of the imperial guard.

(19) Polychronius son of Tatian, a Philadelphian, employing the hand of Flavius Hesychius son of Cerdanepius of Philadelphia, a councillor, because I write slowly:[104] Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most devout Bishop Theophanius, I have approached the catholic church and anathematized every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I strayed, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox. Now that the exposition has been read to me, I have sworn a dread oath by the holy Trinity and by the victoriousness and prosperity of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti, not to infringe any of what is written above, and I have declared my faith together with all my household. Everything written above satisfies me.

(20) Eustathius son of Marcellus, a Philadelphian goldsmith and Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached by my very own will and choice God's holy catholic and orthodox church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and I have sworn by the holy Trinity and by the piety of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti, that if I infringe any of what is written above I am answerable to the severity of the laws. I hereby sign with my own hand.

(21) Eutychius twice, a Philadelphian: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached by my very own will and choice God's holy catholic and orthodox church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and I have sworn by the holy Trinity and by the piety of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti, that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I hereby sign with my own hand.

(22) Stratonicus son of Ammonius, a Philadelphian and Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached God's holy catholic church of the orthodox and anathematize every heresy, especially that [103] of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and I have sworn by the holy Trinity and by the piety of

104 See Youtie (1971) 239.

the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti, that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I hereby sign through my grandson Alexander since I do not know my letters.

(23) Theodoret, Alexander, and Philadelphus, signed through one of us, Alexander: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, we have approached God's holy catholic and apostolic church of the orthodox and anathematize every heresy, especially that of those called Cathars[105] and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and we have sworn by the holy Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti, that if we infringe any of what is written above we shall be liable to the severity of the laws. This exposition having been read to us, we have signed.

(24) Marinus son of Euethius, employing the hand of Neoterius, a lector of the orthodox: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached the holy catholic and apostolic church and anathematize every heresy and those who do not observe the day of Easter like the orthodox. I have sworn a divine oath that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws; and I hereby sign.

(25) Paidicius, a Philadelphian: I hereby sign with my own hand. Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached God's holy catholic and apostolic church of the orthodox and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and I have sworn a dread oath that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. The exposition having been read to me, I hereby sign with my own hand.

(26) Cyriacus, a Philadelphian, of the heresy of the Novatianists: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached God's holy catholic church of the orthodox and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the

105 The 'Cathars' (the 'pure'), also called the Novatianists, were a rigorist sect originating in Rome in 250, which rejected the reconciliation after penance of those guilty of apostasy and other 'sins against God'. For an assimilation between Novatianists and Quartodecimans in parts of Asia Minor see Millar (2004) 121–2, citing Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* IV. 28 and V. 22.

Cathars, and I have sworn a dread oath that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. This exposition having been read to me, I hereby sign through Eusebius, son of Calliopius, the Syrian.

(27) Euxenius, a Philadelphian and Novatianist: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached God's holy catholic church of the orthodox, [104] anathematize every heresy, and have sworn a dread oath not to infringe any of what is written above. I hereby sign with my own hand.

(28) Diomedes, living in the village of Caccaba: Having acknowledged the orthodox faith and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached by my own free will and independent choice the holy catholic and apostolic church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I had previously strayed, and I swear by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the victoriousness and piety of the masters of the world that I shall keep to what is written above and not infringe any of it, but keep to the orthodox faith and observe it in everything; if I am ever found infringing any of what is written above, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. Having heard the exposition, I hereby sign with my own hand.

(29) Julian twice, a Philadelphian: Having acknowledged orthodoxy, I have approached God's holy catholic church of the orthodox and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and I swear a dread oath by the piety of the Christ-loving emperors that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. Being satisfied, I hereby sign through Martyrius the lector.

(30) Eutychius of the estate of Aulax, leader of the heresy of the Quartodecimans: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, the most devout chorepiscopus James, and the most devout presbyter and administrator Charisius, I have approached the holy catholic church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I had formerly strayed, and I assent to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing as well those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I hereby sign with my own hand.

(31) Patricius, *deuteropresbys*[106] of the village of Paradioxylon, employing the hand of Maximus my fellow presbyter because I do not know how to write: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy and God-beloved Bishop Theophanius, the most devout [105] chorepiscopus James, and the most devout presbyter and administrator Charisius, and having just now requested and applied to be received into the communion of God's holy catholic church of the faith of the orthodox, I anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like God's catholic church, and I have sworn by the holy and life-giving Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti; if I infringe any of this, I shall be liable to the severity of the laws.

(32) Zeno of the estate of Sagarios Pythas, of the heresy of the Quartodecimans: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and made an application to the most holy Bishop Theophanius, the most devout chorepiscopus James, and the most devout presbyter and administrator Charisius, I have approached the holy and catholic church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I formerly strayed, and I assent to the exposition of orthodoxy given above, anathematizing as well those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic church observes it, swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian, perpetual Augusti; if I infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I, Flavius Palladius, employed my hand on his behalf, since he is present and says that he does not know how to write.

77. When this had been read, the holy council laid down that no one is allowed to produce or write or compose another creed beside the one laid down with [the aid of] the Holy Spirit by the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea; and that as regards those who dare to compose another creed, or produce or present it to those wishing to turn to the knowledge of the truth whether from paganism or Judaism or any heresy whatsoever, they, if they are bishops or clerics, are to be deposed, the bishops from episcopacy [106] and the clerics from the clergy, while if they are laymen they are to be

106 Assistant priest or curate.

anathematized.[107] In the same way, if any are found, whether bishops or clerics or laymen, either holding or teaching the things contained in the exposition of the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God produced by the presbyter Charisius, or the abominable and perverted doctrines of Nestorius, which are appended, they are to be subjected to the verdict of this holy ecumenical council, with the result, clearly, that a bishop is to be stripped of episcopacy and deposed, a cleric is likewise to be expelled from the clergy, while if he is a layman, he too is to be anathematized as stated above.

78. From the Book of the Same Nestorius, Quaternion 17, on Doctrine[108]

(1) When the divine scripture is going to speak about either the birth of Christ from the blessed Virgin or his death, it is nowhere found to use the word 'God' but either 'Christ' or 'Son' or 'Lord', because these three words indicate the two natures, sometimes this one, sometimes that one, and sometimes both this and that. To give an example, when scripture relates the virgin birth to us, what does it say? 'God sent his Son.'[109] It does not say, 'God sent God the Word,' but uses the name which expresses the two natures. For since the Son is man and God, it says, 'He sent his Son, born of woman,' so that, when you hear 'born of woman' and then note the preceding name which indicates the two natures, you ascribe the birth from the blessed Virgin to the 'Son'. For the Virgin Christotokos indeed gave birth to the Son of God – but since the Son of God is dual in respect of the natures, she did not give birth to the Son of God but gave birth to the manhood, which is 'the Son' because of the Son who is conjoined.

107 Anathematization may seem a more severe penalty than deposition from office, but deposition was lifelong and irrevocable, while anathematization (exclusion from the church) could be revoked in cases of genuine repentance.

108 This florilegium of extracts from Nestorius has already been given in the minutes of the first session, pp. 268–77). See there for fuller annotation.

109 Gal 4:4.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 21

(2) Note, you heretic, the consequent. I do not envy the Virgin Christotokos this statement, but on the contrary I know how venerable is the one who received God and from whom there came forth the Master of the universe and from whom there shone forth the sun of righteousness.[110] But again I suspect the applause: how do you understand 'came forth'? 'Came forth' does not mean the same to me as 'was born', for I do not forget so quickly what distinguishes them. I was taught by divine scripture that God 'came forth' from the Virgin Christotokos, but nowhere was I taught that God was 'born' from her.

(3) [107] *And further down* – Now divine scripture nowhere says that God was born from the Virgin Christotokos, but that Jesus Christ Son and Lord was. This we all acknowledge, for wretched is he who does not at once accept what divine scripture has taught. 'Rise, take the child and his mother.'[111] This is an utterance of the angels; the archangels doubtless understood the character of the birth better than you do. 'Rise, take the child and his mother.' It did not say, 'Rise, take God and his mother.'

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 24

(4) As for our statement, 'Do not fear to take Mary your wife, for that which was generated in her ...',[112] the meaning is not distorted by using either one 'n' or two (for what was engendered in her is from the Holy Spirit), but it would be if we were to say that God the Word was generated in the womb. For there is a difference between 'being with the one being generated' and 'being generated'. 'For that which has been generated in her,' it says, 'is from the Holy Spirit,' that is, the Holy Spirit created that which was in her. Therefore the fathers, having a good knowledge of the divine scriptures, saw that if in place of 'was enfleshed' we were to put 'was generated', God the Word would turn out either to be the son of the Spirit or to have two fathers, or, with one 'n', God the Word would turn out to be the creation of the Spirit. Therefore they avoided the term 'generation', and put 'who for us men and for our salvation came down and was enfleshed'. What is meant

110 Mal 4:2 (3:20 LXX).
111 Matt 2:13.
112 Matt 1:20.

by 'was enfleshed'? They did not say that he was changed from Godhead into flesh; in saying 'was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit' they followed the evangelist. For the evangelist, when he came to the incarnation, avoided speaking of 'generation' in relation to the Word and put 'enfleshment'. How? Listen: 'The Word was made flesh.' He did not say, 'The Word was generated through the flesh.' For wherever the apostles or the evangelists mention the Son, they put that he was generated from woman. I ask you to attend to what is being said. Wherever they say the name of the Son and that he was generated from woman, they put that he was generated; but wherever they mentioned the Word, none of them dared to speak of generation through the incarnation. Listen: when the blessed evangelist John came to the Word and his incarnation, hear what he says, 'The Word became flesh,' that is, he took flesh, 'and tabernacled among us,' that is, he put on our nature and dwelt among us, 'and we beheld his glory,'[113] that of the Son. He did not say, 'We beheld the generation of the Word.'

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 15, on Doctrine

(5) And so we also give the name 'God' to Christ according to the flesh because of his conjunction with God the Word, while knowing the appearance to be man. Listen to Paul preaching both: 'From the Jews,' he says, 'is Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all.'[114] He first acknowledges the man and only then applies divine language to the appearance in virtue of the conjunction with God, lest anyone should suspect Christianity of worshipping a man.

[108] **Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 27**

(6) But just as we said that God is the creator of all things and that Moses is God (for scripture says, 'I made you God over Pharoah'),[115] and that Israel is the son of God (for it says, 'my first-born son Israel'),[116] and just as we

113 John 1:14.
114 Rom 9:5.
115 Exod 7:1.
116 Exod 4:22.

said that Saul is the Christ (for it says, 'I shall not place my hand on him, because he is the Christ of the Lord'),[117] and Cyrus likewise (it says, 'Thus says the Lord to Cyrus my Christ'),[118] and that the Babylonian is holy (for it says, 'I shall command them; they are sanctified and I myself lead them'),[119] so too we say that Christ the Lord is God and Son and holy and Christ. But although there is a similar sharing of names, there is not the same dignity.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 15

(7) 'Have this mind among yourselves which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.'[120] It did not say, 'Have this mind among yourselves which was also in God the Word, who, being in the form of God, took the form of a servant,' but taking 'Christ' as the name that indicates the two natures, it calls him without danger both 'the form of a servant', which he took, and 'God', the expressions being assigned severally beyond our comprehension to the duality of the natures.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 16

(8) 'So that at the name of Jesus,' it says, 'every knee should bend of those above the heavens, on the earth and under the earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.'[121] I venerate the one borne for the sake of the bearer; I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who is hidden. The Godhead is inseparable from the one who appears; therefore I do not separate the honour of the one who is not separated. I separate the natures, but I unite the worship.

117 1 Sam 24:6.
118 Isa 45:1 ('my Christ' means 'the one anointed by the Lord').
119 Isa 13:3.
120 Phil 2:5–7.
121 Phil 5:10–11.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 17, on Doctrine

(9) For even before the incarnation God the Word was Son and God and existing with the Father, but he took in the last times the form of the servant. But since he was, and was called, Son even before this, he cannot after the assumption [of the human nature] be called a separate son, lest we teach two sons; but since he was conjoined to the one who was Son in the beginning and is conjoined to him, it is impossible to accept distinction as regards the dignity of sonship – I say as regards the dignity of sonship, not as regards the natures. This is why God the Word is also called Christ, since he enjoys uninterrupted conjunction with Christ.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 15, on Doctrine

(10) Let us therefore keep the conjunction of natures without confusion. Let us acknowledge God in man; let us venerate the man who is worshipped together with God Almighty because of the divine conjunction.

[109] **Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 6**

(11) Note what follows this immediately: it says, 'so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in relation to God, for in that he himself was tried and suffered, he is able to help those who are tempted.'[122] Therefore the one who suffered is a merciful high priest; it is the temple that was passible, not the life-giving God of the one who suffered.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 27

(12) So that you may learn (it is saying) how great was the conjunction of the Godhead, which was seen even in the babyhood of the Lord's flesh. For the same was both a baby and the lord of the baby. You praised the saying,

122 Heb 2:17–18.

but do not applaud it without examination. For I said: the same was a baby and dwelt in a baby.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 1

(13) For the operations of the Trinity are shared, and are distinguished only in the hypostases. Indeed the glory of the Only-begotten was sometimes assigned to the Father (for it says, 'It is my Father who glorifies me'),[123] sometimes to the Spirit (for it says, 'The Spirit of truth will glorify me')[124] and sometimes to the sovereignty of Christ.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 16

(14) *Speaking about Jesus*[125] – This is he who says, 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?'[126] This is he who underwent a three-day death. I worship him together with the Godhead, as sharing in the exercise of divine authority.

(15) *And further down* – I venerate the one borne for the sake of the bearer; I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who is hidden. God is inseparable from the one who appears; therefore I do not separate the honour of the one who is not separated. I separate the natures, but I unite the worship. That which was formed in the womb is not in itself God; that which was created by the Spirit is not in itself God; that which was buried in the tomb is not in itself God; for if it were, we would unmistakably be worshippers of man and worshippers of the dead. But since God is in the one assumed, so the one assumed, as conjoined to the one who assumed, is also reckoned as God, because of the one who assumed.

123 John 8:54.
124 John 16:13–14.
125 The parallel passage in the session of 22 June has 'Speaking about the Son'.
126 Matt 27:46.

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 3, Against Heretics

(16) *Speaking about the Spirit* – How, he says, could the one who works together with the Son and the Father, be a servant? If one investigates the activities of the Spirit, one will not find them to fall short in any respect of those of the Son and Father – not that the one Godhead is divided, but the divine scripture assigns what belongs to a single power to each hypostasis in order to show the likeness of the Trinity. Observe with me the same phenomenon in those of the works that occur in time. [110] God 'the Word became flesh and dwelt among us'.[127] The Father made the assumed manhood sit beside himself; for it says, 'The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand.'[128] The Spirit descending applauded the glory of the one assumed: for it says, 'When the Spirit of truth comes, he will glorify me.'[129]

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 6

(17) *Speaking of Christ* – 'He was sent to preach release to captives',[130] to which the apostle adds, 'This is he who was made a high priest faithful to God'[131] (for he came into being and did not pre-exist eternally); this is he, you heretic, who advanced little by little to the dignity of high priest. Hear a statement that proclaims this to you even more clearly: 'In the days of his flesh,' it says, 'he offered up petitions and supplications to him who was able to save him from death, with powerful cries and tears, and was heard because of his devotion. Although he was a son, he learned obedience from what he suffered; and being made perfect, he became for all who obey him the cause of eternal salvation.'[132] It is that which progresses little by little that is perfected, you heretic. On this topic John proclaims in the gospels, 'Jesus advanced in age and wisdom and grace.'[133] Speaking in agreement with this, Paul too says, 'Being made perfect, he became for all who obey

127 John 1:14.
128 Ps 109:1.
129 John 16:13–14.
130 Luke 4:18.
131 Cf. Heb 2:17.
132 Heb 5:7–9.
133 Luke 2:52.

him the cause of eternal salvation, being addressed by God as high priest according to the order of Melchizedek.'[134]

(18) *And further down* – And he was called high priest. So why do you misinterpret Paul, mixing the impassible God the Word with the earthly likeness and making him a passible high priest?

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 7

(19) 'Wherefore, holy brethren, sharers in a heavenly call, consider the apostle and high priest of our confession, Jesus, who was faithful to the one who made him'.[135]

(20) *And further down* – Since we have only this high priest, sharing our sufferings, of the same stock,[136] and steadfast, do not reject faith in him. For because of the blessing promised us from the seed of Abraham he was sent to offer the sacrifice of his body on behalf of himself and his race.

It is to be noted that, having acknowledged that every high priest needs a sacrifice and having excepted Christ as not needing one, he says here that he offers the sacrifice on behalf of himself and his race.[137]

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 4

(21) So listen attentively to what is said. 'He who eats my flesh,' he says[138] – remember that the statement is about the flesh and that it is not I who added the word 'flesh', lest they think I am interpreting wrongly. 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood.' Did he say, 'He who eats my Godhead and drinks [111] my Godhead'? 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.'

(22) *And further down* – But to return to the subject, 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.' Remember that the statement is about the flesh. 'As the living Father sent me'[139] – 'me' being

134 Heb 5:9–10.
135 Heb 3:1–2.
136 See Heb 2:14–18, 4:15.
137 Cf. Heb 7:27.
138 John 6:56.
139 John 6:57.

the one who appeared. But [they say that] I sometimes misinterpret; let us hear the sequel. 'As the living Father sent me.' My opponent says this is the Godhead, I say the manhood; let us see who is misinterpreting. 'As the living Father sent me.' The heretic says, 'Here it says the Godhead – he sent me (it says), God the Word.' 'As the living Father sent me, and I live' – according to them this is God the Word – 'because of the Father'. There then follows, 'And he who eats me, even he will live.' Whom do we eat, the Godhead or the flesh?

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 16

(23) In all (he says), if you were to search the whole New Testament, you would not find it anywhere attributing death to God, but either to Christ or the Son or the Lord. For 'Christ' and 'Son' and 'Lord' , when used by scripture in relation to the Only-begotten, signify the two natures and are indicative sometimes of the Godhead, sometimes of the manhood, and sometimes of both. For example, when Paul declares in a letter, 'When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son',[140] he proclaims the manhood of the Son, and when again he says to the Hebrews, 'God spoke to us in a Son, through whom he also made the ages,'[141] he indicates the Godhead of the Son. For the flesh is not the creator of the ages, being itself created after many ages.

(24) *And further down* – Neither did the Godhead have James as a brother, nor do we proclaim the death of God the Word when we feed on the Lord's blood and body.[142]

Likewise, by the Same, Quaternion 23

(25) I notice (he says) that our congregations have great devotion and most fervent piety, but are misled by their ignorance of the doctrine about God. This is not a criticism of the laity, but (how can I say it tactfully?) arises

140 Rom 5:10.
141 Heb 1:2.
142 Cf. 1 Cor 11:26.

from the fact that the teachers do not have the opportunity to present to you any of the more precise doctrines.[143]

(26) Peter, presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries, said: 'See how clearly he admits here that none of the teachers before him had said these things to the laity.'[144]

79.[145] (1) Cyril bishop of Alexandria, I hereby sign.
(2) Arcadius bishop and legate of the apostolic see, I hereby sign.[146]
(3) [112] Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, I hereby sign.
(4) Projectus bishop, legate of the apostolic see, I hereby sign.
(5) Philip presbyter, legate of the apostolic see, I hereby sign.
(6) Firmus bishop of Caesarea, I hereby sign.
(7) Theodotus bishop of Ancyra, I hereby sign.
(8) Verinianus bishop of the metropolis of Perge, I hereby sign through Bishop Timothy.
(9) Severus bishop of Synnada, I hereby sign.
(10) Perigenes bishop of Corinth, I hereby sign.
(11) Iconius bishop of Gortyna in Crete, I hereby sign.
(12) Memnon bishop of Ephesus, I hereby sign.
(13) Reginus bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, I hereby sign.
(14) Acacius bishop of Melitene, I hereby sign.
(15) Palladius bishop of Amaseia, I hereby sign.
(16) Erennianus bishop of Myra, I hereby sign.
(17) Valerianus bishop of Iconium, I hereby sign.
(18) Pius bishop of the metropolis of Pessinus, I hereby sign.
(19) Cyrus the most insignificant bishop of Aphrodisias, I hereby sign.
(20) Amphilochius bishop of the metropolis of Side, I hereby sign.

143 This citation of Nestorius' critique of the teachers has the verb (ἔχειν) in the present tense; this is also the form employed by Cyril's quotation in the letter to his *apocrisiarii* at Constantinople (doc. 4). In contrast, the same quotation in the minutes of 22 June has the aorist (σχεῖν; ACO I.1.2, 52.4; p. 277 above). But in both cases the context shows that Nestorius was thinking of past teachers (see p. 277, n. 151), enabling the inference that he was criticizing earlier, traditional teaching.

144 This comment too is taken verbatim from the acts of the session of 22 June.

145 The three Latin versions give the same list as the Greek, the only difference (apart from accidental omissions) being in the order of the names of the metropolitans in CP 38.

146 Arcadius signs in Latin, as do Projectus and Philip (4–5), Senecion of Scodra (49), Felix of Apollonia (172), and Deacon Bessulas of Carthage (191).

(21) Maeonius bishop of the church in Sardis in Lydia, I hereby sign.
(22) Hellanicus bishop of Rhodes, I hereby sign.
(23) Dalmatius bishop of Cyzicus, I hereby sign.
(24) Flavian bishop of Philippi, I hereby sign.
(25) Aristonicus bishop of Laodicea, I hereby sign.
(26) Paralius by the mercy of Christ bishop of Andrapa, I hereby sign.
(27) Idduas bishop of Smyrna, I hereby sign.
(28) Olympius bishop of the city of Claudiopolis, I hereby sign through the bishops Epiphanius and Eusebius.[147]
(29) Dynatus bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, I hereby sign.
(30) Domninus bishop of the city of Cotiaeum, I hereby sign.
(31) Eustathius bishop of the city of Docimium, I hereby sign.
(32) Epiphanius bishop of the city of Creteia, I hereby sign.
(33) Gregory bishop of the city of Cerasus, I hereby sign.
(34) Helladius bishop of Adramyttium, I hereby sign.
(35) Anysius bishop of the city of Thebes in Hellas, I hereby sign.
(36) Domninus bishop of the city of Opus, I hereby sign.
(37) Callicrates bishop of the city of Naupactus, I hereby sign.
(38) Nicias bishop of the city of Megara, I hereby sign.
(39) Callinicus bishop of Apamea, I hereby sign.
(40) Peter the most insignificant bishop of Prusa, I hereby sign.
(41) [113] Euprepius bishop of Bizye, I hereby sign.
(42) Dio bishop of the city of Thebes, I hereby sign.
(43) Perrebius bishop of the Thessalian Saltus, I hereby sign.
(44) Paul bishop of the city of Anthedon, I hereby sign.
(45) Theodore bishop of the city of Aninetus, I hereby sign.
(46) {Eusebius bishop of Heraclea, I hereby sign.}[148]
(47) John bishop of Lesbos and the Shores of Selene, I hereby sign.
(48) Thomas bishop of Derbe, I hereby sign.
(49) Senecion bishop of the city of Scodra, I hereby sign.
(50) Tribonianus bishop of the holy church in Primupolis, I hereby sign.
(51) Martyrius bishop of the city of Ilistra, I hereby sign.
(52) Nesius bishop of Colybrassus, I hereby sign.
(53) Acacius bishop of Cotenna, I hereby sign.
(54) Ablabius bishop of the city of Amorium, I hereby sign.

147 Olympius himself did not attend the council.
148 Supplied from the Latin versions.

(55) Philip bishop of Pergamum, I hereby sign.
(56) Heracleon, also called Theophilus, bishop of the city of Tralles, I hereby sign.
(57) Daphnus bishop of the city of Magnesia on the Maeander, I hereby sign.
(58) Eusebius bishop of the city of Magnesia by Sipylus, I hereby sign.
(59) Anderius the most insignificant bishop of Chersonesus, I hereby sign.
(60) Paul the most insignificant bishop of the city of Lappa, I hereby sign.
(61) Eutropius the most insignificant of the bishops, of the city of Euaza, I hereby sign.
(62) Severus the most insignificant bishop of the city of Sozopolis in the province of Pisidia, I hereby sign.
(63) Silvanus bishop of the city of Ceretapa, I hereby sign.
(64) Commodus the most insignificant bishop of Tripolis, I hereby sign.
(65) Constantius bishop of Diocleia, I hereby sign.
(66) Nestorius bishop of Sion, I hereby sign.
(67) Aphobius the most insignificant bishop of Coloe, I hereby sign.
(68) {Fuscus bishop of the city of Thyateira, I hereby sign.}[149]
(69) Paul bishop of the city of Daldis, I hereby sign.
(70) Limenius bishop of the city of Saittae, I hereby sign.
(71) Dorotheus bishop of the city of Myrina, I hereby sign.
(72) Theodore bishop of the city of Attaleia, I hereby sign.
(73) Aphthonetus the most insignificant bishop of the city of Heraclea by Latmus, I hereby sign.
(74) [114] Spudasius the most insignificant bishop of Ceramus, I hereby sign.
(75) Philetus the most insignificant bishop of Amyzon, I hereby sign.
(76) Docimasius bishop of the city of Maronea, I hereby sign.
(77) Ennepius bishop of the city of Maximianopolis, I hereby sign.
(78) Euthalius bishop of the city of Colophon, I hereby sign.
(79) Lucian bishop of the city of Topirus, I hereby sign.
(80) Rufinus bishop of the city of Gabae, I hereby sign.
(81) Romanus bishop of the city of Raphia, I hereby sign.
(82) Fidus bishop of Joppa, I hereby sign.

149 Supplied from the Latin versions.

(83) Hesychius bishop of the city of Parium, I hereby sign.
(84) Timothy bishop of the city of Termessus and Eudocias, I hereby sign.
(85) Eucharius bishop of the city of Dyrrachium, I hereby sign.
(86) Evagrius bishop of the city of Soli in Cyprus, I hereby sign.
(87) Nectarius bishop of the city of Casae, I hereby sign.
(88) Agathocles bishop of the city of Coronaea, I hereby sign.
(89) Aeanes bishop of Sycamazon, I hereby sign.
(90) Aedesius bishop of Isinda, I hereby sign.
(91) Secundianus bishop of the city of Lamia, I hereby sign.
(92) Nunechius bishop of the city of Selge, I hereby sign.
(93) Matidianus bishop of Coracesium, I hereby sign.
(94) Cyril bishop of Coela, I hereby sign by the hand of the presbyter Hellespontius.
(95) Sapricius bishop of Paphos in Cyprus, I hereby sign.
(96) Themistius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Iasus, I hereby sign.
(97) Promachius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Alinda, I hereby sign.
(98) Eudoxius bishop of the city of the city of Choma, I hereby sign.
(99) Libanius bishop of Palaeopolis, I hereby sign.
(100) Tarianus bishop of the city of Lyrbe, I hereby sign.
(101) Alexander bishop of Arcadiopolis, I hereby sign.
(102) Theodotus bishop of Nysa, I hereby sign.
(103) Rhodo bishop of Palaeopolis, I hereby sign.
(104) Tychicus the most insignificant bishop of the city of Erythrae, I hereby sign.
(105) Eugenius bishop of the city of Apollonia, I hereby sign.
(106) Aetius bishop of the city of Pionia in Hellespontus, I hereby sign.
(107) Timothy bishop of Germe in Hellespontus, I hereby sign.
(108) Archelaus the most insignificant bishop of Myndus, I hereby sign.
(109) Apellas the most insignificant bishop of Cibyra, I hereby sign.
(110) [115] Philadelphus the most insignificant bishop of 'Gratianopolis',[150] I hereby sign.

150 Here and in the subscription list of the session of 22 June (p. 285, no 88 above), Philadelphus' see is given as 'Gratianopolis', an extremely puzzling name. But the text of this session of 22 July in the Latin Acts of Chalcedon gives Traianopolis as his see (I.945 no. 110, ACO II.3, 232,8), and this is to be preferred; *pace* ACO IV.3.2 (1982) 391, this must be the

(111) Eutherius the most insignificant bishop of Stratonicea in Lydia, I hereby sign.
(112) John the most insignificant bishop of the city of Aureliopolis, I hereby sign.
(113) Maximus the most insignificant bishop of Cyme, I hereby sign.
(114) Modestus bishop of the city of Anaea, I hereby sign.
(115) Theodosius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Mastaura, I hereby sign.
(116) Thomas bishop of Valentinianopolis, I hereby sign.
(117) Eusebius bishop of Clazomenae, I hereby sign.
(118) Eusebius bishop of Aspona, I hereby sign.
(119) Euporus bishop of Hypaepa, I hereby sign.
(120) Saidas bishop of Phaeno, I hereby sign.
(121) Domnus bishop of the city of Orcistus, I hereby sign.
(122) John bishop of Augustopolis, I hereby sign.
(123) Peter bishop of Parembolae, I hereby sign.
(124) Natiras bishop of Gaza, I hereby sign.
(125) Zeno bishop of Curium in Cyprus, I hereby sign.
(126) Euoptius bishop of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, I hereby sign.
(127) Macarius bishop of Metelis, I hereby sign.
(128) Eusebius bishop of Pelusium, I hereby sign.
(129) Hermogenes bishop of Rhinocolura, I hereby sign.
(130) Marinus bishop of Heliopolis, I hereby sign.
(131) John bishop of Hephaestus, I hereby sign.
(132) Heraclius bishop of Tamiathis, I hereby sign.
(133) Strategius bishop of Athribis, I hereby sign.
(134) Aristobulus bishop of Thmuis, I hereby sign.
(135) Theon bishop of Heracleopolis Sethroites, I hereby sign.
(136) Solon bishop of Carallia, I hereby sign.
(137) Alypius bishop of the city of Sele, I hereby sign.
(138) Macedonius bishop of Xois, I hereby sign.
(139) Peter bishop of Oxyrhynchus, I hereby sign.
(140) Metrodorus bishop of Leontopolis, I hereby sign.

city in Phrygia Pacatiana, since in 431 Peter was the bishop of Traianopolis in Rhodope. In contrast, ACO IV.3.3 (1984) 166–7 locates Gratianopolis in Galatia Salutaris, without citing evidence, but the two bishops certainly of this province (including the metropolitan) who attended the council were signatories to the protest at Cyril's opening the council on 22 June, while Philadelphus attended this session.

(141) Paul bishop of Phlabonis, I hereby sign.
(142) Ammonius bishop of Panephysis, I hereby sign.
(143) Publius bishop of Olbia, I hereby sign.
(144) Hieracis bishop of Aphnaeum, I hereby sign.
(145) Samuel bishop of Dysthis, I hereby sign.
(146) Sopater bishop of Septimiace in Libya, I hereby sign.
(147) Isaac bishop of Helearchia, I hereby sign.
(148) [116] Isaac bishop of the city of Tava, I hereby sign.
(149) Heraclius bishop of Thinis, I hereby sign.
(150) Theonas bishop of Psinchos, I hereby sign.
(151) Cyrus bishop of Achaea, I hereby sign.
(152) Eulogius bishop of Terenuthis, I hereby sign.
(153) Alexander bishop of Cleopatris, I hereby sign.
(154) Silvanus bishop of Coprithis, I hereby sign: I, Bishop Heraclius, sign for him because he is unwell.
(155) Adelphius bishop of Onuphris, I hereby sign.
(156) Abraham bishop of the city of Ostracine, I hereby sign.
(157) Athanasius bishop of Paralus, I hereby sign.
(158) Adelphius bishop of Sais, I hereby sign.
(159) Lampetius bishop of Casium, I hereby sign.
(160) Chrysaorius bishop of Aphroditopolis, I hereby sign.
(161) Ammon bishop of Buto, I hereby sign.
(162) Eutychius bishop of Theodosiopolis, I hereby sign.[151]
(163) Venantius bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis, I hereby sign: I sign through my notary Theodosius.[152]
(164) {Zenobius bishop of the city of Barca, I hereby sign.}[153]
(165) Zeno bishop of the city of Taucheira, I hereby sign.
(166) Eusebius bishop of Nilopolis, I hereby sign.
(167) Heraclides bishop of Heracleopolis Magna, I hereby sign.
(168) Macarius bishop of Antaeopolis, I hereby sign.
(169) Sabinus bishop of Panopolis, I hereby sign.
(170) Athanasius bishop of the city of Scepsis, I hereby sign.
(171) Philumenus bishop of Cinna, I hereby sign.

151 This and the following entry interrupt the list of Egyptian bishops (126–69).

152 Cf. his signature to the condemnation of Nestorius at the first session of the council, which concludes, 'I Paul, presbyter, on his behalf, in his presence and at his bidding' (ACO 1.1.2 61. 151).

153 Supplied from the Latin versions.

(172) Felix bishop of the cities of Apollonia {and Byllis},[154] I hereby sign.
(173) Timothy bishop of the city of Tomi in the province of Scythia, I hereby sign.
(174) Zenobius bishop of the city of Cnossus, I hereby sign.
(175) Paulianus bishop of Maiuma, I hereby sign.
(176) Phoebammon bishop of Coptos, I hereby sign.
(177) Paviscus bishop of Apollonopolis, I hereby sign.
(178) Andrew bishop of Hermopolis, I hereby sign.
(179) Phanias the most insignificant bishop of Harpasa, I hereby sign.
(180) Theosebius bishop of Priene, I hereby sign.
(181) Maximus bishop of Assus, I hereby sign.
(182) Theoctistus bishop of Phocaea, I hereby sign.
(183) Hermolaus the most insignificant bishop of Attuda, I hereby sign.
(184) [117] Theodore bishop of Gadara, I hereby sign by the hand of the archdeacon Aetherius.
(185) Athanasius bishop of the island of Paros, I hereby sign.
(186) Paul bishop of Erymna, I hereby sign.
(187) Timothy bishop of Briulla, I hereby sign.
(188) Daniel bishop of Colonia in Cappadocia, I hereby sign.
(189) Asclepiades bishop of Trapezopolis, I hereby sign.
(190) Theodore bishop of the city of Echinus, I hereby sign.
(191) Bessulas deacon of the church of Carthage, I hereby sign.
(192) Stephen bishop of the city of Teos in Asia, I hereby sign.
(193) Caesarius *chorepiscopus* of the city of Arca, I hereby sign.
(194) Theodulus bishop of Elusa, I hereby sign.
(195) Theodore bishop of Arindela, I hereby sign.
(196) Letoeus bishop of Livias, I hereby sign.
(197) Aristocritus bishop of Olympus, I hereby sign.

154 Since Felix signs in Latin, the city must be that in Illyricum. The Latin version in the Acts of Chalcedon I. 945.172 runs, 'Felix, representing the apostolic see, bishop of the cities of Apollonia and Byllis'. This supplies 'and Byllis', but there is no indication elsewhere that he was one of the papal representatives, and if he had been, his name would not have appeared low down in the list.

5. FROM THE END OF JULY TILL NESTORIUS' RETIREMENT

1. THE MISSION OF COUNT JOHN

87. CV 93 — *Sacra* sent through Count John (August 431)
88. CA 45 — Report by Count John from Ephesus
89. CV 94 — Reply of the council to the *sacra*
90. CA 48 — Reply of the Easterners to the *sacra*
91. CC 106 — Letter of the eastern bishops to the clergy of Antioch
92. CC 107 — Letter of the eastern bishops to Acacius of Beroea
93. CV 102 — Letter of the council to Theodosius II

2. FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE (AUGUST)

94. CV 98 — Letter of the bishops in Constantinople to the council (13 August)
95. CV 99 — Letter of the council to the bishops in Constantinople
96. CV 100 — Letter of Cyril to the clergy of Constantinople
97. CV 103 — Petition of the clergy of Constantinople to Theodosius II
98. CV 104 — Letter of Cyril to three bishops in Constantinople
99. CV 105 — Letter of the council to the bishops and clergy in Constantinople
100. CV 116 — Letter of the presbyter Alypius to Cyril
101. CV 86 — Letter of the clergy of Constantinople to the council

3. ADDITIONAL CONCILIAR DECISIONS

102. CA 80 — Conciliar decree against the Messalians
103. CA 81 — Session Protocol of 31 August on the bishops of Cyprus

104. CA 82 Petition of the bishops of Bizye and Coela to the council
105. CA 83 Letter of the council to the bishops of Pamphylia

4. RESIGNATION OF NESTORIUS

106. CA 55 Letter of the praetorian prefect Antiochus to Nestorius
107. CA 56 Letter of Nestorius to Antiochus

1. THE MISSION OF COUNT JOHN

Introduction

Some time around the end of July or early August, Theodosius decided to act on the conflicting reports he had received and to send a high-ranking official, Count John of the Sacred Largesses,[1] whom he gave far-reaching powers to solve the crisis and who, he emphasizes, was fully briefed on his policies and authorized to act as he saw fit. After some delay due to other business, John arrived in Ephesus conveying an imperial *sacra* (doc. 87) to read out to the bishops. The *sacra* is addressed to a list of (mostly) metropolitans from both sides and some notable absentees; it may well have been based on the original invitation list for the council. Importantly, it treats the council as one and refuses to acknowledge its effective split into two competing assemblies. In it Theodosius further emphasizes his unwavering attachment to the orthodoxy of Nicaea. As the bishops' responses show, Count John must have instructed both sides orally to set out their own doctrinal position with this as the basis.

Among the documents relating to his mission, we first have Count John's report to the emperor (doc. 88) on the situation he encountered in Ephesus and about his difficulties in handling it. He invited both sides to his lodgings to read out the *sacra* to them. Expecting trouble and even violence, he took precautions. Both parties protested at the presence of the other and would not come together to listen to the reading of Theodosius' letter. John decided to remove Cyril and Nestorius and take them into custody (Memnon had initially chosen to stay away, but met John and surrendered himself later in the evening of the same day), and compelled the others to listen to the *sacra*. Crucially the *sacra* accepted the 'deposition' of Nestorius as well as of Cyril and Memnon. Bishop John's camp seemed content but the Cyrillians resented it. Despite the removal of their leaders and his repeated admonitions, Count John found both sides irreconcilable. The continuing split finds expression in the separate documents drafted by each side in response to the *sacra*.

The Cyrillians – who after Cyril's and Memnon's 'deposition' and detention were now led by Juvenal of Jerusalem – wrote (doc. 89) to

1 On his career, see 'Ioannes 12', *PLRE* II, 596. He was promoted to *magister officiorum* during the summer.

protest about the false impression given in the *sacra* that the council had deposed Cyril and Memnon along with Nestorius: the 'real' council had not taken such a decision but, on the contrary, held Cyril and Memnon in the highest esteem. Even the fact that the *sacra* was addressed to all equally, including those around John who (as they saw it) had broken away and severed themselves from communion, was found offensive. They entreat the emperor to restore the two bishops, and refer to the proceedings of 22 June as a sufficient demonstration of their work for the clarification of orthodoxy, with the Nicene Creed accorded pride of place. Nothing else, they imply, was needed.

The response of the Easterners (doc. 90) reveals even more clearly that Count John's oral instructions interpreted the emperor's will as demanding affirmation of the Nicene Creed as well as a position paper on the Christological dispute. They extol the creed as a summary of scripture that sufficiently expounded the salvific faith. In their eyes, confession of the Nicene Creed specifically condemned the attempts by their opponents to sanction Cyril's heretical Chapters, which stand in contradiction to it. Accordingly they demand of the opposing bishops a rejection of those Chapters 'in written confession'. Presumably also following Count John's instructions, they set out their understanding of the incarnation in a doctrinal exposition offered as a commentary on the creed. These passages are of prime importance for the theological disputes of the time, outlining the eastern position in a dense formula that, two years later, would form the basis for a reconciliation between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria (see below p. 619).

Further letters of the Easterners to the clergy in Antioch (doc. 91) and to Acacius of Beroea (doc. 92) respond to the same developments. The first recounts events up to and including Count John's mission and notes with satisfaction the imperial acceptance of the deposition of Cyril and Memnon. Even so, the Cyrillians, they complain, were continuing in their uncanonical behaviour. To Acacius the group writes in response, more specifically, to a letter by him, which the emperor had included in his dispatch to the council (Acacius' letter is not extant). They add to information previously sent to him the account of the Cyrillians' continued refusal to reject the Chapters and even to take part in substantial theological discussion.

Another petition by the Cyrillian council (doc. 93) directed to the emperor belongs to the same context; it probably dates to the end of August. It goes further than the earlier one in describing the 'true' relationship between the council and John's breakaway party in contrast to the impression given by

the *sacra*. As a consequence their decisions, as those of the council proper, should be in force, whereas their opponents' arrogated 'decisions' have no validity and Cyril and Memnon need to be restored.

(87) *SACRA* SENT THROUGH COUNT JOHN (AUGUST 431)[2]

(1)[3] [31] To Celestine, Rufus, Augustine, Theodotus, Alexander, Acacius, Tranquillinus, Valentinus,[4] Iconius, John, Acacius, Ursus, Firmus, Himerius, Dexianus, Verinianus, Palladius, Asterius, Juvenal, Flavian,[5] Helladius Rabbula, another Alexander, Maximus,[6] Phritilas, Perigenes, Cyrus, another John, Eutherius, Hellanicus, Bosporius, another Cyrus, Venantius,[7] Peter, Dynatus, Dorotheus, Antiochus, Dalmatius, Eusebius, Seleucus, Eleusius,[8] Eulogius, Sappidius, Timothy, Pius, Troilus, Erennianus, Monimus, Olympius, Theophilus, Julian, Basil, and the other most devout bishops.

(2) How great a zeal for piety and the ancestral faith we constantly possess has been shown clearly, we believe, from many previous events;

2 CV 93, ACO I.1.3, 31–2; Latin version in CC 40, ACO I.3, 111–12.

3 The inclusion of Augustine (who had died in August 430, but had been invited to the council) suggests that this list was taken from the original letters of invitation. The great majority of the bishops in this list are known metropolitans. The names hard to identify (Valentinus, Ursus, Eusebius, Seleucus, Eulogius, Sappidius, Monimus, Theophilus – eight in number) happen to correspond to the number of eastern primatial metropolitan sees not otherwise represented in the list (omitting the sees of the deposed Nestorius, Cyril and Memnon). We do not know the names of two of the holders of these sees in 430–31 (the bishops of Hadrianopolis and Philippopolis), because they did not attend the council. If the other six were the supposed, but actually deceased, holders of these sees, that would account for the otherwise inexplicable omission of these sees from the list of addressees. For a different analysis of this list see Crabbe (1981) 371–8, who finds three or possibly four metropolitan sees unaccounted for.

4 Crabbe (1981) 371 emends this name to Valerianus, the metropolitan bishop of Iconium.

5 Flavian of Philippi, though not a metropolitan, was clearly recognized generally as representing Rufus of Thessalonica, as he did at the council.

6 As Crabbe (1981) 373 notes, he is to be identified with Maximin of Anazarbus, metropolitan of Cilicia II, who is regularly called Maximus in the Latin editions of the acts.

7 It is notable that the list of addressees includes Venantius of Hierapolis but not Aristonicus of Laodicea. Both cities were in Phrygia Pacatiana and ranked as *metropoleis*, but it was Laodicea that was the primatial see of the province at Chalcedon.

8 Presumably Eleusius of Constantia, the metropolitan of Cyprus, although he had already died and been succeeded by Reginus.

and, we believe, not least recently in the convocation of your most holy council has this become clear to all the inhabitants of the world. For not tolerating even for a short time a dispute that had erupted, we ordered your sacredness earnestly to assemble so that it could be resolved speedily; and thinking that labour on behalf of piety would be in no way burdensome to your piety, nevertheless with imperial forethought we relieved the disagreeableness of this by the convenience of time and place. For we appointed the city of Ephesus as being easy of access to those coming from either land or see, and as providing in abundance for those staying there everything needful in the way of local or imported produce, so that the pious aims of our serenity and of your holy council would concur easily and be brought to fulfilment.

(3) Accordingly, we have accepted the deposition of Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon of which we have now been informed by your religiousness, and we have learnt of your other proceedings, while we preserve the faith and orthodoxy of Christianity, which we received from our fathers and forebears and which the most holy council that took place in the time of Constantine of divine memory concordantly confirmed. Each member of your most holy assembly will take thought to return home in peace and harmony, once every dispute has been resolved and the causes of scandal have been eradicated.

(4) [32] And so that your sacredness may be stirred to look to harmony and to the universal peace of pious doctrine not only by the letter of our piety, we have also sent, after reading it, a letter of exhortation to this effect from the most sacred Acacius bishop of Beroea, who was unable to join your most holy assembly because of extreme old age, but has expounded in what he has written matter suitable to his religiousness and contributing to orthodox religion; what it is will be clear from a reading of this letter.[9] May your sacredness know that we have sent the most magnificent and most glorious John count of the sacred largesses for the following purpose, that, since he knows the policy of our divinity over the faith, he may effect whatever he perceives to be beneficial.

9 Cf. the letter of Acacius to Alexander of Hierapolis, written during the negotiations that led to the Formula of Union, where he says that he wrote to Theodosius II that Cyril was a 'heretic', ACO I.1.7, 147,15–19. See also the references to this lost letter in docs 90 and 92 and also CA 95 (written in self-defence by Cyril to Acacius).

(88) REPORT BY COUNT JOHN FROM EPHESUS[10]

[67] Copy of the letter of the most magnificent John count of the sacred [largesses], written from Ephesus.

(1) Being aware that serving divine decrees contributes to piety, I have to the best of my ability carried out everything according to the policy of the immaculate head. You will now learn the sequence of events. With great exertion and speed I reached the city of Ephesus on the day before such great events – I would have arrived sooner, had I not been impeded by various matters which, with the help of God be it said, I shall relate in person to your greatness when I come. Immediately I gave respectful greetings to the most holy bishops who had assembled from here and there; it is appropriate to call them fractions, because of the dissension existing between them. With everyone in a state of alarm and with Cyril and Memnon guarding their own security, I made a personal announcement to those who had assembled, using others to inform the absentees, that on the following day without any delay all were to assemble in my lodgings. To avoid any coming to blows through their assembling pell-mell (for this was to be expected in view of the ferocity that had taken possession of them, I know not how), I assigned them separate entrances.[11]

(2) After the arrival in the early morning of Nestorius and that, soon afterwards, of the most religious Bishop John together with the most holy bishops of his party, Cyril also arrived with all the most religious bishops, with only Memnon left behind. There was a great uproar and hubbub, with those who had come with Cyril declaring that they would in no way tolerate even the sight of Nestorius whom they had deposed; when, nevertheless, they had assembled, I wanted to read out the divine decree. But Cyril's supporters declared that the reading of the divine and dread decree should take place neither without Cyril nor in the presence of Nestorius or of the most sacred bishops who had come from the East; and this occasioned much discord, or rather battle and warfare. In this they were succeeded by the most holy bishops of the party of the most God-beloved John, who declared in their turn [68] that Cyril should not be present at the reading of the divine decree, since they had deposed him together with Memnon.

10 CA 45, ACO I.1.7, 67–8; Latin versions in CC 104, ACO I.4, 53–5 and CW 9, ACO I.5, 361–2.

11 The Latin version in CC has a different main clause, reading literally: 'I made crowds of soldiers mingle with them round the places contiguous to both factions.'

(3) Since this gave rise to great contention, taking up most of the day, I judged it expedient to have the imperial directive made known to the others without Cyril and Nestorius, since, indeed, the masters of the world had not included them among the addressees. But this was rejected by the most God-beloved bishops who had come with Cyril, who refused to give it a hearing in the company of those who had come with the most God-beloved John, asserting that they had deposed Cyril and Memnon uncanonically. Using both persuasion and force, to tell the truth, I contrived with difficulty to separate Cyril and Nestorius from the rest and to get the whole council to listen to the imperial decree. So with all of them herded together, I read out the venerable letter in which Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon are deposed. The reading was well received and applauded by those who had come with the most devout John, but those who had come with the most devout Flavian[12] listened to the reading with resentment, on the grounds that the deposition of Cyril and Memnon had been uncanonical.

(4) And so, when the reading had taken place, towards evening, to prevent further uproar, the most magnificent Candidianus count of the hallowed *domestici*, who took part in all my plans and proceedings, received Nestorius into custody, while I entrusted Cyril himself to the custody of the admirable James count and *praepositus* of the fourth schola. Since, as I have said, Memnon was absent, I sent for the administrator, the advocate, and the archdeacon of the most holy church of Ephesus, and informed them that Memnon together with the aforementioned had been deposed, charging them to guard the church's property with all care at their own risk.

(5) After this sequence of events, since I needed time for prayer, I went down to the most holy church. Learning that Memnon was in the bishop's palace, I sent the *primicerius* of the hallowed palatine guard, who was in attendance on me, to the aforesaid, so that we could at least meet one another and I would discover if he would refuse to come to me. He appeared without delay and, when challenged by me why he had not come in the morning, replied that he had been unwell and had not come for this reason. To avoid a second warning or admonition, he anticipated my words and made his way to my residence, obeying the divine and imperial commands. And so he too

12 In the absence of Cyril and Memnon, as the representative of the bishop of Thessalonica, Flavian of Philippi was the most senior bishop on the Cyrillian side, after Juvenal of Jerusalem.

has been handed over to the admirable Count James and is being guarded by the hallowed *scutarii* and the most venerable palatine guards.

(6) This is what I did on the first day. Because I needed to address the most God-beloved bishops on the subject of peace as well (about the orthodox religion being spared heresies and divisions), I gave myself free rein on this theme, and shall endeavour with all my strength to achieve what is possible, through the goodwill of the Almighty and of the piety and orthodox aims of the master of the world, even though I observe that the most God-beloved bishops are utterly implacable and irreconcilable towards each other; I do not know how they came to this point of acrimony and resentment. If anything more can be done either by myself or by letters, with the favour of the Almighty, I shall with all speed inform your greatness.

(89) REPLY OF THE COUNCIL TO THE *SACRA*[13]

[32] Copy of the reply of the holy council to the *sacra* read by the most magnificent John count of the sacred [largesses].

(1) To the most pious and Christ-loving Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, always Augusti, from the holy ecumenical council assembled by the grace of God and at the bidding of your authority in the metropolis of Ephesus. Your Christ-loving rule, most pious emperors, has from childhood displayed zeal for the faith and the canons, and because of this you ordered the bishops of the world in a pious decree to come to Ephesus. But the letter of your serenity that has now been read to us by the most magnificent and most glorious Count John has caused us no slight perturbation, since it showed that deceit and falsehood of some kind has alarmed your honest hearing.

(2) You write in your letter as if your authority had received from us a report of the deposition of the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril and our most sacred and most God-beloved fellow bishop, Memnon. Therefore, in earnest entreaty that falsehood have no influence on your Christ-loving rule, we are so bold as to notify your serenity that the ecumenical council, which has all the West with your great Rome and the apostolic see in session with it, as well as all Africa and all Illyricum, neither decreed nor reported a deposition of the aforesaid most holy and

13 CV 94, ACO I.1.3, 32–3; Latin version in CC 41, ACO I.3, 112–14.

most God-beloved bishops, but on the contrary admires these men for their zeal for orthodoxy and deems them worthy of much praise from men and many crowns from Christ the Lord; it is only the preacher of the unlawful heresy of the man-worshippers, Nestorius, whose deposition we reported to your Christ-loving rule.

(3) What has greatly distressed us, and seems to have occurred through deception, [33] is the mixing of our names with those who have defected from the ecumenical council, namely John of Antioch and those with him, including disciples of Caelestius, already deposed, and the dispatch of a single *sacra* to both us and them, who, as we have already, indeed long ago, informed your piety, have cut themselves off from us. We now also inform your Christ-loving rule that, turning to outrage against our chairmen, they dared to trample the canons and through their precipitate actions against us broke off communion with the entire ecumenical council, and also that, when summoned to trial, they utterly refused to comply and for this reason were totally excommunicated and deprived of their functions by the ecumenical council. We declare that on account of this monstrous conduct of theirs and their campaigning till this very day on behalf of the deposed Nestorius, we are in no way prepared to accept them into communion, since they refuse to sign the deposition of Nestorius and manifestly share his beliefs; and they have fallen foul of the canons on account of their disorderly attempt against our chairmen and their presumption in deceiving and misleading your pious hearing.

And so we entreat your rule, dedicated to God, that the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Cyril and Memnon be restored to the holy council, since they have in no way been condemned from the canons, and that the faith be preserved inviolate – the faith that was engraved on your soul by the Holy Spirit and was handed down to you from your forebears. In the minutes of the proceedings against Nestorius that we previously reported, the faith has been notably clarified, with pride of place given to the creed of the 318 most holy fathers at Nicaea, while the whole proceedings relating to him are sufficient to confute the impiety of our opponents, and to present the orthodox faith, which up till this day you have always been zealous to protect. (4) If it is pleasing to your authority for the sake of accurate information about the issues at stake between us and the schismatics, we entreat your head to send to the holy council whatever persons your authority approves, so that they can personally satisfy your Christ-loving rule about everything.

(90) REPLY OF THE EASTERNERS TO THE SACRA

Note

The response to the *sacra* by the eastern bishops is of enormous significance for the development of Christological dogma beyond the immediate context of the disputes in the summer of 431. The Easterners delivered an extensive discussion of their recognition of the Nicene Creed and its relevance to the matters in hand, before eventually providing a short formulary of their Christological thinking. They issue a strong statement of Nicene sufficiency, using a well-known, formulaic phrase effectively canonizing it ('neither add nor subtract anything'). It is after this that they add by way of explanation a formula expressing their understanding of 'Nicene' teaching on the question of the incarnation and Christ's natures. This formula, probably drafted by Theodoret, the chief theoretician of Antiochene theology at the time, was to be used again in the Formula of Reunion, on the basis of which Cyril and John of Antioch renewed their ecclesiastical communion in 433, and which would become the foundation for the doctrinal decree of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The creed, they state, hands down a 'precise definition of the economy' in that it teaches firmly and unwaveringly the true Godhead of the Only-begotten, from which may be also deduced (in accordance with the scriptures) 'that our Lord Jesus Christ is not a mere man but truly Son of God'. They 'neither add nor subtract anything from the creed and the exposition of this confession, since the exposition of the fathers suffices for everything'. It is only after prayer for divine assistance and an emphatic assertion not to be speaking by human standards that they continue to profess, in answering Theodosius' request, what scripture has taught them and present a confessional statement. The formula professes Mary to be Theotokos, asserts the double consubstantiality of the Incarnate Son with the Father in respect of his Godhead and with us in respect of his manhood, the unmixed union of two natures and, emphatically, confession of one Christ, one Son, one Lord.

This leads to a plea to the emperor to impress upon the opposing bishops the rejection of Cyril's theology and to demand of them instead 'to subscribe only to the confession of the holy fathers convened at Nicaea'. Their demand is not that their own formula or any other new profession of faith be officially adopted, but that no doctrinal formula be required for communion beyond affirmation of the Nicene Creed. This criterion also

sheds light on their condemnation of Cyril, whose principal fault, according to their analysis, lay precisely in the attempt (from their perspective, both flawed and improper) to gain conciliar authorization for statements additional to the creed, specifically the Twelve Chapters.

Text[14]

[69] A copy of the report of the Easterners written in reply to the previously written *sacra* delivered by Count John.

(1) One could plausibly count the men of today more fortunate that those who preceded our generation, since they are governed by your authority. Your piety, taking infinite care of the world, has given priority to care for pious religion over all others, and your universally lauded authority honours the things of God before everything on earth, because faith in him dominates all your thoughts and actions and works together with your piety in securing all blessings. That this is so we learn constantly from the event, and this has become particularly clear at the present time. For when unforeseen turmoil divided the priests, with everyone in conflict with everyone else, and the communality of our fellowship was disrupted, with the Egyptian having convulsed the world according to his wont, the decree of your piety, circulated by the in all respects most magnificent and most glorious John count of all the largesses, is sufficient to still the vain fevers of everyone, if we are ready to come to our senses.

(2) What is more important than everything is your authority's command in the letter itself for the removal of the causes of offence insinuated into the orthodox faith by some and for the use, as rule and norm, of the creed formerly issued by the fathers at Nicaea,[15] which, while containing nothing defective or superfluous, presents salvation in summary, comprehending in a few words what the divine scriptures have handed down to us about piety, and banishing the beliefs of those who want to impose innovations on us and have wandered off into error. For this reason, on receiving the letter of your piety and observing that the aims of your authority accord

14 CA 48, ACO I.1.7, 69–70; Latin versions in CC 105, ACO I.4, 55–7 and CW 10, ACO I.5, 362–4.

15 The *sacra* had only stated Theodosius' perseverance in the ancient faith defined at the time of Constantine. Evidently the Easterners interpreted this as an exhortation to confirm that faith by signing the creed. Very likely, Count John had communicated this imperial expectation to them orally. They understand such a signature as excluding the introduction of the heterodoxies expressed in Cyril's Chapters.

with the orthodox creed of the fathers, we have become zealous to throw out the chapters recently issued by Cyril in opposition to the teaching of the gospels and apostles, in which he had the audacity to anathematize all the holy men now existing or who have ever existed. At the present juncture he has attempted to confirm them by conciliar authority,[16] seizing as his opportunity the present turmoil among the bishops, while exploiting the inexperience of the multitude and also the malady[17] of some, which was formerly hidden but has now through insistent canvassing become manifest.

(3) These chapters are known to your authority, and likewise our most God-beloved and most holy father and bishop Acacius has informed the holy council by letter that they accord with the impiety of Apollinarius; this is plainly perceived by a man who has lived for 110 years, has spent all his life in apostolic labours, attended numerous councils, and always been in close proximity to the Apollinarians, in consequence of which he was able with ease to detect that the aforesaid chapters belong to that heresy.

(4) Together with the most magnificent and most glorious Count John we have urged those bishops who had already been deceived and consented to sign them to reject them and exclude them from the orthodox faith, and to join us in signing the orthodox creed of the fathers convened at Nicaea. On failing to persuade them, because of their now evil predisposition, we were compelled to acknowledge on our own this orthodox creed as immaculate, to subscribe to it, and to reject in a written confession that bizarre issuing of the chapters, steeped in heresy; for the profession of those few words in the orthodox creed suffices to confute all heretical error and teach the truth to those ready to learn. [70] For in the matter of the Godhead of the Only-begotten this creed of the fathers did not allow drifting hither and thither, but proclaimed the *homoousion* and by overcoming the Arian heresy preserved unshaken the understanding of the faithful, and handed down precise parameters on the subject of the dispensation, by teaching us the immutability and freedom from change of the Godhead of the

16 Here and elsewhere the eastern bishops interpret the inclusion of Cyril's Third Letter and attached chapters in the protocol of the meeting of 22 June as an attempt, in effect, to invest them with formal conciliar approval, doubtless on account of the signing of the record by the bishops. Formally, the bishops' signatures only confirm the verdict against Nestorius. Yet the Easterners' charge demonstrates how this notion could quickly be extended to all the documents found in a session's protocol and the entire protocol be conceived of as authoritative in the minds of their users. Later generations routinely read conciliar acts in this way.

17 Meaning heresy – in subscribing to Cyril's Twelve Chapters.

Only-begotten, and (in a declaration that accords with the divine and holy scriptures) by instilling the conviction that our Lord Jesus Christ is not a mere man but truly the Son of God. Therefore we too, following them, neither add nor subtract anything from the creed and the exposition of this confession, since the exposition of the fathers suffices for everything.

(5) You have instructed us, most pious emperors, after this profession of the incontrovertible faith, to make known to your unsurpassable piety our profession on the subject of the holy Virgin Theotokos, for this has been communicated to us by the most magnificent and most glorious Count John. Requesting aid from God (for this is better than attempting these things according to a human standard), we make known to your piety what we have been taught by the divine scriptures, while the confession of our weakness precludes further argument by those who wish to pursue matters that we consider to be beyond man.

(6) We therefore acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man from a rational soul and body, born from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and from the Virgin Mary in the last days in respect of the manhood, the same consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, for there has occurred a union of two natures, because of which we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one Lord. In accordance with this conception of the unmixed union we acknowledge that the holy Virgin is Theotokos because God the Word was enfleshed and became man, and from the very conception united to himself the temple taken from her.

(7) Having been taught these things by the theologians,[18] evangelists, apostles, prophets, and those who in their time were teachers of the pious faith, we have provided a summary exposition, while we beseech and entreat your authority to defend pious religion (as is your wont), threatened as it is with destruction by the plague inflicted by the Egyptian chapters, and to decree that all the priests presiding over the holy churches are to reject the chapters intruded into the orthodox faith for the ruin of the churches by the aforesaid Cyril, and subscribe only to the confession of the holy fathers convened at Nicaea. For it is not possible for peace to be bestowed on the churches of God in any other way than by the rejection of that impious exposition.

18 The Greek word (θεολόγος) is stronger than its English derivative, since it refers not just to theological study, but to a real knowledge of things divine; see *PGL* 628.

(91) LETTER OF THE EASTERN BISHOPS TO THE CLERGY OF ANTIOCH[19]

[57] To the most honourable and most God-beloved presbyters, deacons, and other clergy and monks and the Christ-loving congregation in Antioch of the East, from the holy council of the Easterners and of other regions and provinces that by the grace of God has convened at Ephesus.

'God is with us,' we exclaim with the prophet.[20] For we strive together in defence of the divine doctrines; we exert ourselves to preserve intact the inheritance of the ancestral faith, and we hasten to keep the apostolic teaching for posterity as immaculate as we received it. For this reason we boldly undertook a long journey and put up with its laboriousness; we have with confidence spurned the many who had fallen into heretical insanity and deposed from the episcopate Cyril of Alexandria, the originator of the impiety, and condemned in the same decree Memnon of Ephesus, who assisted him in everything; we have also excommunicated those submissive to them, who had the effrontery to confirm these men's impiety by their signatures. All this we have communicated to the most pious and most God-beloved emperors. They, approving our proceedings, have written back, informing us that they approve the condemnation of the aforesaid persons, and have ordered us all to subscribe to the creed issued at Nicaea by the holy and blessed fathers, so as to eliminate the cause of stumbling that has arisen[21] and banish it from orthodox belief. In addition, the most magnificent and most glorious John, count of all the largesses, has been sent to put this into effect; he is holding Cyril and Memnon in strict custody, after relegating each of them to isolation and surrounding their residences with a mass of soldiers.

But not even these actions have quietened those who turn everything upside down and have filled the world with turmoil and dissension, but they continue to cause commotion by their usual outrages, and to activate the canons against themselves. For even though they have been excommunicated, they have insolently resumed priestly functions and communicated with those condemned. This is not permitted, since the canons explicitly prohibit those condemned or excommunicated from absolving themselves

19 Extant in a Latin version, CC 106, ACO I.4, 57–8.

20 Isa 8:10.

21 As is clear from the parallel passage in the following document, this refers to the Twelve Chapters.

in any way, and require them to wait for a synodal judgement, while if they absolve themselves, they lose all right to plead in future on their own behalf, and anyone who communicates with them is to be stripped of ecclesiastical ministry.[22] Pinned down by this regulation and having no hope of reinstatement, as the canons decree, they are causing general turmoil and confusion [58] and filling with dissension all the churches everywhere.

Now that you know this, may your religiousness be reassured about us and sing hymns of praise to the God of the universe for the care and providence he has exercised on our behalf. Pray also for our opponents, that they may finally at some time or other be freed from their most dangerous disease; and urge the teachers of the church to meet together frequently to speak against this impious doctrine and to guide the people of God along the path of the holy fathers, so that they may all become aware of the nature of the impiety we are fighting against. But if anyone be sent to our great city, which is the mother of piety, by those afflicted by the plague of this heresy, may your religiousness detain him securely and hand him over to the judges, so that those who try to excite commotion may learn how good a thing is discipline and how many are the evils that result from an obstinate and domineering will.

(1) John bishop of Antioch: May you be kept safe in the Lord, most honourable and most religious lords.
(2) John bishop of Damascus, likewise.
(3) Dexianus bishop of Seleucia, likewise.
(4) Antiochus bishop of the metropolis of Bostra, likewise.
(5) Alexander bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis, likewise.
(6) Asterius bishop of the metropolis of Amida, likewise.
(7) Helladius bishop of Ptolemais, likewise.
(8) Musaeus bishop of Aradus and Antaradus, likewise.
(9) Apringius bishop of Chalcis, likewise.
(10) Meletius bishop of Caesarea Augusta,[23] likewise.

22 Canon 4 of Antioch, which was generally attributed to the Dedication Council of 341 but was probably enacted by an earlier Antiochene council of 327/8 or 338/9 (Stephens (2015) 25–49 opts for the later date): 'If a bishop deposed by a council or a presbyter or deacon by his own bishop presumes to perform any of the liturgy ..., there is no longer allowed to him, even at another council, hope of restoration or the opportunity for a defence. In addition those who communicate with him are all to be expelled from the church ...' (Joannou, *Fonti*, I. 2, 107–8).

23 Neocaesarea (Euphratensis).

(11) Macarius bishop of Laodicea, likewise.

(12) Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus, likewise.

(13) Diogenes bishop of Seleucobelus, likewise.

Because there was great pressure from the availability of a courier, not all the bishops who are with us were able to sign.

I, the same most religious Archbishop John, made the declaration written above.[24]

(92) LETTER FROM THE EASTERN BISHOPS TO ACACIUS OF BEROEA[25]

[58] To my lord the most holy in all respects father and Bishop Acacius, from (1) John [of Antioch], (2) John [of Damascus], (3) Alexander [of Apamea], (4) Alexander [of Hierapolis], (5) Dexianus [of Seleucia], (6) Paul [of Emesa], (7) Macarius [of Laodicea], (8) Apringius [of Chalcis], (9) Theodoret [of Cyrrhus], (10) Musaeus [of Aradus], (11) Meletius [of Neocaesarea], and (12) Diogenes [of Seleucobelus].

We have already informed your holiness of the zeal with which we took action to eradicate from the church's teaching the madness of Apollinarius, revived by the doctrines of Cyril of Alexandria, and that we informed our most pious and Christ-loving emperors that we had deposed him and Memnon, who aided him as his accomplice in every wickedness, and that their piety sent a rescript, stating that they had approved the deposition we had carried out, and ordering us all to subscribe to the creed issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea and to abjure the stumbling block that has arisen,[26] as indeed is also stated in the letter of your holiness.[27] And now we inform your holiness in addition that, at the very time when this letter has been delivered, these men, whose commitment to error had already on one occasion made them fight for this heretical insanity, that is,

24 The manuscript gives the annotation with the verb in the third person: 'The same most religious Archbishop John issued the above declaration.' But Schwartz notes that the Latin translator must have misread the Greek.

25 Extant in a Latin version, CC 107, ACO I.4, 58–9.

26 See CV 93 (doc. 87).

27 The letter is lost. Count John had brought this letter by Acacius along with the imperial *sacra*, where it is explicitly mentioned (CV 93.4). It shows the emperor's intent to impress on the council his decision to accept the depositions and the demand for subscription to the Nicene Creed by enlisting also the support of the doyen of the eastern episcopate.

who had the audacity to sign the aforesaid chapters, refuse to banish them from the orthodox faith, as [59] the decrees of our Christ-loving emperors have commanded. They do not even agree, when invited by us to a debate, to reply to our criticisms (for we have ready to hand refutations of these heretical chapters both from the divinely inspired scriptures and from the writings of the holy fathers, which they composed with great labour).[28] Instead, they are causing general turmoil and confusion and filling the cities and provinces with dissension by sending wicked and unlawful letters against us; these, though of no force (for what power can be exercised by those who have been deposed from every priestly function?), can still confuse the simple-minded. May your religiousness be informed that, even though already excommunicated by us, because they give assistance to the insanity of the heretic Cyril and to his unlawful and wicked proceedings, they have had the audacity to celebrate the eucharist and communicate with those condemned;[29] your religiousness knows that there are canons about such matters which deny them any opportunity for forgiveness.[30] And they commit these deeds, even though they can see that Cyril and Memnon, after being most insultingly relegated, are being held by a mass of soldiers; for after relegating each of them to isolation, they guard them night and day. We therefore entreat your holiness to worship on our behalf the God of the universe and secure for our side his irresistible will, and to pray also for our opponents, that they may finally at some time or other shed their noxious ideas and return to the ancestral faith. For it is impossible to restore peace to the churches unless that impious exposition is disowned.

We send many greetings to all the brotherhood that is with you. May you continue in good health and praying for us, most holy lord and most sacred father.

All the above-mentioned bishops subscribed in the same form.

28 The last phrase, as given in the Latin, must refer to the writings of the Fathers, but may in the Greek original have applied, more aptly, to the refutations of the Chapters. The refutations in question must be those authored by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Impugnatio xii anathematismorum Cyrilli*, preserved in part via quotations in Cyril's response to it; see CPG 6214) and Andrew of Samosata (fragments preserved by Cyril; CPG 6373).

29 Cf. the reports of the events of 28 June above. Cyril's sermon against John (doc. 77, pp. 410ff. above) attests to further services conducted by the Cyrillians since.

30 Canon 4 of Antioch; see n. 22 above.

(93) LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO THEODOSIUS II[31]

[47] To the most pious and Christ-loving Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, always Augusti, from the holy ecumenical council assembled by the grace of God and at the command of your authority in the metropolis of Ephesus.

Your authority did not allow the true faith to be undermined by the teaching of Nestorius, who together with the Jews reproached Christ the Lord for the human sufferings which he underwent for us and for our salvation; but your piety, abominating such speech against Christ, ordered us to assemble in the metropolis of Ephesus from virtually the whole world under the sun, wishing the fathers' and apostles' doctrines of piety to be ratified. Having in consequence met together and confirmed by a common decree the faith about Christ expounded by the 318 wh assembled at Nicaea in the time of Constantine of blessed memory, an having found Nestorius to be twisting this faith into something novel b tricks of verbiage and harming the tenets of piety by alien sophisms, we deposed him from priestly rank, wishing to prevent his doctrine from infesting the churches like a plague. But when we found that even some of the bishops had already lost their grounding, shared his beliefs, and had been seduced by his blasphemy, we excommunicated all who shared his beliefs, [48] until they renounce his corrupt teaching and acknowledge the catholic and apostolic faith, which from of old we all rely on for our salvation. But although we now decreed this, for the correction of those seduced into error, expecting their repentance, they, being more or less 30 in number, had no thought of repentance (some of them were liable to the canons on other charges as well and had joined up with the most devout John bishop of Antioch, who was himself liable to accusation for arriving so late, while others had been convicted of other heresies and some of them had already been deposed). Assembling in support of Nestorius, they had the temerity to compose a decree of deposition against the leaders of the holy ecumenical council, and this decree, as if issued by the whole council, they sent to your piety. On receiving it, your authority decreed that it should stand, supposing that it had been issued *by* the council, rather than *against* the council by those who shared the beliefs of Nestorius and were taking revenge on us for deposing Nestorius, since there was no charge they could bring against the leaders of our holy council. They also had the temerity

31 CV 102, ACO I.1.3, 47–8; Latin version in CC 44, ACO I.3, 116–17.

to deceive your pious ears, claiming that the condemnation issued by them against the council had also been accepted, even though it had been issued neither legally nor canonically nor by many, which is why the holy council, legally and by canonical action, annulled what they had decreed insolently and unjustly.

In consequence of this we all had recourse to the authority of your piety, entreating that the proceedings against Nestorius and those who share his beliefs should have their proper force, while the unlawful decree against the leaders of our council issued by those defending Nestorius because they share his beliefs should remain null and void, since they had been issued neither properly nor canonically nor for a proven offence, but had been perpetrated by those sharing Nestorius' beliefs for the sole purpose of taking revenge against the holy council. For if the decree of the ecumenical council against Nestorius was just and your authority has accepted it, since Nestorius preached open impiety, your authority will surely also consider it just that the proceedings against the holy council by those sharing Nestorius' beliefs should remain utterly null and void, since they have no ground to justify them beyond mere revenge for the proceedings of the holy and great council against Nestorius. We therefore entreat your authority to rescue us from affliction and give orders that the leaders of the holy council, the most God-beloved bishops Cyril and Memnon, be restored to us; for now that piety has been vindicated and those who were harming it have been checked, it is just that those who contended together with us in defence of the faith should enjoy honour, and not be condemned together with those convicted of lawless blasphemies against Christ the Lord.

Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem: I hereby sign this petition.[32]

And all the bishops in the records signed likewise.

32 As the immediate effect of Cyril's and Memnon's detention, Juvenal of Jerusalem regularly signs official documents in first place, as the effective leader of the group. He will also lead the delegation sent to the colloquia in Chalcedon in September, even though the papal legates nominally take precedence.

2. FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE (AUGUST)

Introduction

A number of documents and letters, by Cyril or bishops and clergymen supporting him, belong to the same period of mid- to late August 431, after Cyril and Memnon had been taken into custody. The letters all show the circulation of rumours and accusations, the efforts and effects of propaganda, the fears about false or biased reporting, and the distortion and suppression of news.

A letter, specifically, from several bishops staying in Constantinople (doc. 94) offers the council solidarity and support, in response to which (doc. 95) the bishops in Ephesus thank them, confirm their own resolv and encourage the bishops in the capital to continue to make representatior on their behalf and to instruct and exhort the laity in support of their cause. Another letter to the clergy in the capital (doc. 96) bemoans the challenging situation in Ephesus, the difficulty in conveying 'accurate', or indeed any, information (the letter is evidence of the opposite) and especially the Cyrillians' unshaken resolve not to enter into any conversation, let alone communion, with the 'schismatic assembly' around John. They urge the addressees to petition the emperor on their behalf for the restauration of Memnon and Cyril, proposing that he should either grant them an audience or allow them to return home. An example of such representation on behalf of the council is the supplication (*deesis*) from the Constantinopolitan clergy (doc. 97). They petition the emperor against approval of the deposition of Cyril and Memnon and declare their willingness and firm resolve to oppose it. They request in its stead confirmation of the 'majority' decrees, and reject any seeming 'reconciliation' under political pressure. The specific points find a plausible context as a response to the mission of Count John, and once news of his activities in Ephesus had been received back in Constantinople, which points to a date in the second half of August. In another letter (doc. 98) Cyril also complains about false accusations against him and his character, when in reality the council is standing firm and is ready to suffer for its convictions. He is heralded by an otherwise unknown admirer (doc. 100), the Constantinopolitan presbyter Alypius, as a true 'martyr' for the faith in the tradition of his great Alexandrian predecessors.

To late August must also belong another letter by the clergy in Constantinople to the council (doc. 101), which responds to a much earlier

letter by the council from *c.* mid-July (CV 85, doc. 71). As we learn from it, the council's earlier communication was presented by the emperor himself to the archimandrite Dalmatius, a leading opponent of Nestorius in Constantinople, for the purpose of a public reading. It was presumably only when he decided to accept Nestorius' 'resignation' and proceed to the election of a successor that the emperor released it to the public and allowed its exploitation to great propagandistic effect by this revered figure. Clearly he had intercepted the council's letter and held it back in the meantime. The letter has its historical significance in demonstrating how Theodosius' decision to give up on Nestorius was made under pressure from the monastic communities led by Dalmatius. The atmosphere of anti-Nestorian sentiment and open hostility into which the letter and Dalmatius' public reading spoke, find credible illustration in a section of the Coptic Acts that reports of demonstrations in the city around this time and records the acclamations of the crowds.[33]

(94) LETTER OF THE BISHOPS IN CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE COUNCIL[34]

[42] Copy of a letter written to the holy council at Ephesus by the bishops found in Constantinople, issued on 20 Mesori in the fifteenth indiction.[35]

To the all-holy and most God-beloved archbishops and fathers assembled by the grace of God, Celestine,[36] Cyril, Juvenal, Firmus [of Caesarea], Flavian [of Philippi], [43] Memnon, Erennianus [of Myra], Theodotus [of Ancyra], Acacius [of Melitene] and your entire holy ecumenical council, greetings in the Lord from the bishops found at Constantinople, {Eulalius of Chalcedon, Entrechius of Chios, Acacius of Ariaratheia, Achilliades of Elaea, Severus of Codrula, Isaiah of Panemuteichus, Chrysaphius of Aprus, Theodulus of Basilinopolis, Jeremiah of Iberia in Persia}.[37]

33 See for these our *Appendix*, pp. 636–42 below with the annotation there.

34 CV 98, ACO I.1.3, 42–3; Latin version in CC 47, ACO I.3, 140–1.

35 13 August 431. The use of dating by the Coptic calendar suggests that the letter was filed by Egyptian clerks who had accompanied Cyril to Ephesus.

36 The pope is probably named not because the bishops at Constantinople thought he was present at the council, but because they did not know the names of his legates.

37 Supplied from the Latin version. Note the cosmopolitan character of this group of bishops, who came not only from nearby Europa (Chrysaphius) and Bithynia (Eulalius

We ought to be with your holinesses not only in our souls but also in our bodies, to share the affliction resulting from your trials and to be crowned together with you in the contests. But since the war against the holy council stretches even as far as us – the sea is uncrossable and the land impassable for those coming from there, because of those watching the routes – and there is nothing that we can do, our own contribution has consisted of tears and prayers. Since we are unable to reach your holinesses, we have extended to you our zeal as if it were our hands, joining you in deposing those deposed and in urging on the sacred ones of Christ. And we have not been without use for those here, strengthening the people and kindling the zeal of the majority, while serving the priests as well in whatever ways seemed good to them. But since this, and what the absent can do, is little, we have been so bold as to send this letter, hailing as blessed your exertions on behalf of piety, reciting to each of the holy fathers individually and to all in common the sayings of the prophets and fathers to the effect that, as holy fathers and worthy of a heavenly calling, you have been reckoned as sheep for the slaughter, being put to death the whole day long for Christ,[38] 'being destitute, afflicted, tormented', you 'of whom the world was not worthy'.[39] But give us also advice by letter as to what should be done, so that, if it is necessary to go to the holy council and endure together with you the rest of the contest, we may do so, for we are not lacking in zeal; but if you bid us stay here (since, thanks to the adorable deity, the most God-beloved and most pious emperor is reported to be well-disposed towards us), state this clearly, so that we are not worn down any longer by extreme anxiety.

(95) LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO THE BISHOPS IN CONSTANTINOPLE[40]

[43] To the most devout and most God-beloved fellow ministers Eulalius, Entrechius, Acacius, Chrysaphius, Jeremiah, Theodulus, and Isaiah, greetings in the Lord from the holy council convened by the grace of

and Theodulus), and from Asia (Achilliades) and the Aegean (Entrechius), but also from Pamphylia (Severus and Isaiah), Armenia (Acacius), and even Persian-held Iberia (Jeremiah).

38 Cf. Ps 43:23.

39 Heb 11:37–8.

40 CV 99, ACO I.1.3, 43–4. There is no Latin version.

God and the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors in the metropolis of Ephesus.

For those disposed as your letter has shown you to be, there is nothing inappropriate in sharing in combats with both soul and body and in claiming to share the labours we have endured here. For those competing in contests receive no slight assistance from those of the spectators who are zealous, who suggest trying out wrestling holds, urge on to victory, and suggest what those competing for glory should do. But your religiousness has devised something more than these skills, namely empowering us through prayer and entreating God on our behalf, so that we may not be tested beyond what we are able to bear, [44] and that, when we are tested, we may prove stronger than those putting us to the test. In your concern about our labours you have entered into fellowship with us, for those who learn what is happening from afar are wont to be even more anxious than those who have actually embarked on the contests. It is sufficient consolation for us that our opponents' machinations against us are not unknown, and that their outrages against the holy council have reached even you. For we know that through your dearness to God[41] each particular will come to the ears of the most pious emperors, and that there will be an end to our tribulations when you make known the madness of John of Antioch and those with him and the outrages they have committed contrary to law and the canons against the most God-beloved and most holy bishops Cyril and Memnon and the holy council. For we deduce that nothing of this can be clearly known to the God-beloved and most pious emperor, for otherwise those who stir up war against us would not have prevailed – to the extent that we, though wronged, do not even receive pity, but are subjected to charges as if we were wrongdoers, and this although we have surrendered ourselves to suffering, while roused to no revenge against those who are wronging us.

That which prevents your sacredness from coming to us has ourselves as the cause. For we are constrained at present by a close siege on land and sea, with the result that we cannot even inform your sacredness of what is happening. It has been the work of your tears and prayers that, with those [who have risen against the council][42] having not yet finally assembled, each of us holds the same judgement on the matter and rejects reconciliation with them, despite the great pressure to this effect that is

41 θεοφιλεία is here (and later in the same letter) a mere honorific. We regularly translate its adjectival form (θεοφιλής) as 'God-beloved'.

42 Schwartz detects a lacuna here, and suggests this supplement *exempli gratia*.

being exerted on us by officials. In this as well we are among the recipients of your goodwill, since we are conscious that you share our combats and struggles, and what we know happens to those who love the holy martyrs can also be witnessed in the case of your dearness to God; for although for the time being you are not taking part in the contests, you have been honoured with crowns without labouring for them, as a result of your support for the wronged and your condemnation of those who have risen up against us. As a consequence you appear to lose nothing by your absence, since in every respect you share our convictions. What we have heard that you have done, by increasing the zeal of the people and exhorting them to have courage against our opponents, is not insignificant as an incitement to victory for those engaged in the combat, but is indeed a considerable encouragement. It remains for you, staying on the spot, to inform us of what is happening there and to bring our concerns to the knowledge of the most divine emperors and of the holy church. For this provides more effective assistance than if, coming to us, you were to share the afflictions of us under siege.

Since we deduced that our previous letters had not come to your knowledge, we sent copies of them again to your religiousness, and also a further report to the most pious emperors.[43] May your religiousness take an interest in hearing this, so that, if it was delivered, they may be reminded of our report, and if this did not happen, their piety may learn at least now what certain people, who were plotting against us even earlier, endeavoured to hide from their dearness to God.

We pray that you be in good health in the Lord, beloved and most cherished brothers.

(96) LETTER OF CYRIL TO THE CLERGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE[44]

[45] Copy of a letter of Cyril archbishop of Alexandria written to the clergy of Constantinople.

The holy council was greatly alarmed when it heard that the most magnificent and glorious Count John had not reported everything correctly, with the consequence that those there were planning to subject

43 See CV 102 (doc. 93).

44 Cyril, *ep.* 27, CV 100, ACO I.1.3, 45–6; Latin version in CC 42, ACO I.3, 114–15.

us even to exile on the supposition that the holy council had accepted the uncanonical and unlawful deposition decreed by John and the heretics with him. Therefore, behold, another report[45] has been sent by the holy council, declaring that it is distressed by the imperial letter, that 'we[46] have not accepted the depositions of the three', and especially that the impious and unlawful proceedings by our opponents are annulled, while our proceedings are confirmed. For they declared in their first report[47] that they had made null the uncanonical proceedings of their opponents, that they considered us to be in communion and fellow bishops, and that they had not departed from this conviction. And even though the aforesaid most magnificent man took countless steps to bring it about that John and those with him would return to communion with the holy council, right up to this day they [the holy council] have refused to heed this call,[48] but they all persist in saying, 'It is impossible for us to proceed to this, unless their uncanonical decree is rescinded, and they prostrate themselves before the council as the ones in the wrong, and anathematize Nestorius and his doctrines in writing.' The whole stand of the council consists of these points.

After this failure, the aforesaid most magnificent man thought up this as well, and asked the council to give him a statement of faith in writing, so that he could make our opponents assent and sign, and that on his return he would be able to say, 'I have joined them together in friendship, even though they felt a human resentment towards each other.' On hearing this, the holy council again insisted unanimously, 'We refuse to insult ourselves, for we were not summoned as heretics, but we came to restore the abolished faith, which we have indeed done, and the emperor has no need to learn the faith now, since he knows it and was baptized in it.' But not even this succeeded with those from the East.

Be informed of this also, that, although they composed a statement of faith, they quarrelled with each other and are quarrelling still. For while some of them are ready to say that the holy Virgin is Theotokos in conjunction with calling her Anthropotokos ['man-bearer'], others completely reject this and declare that they are ready to have their hands

45 This must refer to CV 102 (doc. 93).

46 Here and below 'we' appears not to include Cyril himself, who was no longer able to take part in the meetings of the council, and must therefore be direct speech.

47 This must refer to CV 94 (doc. 89).

48 The switch of subject to the holy council is awkward, and the narrative sequence illogical. A lacuna is to be suspected.

cut off rather than put their signatures to this expression;[49] and so they are completely discredited, having shown themselves to be heretics.

May everyone be informed of this by your religiousness, and especially the most religious and most holy archimandrites, lest the above-mentioned [Count John] on his return produce quite different statements or information, to delight the ears of some. And may your religiousness neither weary nor tire in your exertions on our behalf, knowing that you are commending yourselves to both God and men. For in this place, too, by the grace of the Saviour, those of the most religious bishops who never knew us are ready to lay down their lives for us, and approach us with tears, saying that they pray to share exile and death with us. We are all suffering greatly both because of [46] being kept under guard by soldiers and because of having them sleeping outside our bedchambers, and this is particularly true of myself. All the rest of the council is exhausted and unwell, and many have died.[50] Finally, the rest of them are selling their possessions, since they lack funds.

(97) PETITION OF THE CLERGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THEODOSIUS II[51]

[49] Petition and supplication from the clergy of Constantinople in support of the holy council at Ephesus.

Knowing that your piety has made much account of the holy churches of God and of the pious faith preached in them and handed down to us from the fathers, and [knowing also] how much you have already laboured for it and how much again your piety has done through zeal on its behalf, we therefore have confidence in your Christ-loving hearing and are sending

49 But see CA 48.6 (doc. 90), where the Easterners in a body affirm the title Theotokos, and without the addition of Anthropotokos.

50 Cf. CC 64, ACO I.3, 178, a fragment surviving only in Latin of a report from the council to the clergy of Constantinople, which begins, 'We are being killed by the heat, since the winds are oppressive, and someone is buried almost every day.'

51 CV 103, ACO I.1.3, 49–50; Latin version in CC 48, ACO I.3, 141–2. Schwartz (ACO I.1.8, 11) dates this petition to soon after the arrival of Count John at Ephesus and consequent imprisonment of Cyril and Memnon. But the letter from bishops at Constantinople dated to 13 August (CV 98, doc. 94) makes no reference to this petition, which suggests that it was later in date and a response to John's mission once news of it had been received. Doubtless the council had from the first asked its allies in Constantinople to make representation on its behalf, but the new urgency in pressing for a rejection of the 'deposition' of Cyril and Memon finds its context here.

you information about the current uproar in the churches. For the message of our preaching, most pious emperors, in addition to the other pieces of legislation, teaches the need to obey all 'rulers and authorities'[52] for as long as obedience is seen to be profitable for souls; but when it exceeds the bounds of the advantageous, then the teachers of the divine laws urge frankness of speech even when addressing your headship, especially when imperial authority is adorned by the fact of orthodoxy; they themselves count this frankness as among the virtues and are eager to glory particularly in this, while they continually recite to us, 'I spoke before kings and was not abashed,'[53] and in this way urge us not to fall short in imitating them on similar occasions for frankness.

Therefore we, too, being convinced that this is the right time for us to exercise this frankness of speech, declare to your piety in this petition our own opinion: if, as regards the deposition issued (indeed!) against the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Cyril and Memnon by those who have separated themselves from the holy council (of whom the majority are heretics, without a diocese, excommunicate), your authority were to be induced to approve it, by the authority of those who are the masters of this decree and seduce the authorities,[54] and were to accept a decree that is senseless and invalid in every way – and also puerile, in that even at first it was accorded no respect by anyone at the holy council, which alone has the authority to hear such cases, and in that the condemnation did not result from any forbidden exercise of the priesthood –, all of us are ready with the zeal proper to Christians to incur danger together with the aforesaid sacred men and not to shun any exposure to danger, since we think it right to pay this recompense due to them for the dangers they have incurred in defence of the faith. This intention has been adopted by each one of us.

Convinced as we are of the justice of our petition, we implore your divinity to confirm the decree of the majority, that is, those who with the authority of their sees and the precision of their study of the correct faith have declared their accord with that most holy man and have informed your authority that he is orthodox. [We also entreat you] not to allow the whole

52 Tit 3:1.

53 Ps 118:46.

54 The manuscript reading runs: 'were to be induced to approve it, by the authority [τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ] of those who are the masters of this decree, removing (παραιρουμένη] also power'. Schwartz improves the syntax by emending τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ to τὴν αὐθεντίαν, but both the sense and the gender of παραιρουμένη remain puzzling. Festugière, whom we follow, keeps τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ and emends παραιρουμένη to παραιρουμένων.

world together to be thrown into chaos by some pretence of reconciliation, or by it being thought that no small part of the East has been excluded, [50] when it would not have chosen to be severed from unity if it had agreed to let the canons prevail. For if the teacher of the ecumenical council, with whom all were in agreement in their declarations, were to be subjected to something improper and contrary to canonical procedure – and this although your piety rightly rejected communion on such terms and convened the council specifically in order not to deprive it of the authority of its own statutes – it would be obvious that, to your own detriment, you would be confirming the outrage against the others who are in agreement with him. It would be necessary for all the bishops of the world to be deposed together with the aforesaid sacred men,[55] and reputation for orthodoxy would then pass, it appears, to Arius and Eunomius, since Nestorius was justly deposed for impious teaching, while, as a result of cajolery, the most holy bishops Cyril and Memnon are suffering the same penalty undeservedly, unlawfully, and improperly.

Do not, therefore, O Christ-loving emperors, let the church that reared you be rent asunder and which without toil on your part secures for your rule the raising of trophies against your enemies, and do not make the years of your imperial rule an age of martyrdom. Instead, as you bring back to mind the love of your forebears for the church, and how each of them obeyed the council of holy fathers that took place in their time and showed his respect for them by legislation to confirm their decrees, so you in your turn should be zealous in having precisely the same opinion about the holy council that you yourself have now convened, in order that you may reap a pure and holy harvest of hymns of thanksgiving from the council on behalf of your reign, and so that we may offer up sincere prayers to Christ the Lord for the continuance of your rule, most pious and Christ-loving emperors.

55 In other words, if the sentence of deposition against Cyril is enforced, all the bishops in alliance with him at Ephesus, and indeed all the orthodox bishops throughout the world, will have to be deposed as his accomplices.

(98) LETTER OF CYRIL TO THREE BISHOPS IN CONSTANTINOPLE[56]

[50] Copy of a letter of Archbishop Cyril written to the most devout bishops in Constantinople Theopemptus, Potamon, and Daniel,[57] about what he suffered as a result of the plots of Nestorius and John, when John count of the secretariat came to Ephesus.

To his beloved fellow ministers Theopemptus, Potamon and Daniel Cyril sends greetings in the Lord. Many slanders have circulated there [in Constantinople] against us, one that many accompanied us from the baths of Alexandria, another that consecrated virgins made the journey; and, as people relate, it has been said by slanderers that Nestorius suffered deposition as a result of my plots and not of the wishes of the holy council. But blessed be the Saviour, who has refuted those who allege such things! For when my lord [51] the most magnificent and most glorious John, count of the divine largesses, came to Ephesus, he censured those who spoke this nonsense, since he found no truth in it. For he saw that the holy council had its own reasons for its stand in defence of the faith, and was not seeking to gratify either myself or anyone else, but was moved by godly zeal and indignation at that man's blasphemies when it condemned him. Ever since the letter of the most pious and Christ-loving emperors was read out, in which the depositions of all three were said to have been accepted, we have for the time being been kept under guard, not knowing what will be the outcome. But we give thanks to Christ whenever we are deemed worthy not only to be imprisoned for the sake of his name but to endure everything else as well; for the matter is not without its reward. The council has refused to be in communion with John, but persists in saying, 'Here are our bodies, here are our churches, here are our cities: you have the power. It is impossible for us to be in communion with the Easterners, unless the false accusation they contrived against our fellow ministers be annulled, and they profess the orthodox faith. For they stand condemned for uttering,

56 Cyril, *ep.* 28, CV 104, ACO I.1.3, 50–1; Latin version in CC 49, ACO I.3, 143. Schwartz (ACO I.1.8, 11) dates this letter to immediately after Cyril's imprisonment, but its reference to the continued refusal of the council to make peace with John of Antioch suggests a slightly later date.

57 These must be three of the four Egyptian bishops who delivered Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* in Constantinople. Theopemptus and Daniel attended the session of 22 June and reported on this (pp. 255–6 above), but must now have returned to Constantinople as Cyril's agents. Potamon had remained in Constantinople (see p. 316 above).

holding, and professing the beliefs of Nestorius. The whole stand [of the council] consists of these points. May all the orthodox pray for us. As the blessed David says, 'I am ready for scourges.'[58]

(99) LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY IN CONSTANTINOPLE[59]

[51] The holy council convened by the grace of God and the decree of the most pious emperors in the metropolis of Ephesus, to the beloved and most cherished brethren and fellow ministers residing in Constantinople, and to the most devout presbyters and deacons of the same Constantinople.

For those exposed to such a tempest of affairs, and suffering many attacks from every side, while forbidden from beholding the calm and serene countenance of the most pious and Christ-loving emperors, how else could release from hardship be hoped for and what other consolation could be devised than to lament our situation in the hearing of those who are our own members? For you too are members of the ecumenical council, since you have shown zeal in defence of piety at every stage. Therefore may your reverences know that our life in Ephesus is no better than imprisonment and that we have been incarcerated here for three months now, without permission to send anyone either by land or by sea to the pious court or anywhere else, save in fear and danger. For whenever our letters have been successfully delivered, the bearers have been able to survive countless dangers only by disguising themselves in various ways at various times. The cause of our being held under guard in this way is the fact that everything relating to us has been falsely reported to the most pious emperor. For some, we learn, [52] have told his pious ears that we are fomenting sedition, and others have had the insolence to report that our ecumenical council has deposed the in all respects most God-beloved and most holy Cyril archbishop of Alexandria and our most holy and most God-beloved fellow bishop, Memnon, while others again, it seems, have had the temerity

58 Ps 37:18.

59 CV 105, ACO I.1.3, 51–3; Latin version in CC 45, ACO I.3, 117–19. The subscriptions at the end are found only in the Latin version. Schwartz (ACO I.1.8, 11) dates this letter to 'virtually the same date' as CV 94 above, that is, very soon after the arrival of Count John. But nothing in the letter excludes a later date in August, and the remark about being 'incarcerated' in Ephesus 'for three months now' would fit this better.

to add this, that we have agreed to enter into friendly discussion with the schismatic assembly whose president is John of Antioch. It is to prevent the revelation of all these things that we are held under tight guard and subjected to many attacks.

Being in no slight difficulty, therefore, we have endeavoured to write to your religiousness, knowing that you, acting as genuine children of the ecumenical council and in no way tolerating a betrayal of the orthodox faith, will prostrate yourselves before the most pious and Christ-loving emperor with many pleas and tears and also with this letter, and inform him of everything relating to us. For we have not condemned the aforesaid most holy and most God-beloved bishops Cyril and Memnon, but judge them worthy of great approbation and garlands, since they alone and foremost above all others were impelled by godly zeal and did everything possible to eliminate that preacher of impiety the most impious Nestorius and to cleanse the churches of this defilement. We can no longer endure being severed from the fellowship of the aforesaid most holy bishops, and would consider even exile together with them to be a great boon. We have resolved not to accept the schismatic assembly into communion; instead, in church and with the acclamations of all, we have anathematized John of Antioch and those with him, first because they have refused to join us in deposing that teacher of impiety Nestorius, and have continued to consort with him and to speak in his defence,[60] and then because, after making an attempt, most lawless and contrary to the canons, to abuse and insult the aforesaid most holy bishops, they have had the temerity to mislead the pious ears of the Christ-loving emperors, and on top of all this because they have in no way renounced the beliefs of Nestorius. For all these reasons we have once and for all expelled them, cutting them off from the whole communion of the church and banning them from every priestly function. For we judge that we would rather abandon our churches (may God avert this!) than return to communion with these men, particularly since they have not corrected all their offences listed above. We inform your reverences of this so that you may adopt the same stance towards them.

We therefore entreat you to communicate all this to the most pious and most God-beloved emperor and to petition on behalf of the whole council that those in no way condemned by the canons, namely the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Cyril and Memnon, be restored to us, that we

60 In fact it is noteworthy that the Syrians at Ephesus did not rally to Nestorius' defence, but concentrated their fire on attacking the Twelve Chapters of Cyril of Alexandria.

too receive mercy and be released at last from this disguised imprisonment, and that, if we are worthy to behold the face of the most pious and Christ-loving emperor, we may be permitted to do so, while, if we are judged unworthy of this, we may be permitted to return to our own churches, lest we all perish here, some through disease and others [53] through despair.

In order not to insert a huge number of signatures, we have restricted ourselves to the hands of the presidents.

{Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem: I have signed.

Arcadius and Projectus, bishops and legates of the apostolic see, likewise.

Philip presbyter and legate of the apostolic see, likewise.}[61]

(100) LETTER OF THE PRESBYTER ALYPIUS TO CYRIL[62]

[74] To the most holy and most God-beloved high priest Cyril, Alypius presbyter of [the church of] the Apostles[63] sends greetings in the Lord.

Blessed is the man to whom God will grant the favour of being the first to behold with the eyes of love your God-beloved and holy head, bearing the martyr's crown of confession. For you, most holy father, have trodden the path of the holy fathers with watchful eye, and have taught those 'halting in both feet'[64] to 'walk in step with the truth'.[65] You have adopted the bold speech of Elijah,[66] and you on your own have taken on the zeal of Phinehas.[67] You have stopped the impious mouth of the venomous dragon and overthrown the gluttonous Bel; you have made his vain hope of procuring dominion by means of his wealth null and impotent, and the contrivance [75] of the golden image you have made extinct.[68]

What mouth full of spiritual fragrance will be able to utter the praises of your zeal? For you have become the equal and the imitator of your uncle the blessed Theophilus, and you have also taken on the martyrdom of

61 These signatures are supplied from the Latin version, ACO I.3, 119, 13–15.

62 Cyril, *ep.* 29, CV 116, ACO I.1.3, 74–5. There is no Latin version. The letter could have been written at any stage of Cyril's imprisonment at Ephesus.

63 This is the church of the Apostles in Constantinople.

64 1 Kgs 18:21.

65 Gal 2:14.

66 This refers to the passage from 1 Kgs just cited.

67 Cf. Num 25:11.

68 Cf. Bel and the Dragon 3–27 (Rahlfs (1935) II, 937–40). Bel in this context is Nestorius.

the thrice-blessed Athanasius. Just as he escaped the machinations of the lawless heretics, like rocks in the sea, warding them off with his prayers, so your holiness has stilled the machinations of the lawless one, like impotent hurricanes, through a life pure in conscience. For this was how the blessed Athanasius, after many false accusations made against him by the heretics, rendered them vain. He accepted dwelling in a foreign land, under the name of exile, when the then rulers contrived it; and however much those foul mouths tried to concoct false charges, all the more pure and illustrious did he appear, glorious with long suffering. By these achievements and these combats he wove for himself the crown of martyrdom, established the *homoousion*, and trod underfoot the heresy of Arius; he restored orthodoxy and exalted the holy see of Mark the evangelist. You yourself, through undergoing the same, have followed in the steps of that holy man. I therefore beg, most holy father, to be granted the favour of seeing your holy countenance with my own eyes, clasping your knees, and enjoying [the sight of] a martyr who has won crowns [of victory] in time of peace. Everything relating to us, how we spoke openly, emboldened by your prayers and those of the holy fathers, and what we have done, will be related by the beloved deacon Candidianus, who is delivering to your holiness the letter of my insignificance.

I greet the entire holy council of those who have won the crown of martyrdom together with your sacredness. May you be bestowed on us by God, in good health, stout of heart, eminent in the Lord, and combating for the truth.

(101) LETTER OF THE CLERGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE COUNCIL

Note

This letter from the Constantinopolitan clergy signed by Dalmatius (other signatures will have been appended originally but were not retained) is the belated response to a letter written by the council in mid-July (doc. 71). It must have been intercepted and released for public recitation only when Theodosius was willing to abandon Nestorius and accept his 'resignation'. It highlights the decisive role in this development of the monastic communities led by Dalmatius and the pressure they brought to bear on the emperor.

Text[69]

[14] To our most religious and most sacred fathers convened by command of our most pious emperors from the whole world under the sun in the metropolis of Ephesus, Cyril, Juvenal, Memnon, Flavian, Firmus, Theodotus, Acacius, Amphilochius, Eleusius, Palladius, Verinianus, Iconius and all the rest of the holy council, from Dalmatius, Tigrius, Sampsonius, Maximian, John, Evander, Modestianus, Adelphius, Philotheus, Eulogius, Basiliscus, Florentius, and all the clergy in Constantinople.

Since we have always and from a tender age gloried in orthodox doctrine, we are eager to guard the tradition of the holy fathers. Lately your holinesses reminded us again of this tradition by means of the letter which the most religious and most holy Archbishop Cyril deigned to send to us for which we acknowledge our gratitude to God the Saviour. Your many and great achievements on behalf of the same faith have recently been made known to us. Having learnt that Nestorius, our former president, had been deposed by your religiousness for corrupting the apostolic, pure, and pious doctrines, we have [now] received the document we have just mentioned from our most pious and Christ-loving emperors Theodosius and Valentinian as sent by you, most sacred ones, and we immediately had it read in the holy church of God, with all the people assembled. May we therefore inform your holinesses that the people are in full accord with us and uttered many acclamations in praise of your holy ecumenical council and of the triumphant emperors who undertook your convocation welcome to God. In our joy we have written the present letter, and we beseech your renowned religiousness to pray for us [15] and to direct your attention to what is still needed for the restoration of the holy church of God to which we belong. For with your great forethought about orthodox doctrine you will be aware that what remains is simply this, that everything must be brought to a completion pleasing to Christ the Lord, and that everything relating to us should be entrusted to no one save your holinesses and the most pious and Christ-loving emperors.

I, Dalmatius, presbyter, archimandrite, and father of monasteries, entreat your holinesses to pray for me.

69 CV 86, ACO I.1.3, 14–15; Latin version in CC 37, ACO I.3, 95.

3. ADDITIONAL CONCILIAR DECISIONS

In the *Collectio Atheniensis*, several documents presenting further decisions taken by the council in a variety of forms follow on directly from the 'session-protocol' of 22 July. Of these, only that concerning ordination rights on Cyprus – often called Session VI of the council (doc. 103) – is given a date, though one that is open to question. In format it comes closest to the minuting style observed in other documents, albeit with significant modifications.[70] The other texts recording conciliar rulings follow different generic models and cannot be dated with any precision. We retain the sequence in which they are presented in the *Collectio Atheniensis*. These records illustrate the kinds of hearings and decisions on disciplinary and hierarchical matters prompted by the split with the eastern bishops, and may indirectly also suggest possible analogies for what may have been the factual basis for the literary presentation of Charisius' case which we find in the protocol of 22 July.

(102) CONCILIAR DECREE AGAINST THE MESSALIANS

Note

The Decree (*horos*) against the Messalians was prompted by a proposal by bishops from the province of Pamphylia, to which province a synodical letter on a different matter is also addressed (doc. 105). These two local questions may have been discussed by the council in the same session; but the very different genres of the two documents and the lack of connection between the cases they treat exclude certainty.

The so-called decree consists in a narrative about two bishops who bring the case and present a previous synodical decision on the matter from the time of Nestorius' predecessor Sisinnius. The council upholds and confirms this earlier decision, adds the rejection of a specific Messalian book, and outlines possible ways to resolve remaining issues in the region.[71] It may also be noted (and this provides a probable context for the decision)

70 Graumann (2010) 21–3.

71 For interpretation of the case, see also Fitschen (1998) 40–45.

that the eastern bishops had chided some members of the Cyrillian council as Messalians (p. 366 above).

Text[72]

[117] Decree of the holy ecumenical council at Ephesus against the impious Messalians or Euchites.

The most devout and most God-beloved bishops Valerianus and Amphilochius[73] came to us and proposed a joint inquiry about those in the region of Pamphylia who are called Messalians or Euchites or Enthusiasts, or however the most abominable heresy of these men may be indicated. During our examination, the most devout and most religious Bishop Valerianus produced a synodical document about them drawn up in great Constantinople in the time of Sisinnius of blessed memory;[74] this was read out, and was judged by all to be well-composed and orthodox. And it has been resolved by all of us, including the most God-beloved bishops Valerianus and Amphilochius and all the most devout bishops of the provinces of Pamphylia and Lycaonia, that everything decreed in the synodical document should have force and should in no way be contravened, with (of course) the proceedings in Alexandria also being valid, so that those adhering to the heresy of the Messalians or Enthusiasts in the entire province or under suspicion of this disease, whether clerics or laymen, may be dealt with. If they sign an anathema according to the provisions of the aforesaid synodical decree, clerics are to remain in the clergy and laymen in the communion of the church; but if they refuse and do not sign an anathema, then presbyters, deacons, and those holding any other rank in the church are to be deprived of both clerical rank and communion, and laymen are to be anathematized,[75] [118] while monasteries are forbidden to house those convicted, lest the tares spread and flourish. The most God-beloved bishops Valerianus and Amphilochius and the most devout bishops of the whole province are to

72 CA 80, ACO I.1.7, 117–18; Latin version in CW 3, ACO I.5, 354–5. This decree cannot be dated. The *Collectio Atheniensis* presents it immediately before the record about Cyprus (CA 81) dated to 31 August but the sequence does not allow chronological inference.

73 They were the metropolitan bishops of, respectively, Iconium in Lycaonia and Side in Pamphylia II.

74 Bishop of Constantinople 426–7.

75 Cf. p. 400 above for clergy guilty of heresy being excommunicated as well as defrocked. In contrast, the verdict against Nestorius (p. 523) deposed him without excommunication.

employ all the energy of their zeal in this matter to ensure that this is carried out.

In addition we have resolved that the book of this abominable heresy called by them the *Asketikon*[76] that was cited and produced by the most devout and most God-beloved Bishop Valerianus should be anathematized, since it was produced by the heretics, and that, if any other composition of their impiety be found by anyone, it too is anathema. Furthermore, since they [the bishops] came at this time to an unanimous disposition of agreement and fellowship with one another, it was necessary to make the decree unambiguous in writing; but if a question about the decree on this matter occurs to the most religious bishops Valerianus and Amphilochius and the most devout bishops of the whole province, and if something difficult or contentious seems to arise, we have resolved that it would be good if, through co-opting the most religious bishops of Lycia or Lycaonia and not leaving out the metropolitan of whatever province they chose, the points raised were through their mediation dealt with in an appropriate decree.

(103) SESSION PROTOCOL OF 31 AUGUST ON THE BISHOPS OF CYPRUS

Note

In this protocol of a synodical hearing we hear of three bishops from Cyprus who attempt to secure the independence of the island from the authority of the Antiochene see, with special reference to the appointment and consecration of bishops. The split with John of Antioch's party and his deposition and excommunication by the council provided them with a golden opportunity for this move. The council receives their petition and

76 The identity of this work and its author have attracted various hypotheses and discussion in the context, mainly, of its relationship to the Ps-Macarian Homilies. Because of the close relationship with the Macarian Homilies, the authorship of Symeon of Mesopotamia, described as a leader of the Messalians in Theodoret, has been suggested. See, in brief, 'Macarius/Symeon', *ODCC*, 1021f.; 'Messalians', *ODCC*, 1081f. However, Fitschen (1998) 218 proposes as possible author, perhaps more plausibly, one Adelphios who was subjected to synodical interrogation at a council in Antioch which is reported in Theodoret, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* (PG 83, 429–32); see Fitschen's discussion of the *Asceticon* (ibid., 214–18). For the Messalians, cf. also Stewart (1991); Caner (2002) 83–157.

relevant documentation, and enquires into past cases that might establish a precedent. Interestingly, at no point is a person speaking on behalf of the council identified.[77] Antiochene claims to jurisdiction over the island are rejected as a recent innovation that contravenes both the canons and the traditional rights of the metropolitans; the decree extends this rule beyond the specific case.

This decision remained contentious, however, even after universal recognition of the ecumenical status of the Cyrillian council, since the see of Antioch had not been consulted over the matter. But when in 488 the supposed relics of St Barnabas were discovered on the island, 'proving' that it had not been evangelized from Antioch, the emperor Zeno decreed Cypriot autonomy, and this was later confirmed by Justinian.[78]

The protocol has the date of 31 August. The plausibility of this date is dependent on the hypothetical dating of the departure of delegates for the colloquia at Chalcedon.[79]

Text[80]

[118] Copy of the minutes about the bishops of Cyprus.

In the year after the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, on the day before the Kalends of September,[81] the council having been convened by the grace of God and the decree of our most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors in the metropolis of Ephesus in the holy church called [after] Mary, Reginus bishop of the holy church of Constantia in Cyprus said: 'Since certain people are causing trouble to the most holy churches in our province, I ask that the petition which I have to hand be received and read.'

77 On the protocol's form and mode of representation, see Graumann, *Council Acts* (forthcoming).

78 See *DHGE* 12, 795.

79 It has been suggested that the date should be 31 July and a copyist was responsible for the error (Hefele-Leclerq II.1, 334), because no further sessions were possible after Count John's arrival. Perhaps the anonymity given to those speaking for the council is instead an indication of the difficulty of taking decisions in these conditions, especially since Cyril had been placed under house arrest.

80 CA 81, ACO I.1.7, 118–22; Latin version in CW 6, ACO I.5, 357–60.

81 31 August 431.

The holy council[82] said: 'Let the petition you have brought be received and read.'

To the most holy and glorious and great council assembled by the grace of God and at the bidding of our most God-beloved emperors in the God-protected metropolis of Ephesus, a petition from Reginus, Zeno, and Evagrius, bishops of Cyprus.

Some time back our holy father Troilus, on becoming bishop, suffered countless hardships from the clergy of Antioch and the most religious Bishop Theodotus;[83] for he was subjected, lawlessly, groundlessly, and uncanonically, to no slight violence even to the point of blows which it would have been improper to inflict even on criminals. For when he visited them on some other business, which was concluded successfully, they took advantage of his visit and tried to force the holy bishops of the island to become subject to themselves, contrary to the apostolic canons and the decrees of the most holy Council of Nicaea.[84] And now, on hearing that the blessed one had come to the end of his life, they have made the most magnificent general Dionysius[85] send directives to the governor of the province and an official letter to the most holy clergy of the church of Constantia, which we have to hand and are ready to show to your holinesses. For this reason we beg and beseech you to allow no innovation to be imposed by those who think they should stop short of nothing, being men who from the beginning and from of old have wanted, contrary to the ecclesiastical canons and the statutes issued by [119] *the most holy fathers assembled at Nicaea, to trample the great and holy council by means of wholly improper decrees. For as we have said, the most magnificent general Dionysius, a man entrusted with responsibility for military matters alone,[86] would not have been incited today and*

82 Throughout these minutes, 'the holy council' is the senior bishop present; after the 'deposition' of Cyril, this was Juvenal of Jerusalem (see p. 506 above).

83 Bishop of Antioch 420–9.

84 The reference is to Canon 4 of Nicaea, which laid down that a bishop is to be elected by all the bishops of his province.

85 Fl. 'Dionysius 13', *PLRE* II, 365–6. Dionysius, *magister utriusque militiae per Orientem*, was a devotee of Symeon Stylites, and had accompanied Nestorius on his journey to Constantinople.

86 In place of the preceding phrase the Latin version has 'taking thought for an afflicted church'. Schwartz suggests that this was an unhappy supplement to fill a lacuna caused by the poor condition of the Greek MS being used.

taken up what does not concern him, since he has no standing in ecclesiastical affairs,[87] *if he had not been deceived by the most sacred bishops assembled there and their clergy, and so come to think it canonical (as his directives state) that a bishop should not be appointed in Constantia the metropolis of Cyprus without their approval. We request that the letter of the most magnificent general be read, together with the directives and all the missives and proceedings relating to this drama, so that your holy and great council may learn from them that overwhelming force has been used, for no slight turmoil has convulsed the wholly metropolis. Moreover we inform your holy council that with the letters of the most gloriou general was sent a deacon of the holy church of Antioch. We therefore fa. prostrate at your holy feet and petition that by a canonical decree even now – just as from the beginning and from apostolic times, in accordance with the ordinances and canons of the most holy and great Council of Nicaea, our council in Cyprus has remained free from harm, from plots and every kind of oppression – so now also through your impartial and most just decree and your ordinance we may obtain justice.*

Reginus bishop of Constantia in Cyprus: I hereby sign with my own hand.

Zeno bishop of the holy church of God at Curium in Cyprus: I hereby sign with my own hand.

Evagrius the most insignificant bishop of the holy church of God at Soli in Cyprus: I hereby sign with my own hand.

Bishop Reginus said: 'Since we have also brought the directive of the most magnificent general Dionysius addressed to the most illustrious governor of the province, I request its reading.'

The holy council said: 'Let the directive of the most magnificent Dionysius also be read.'[88]

The most illustrious and most magnificent Flavius Dionysius, magister utriusque militiae, *to the most illustrious Theodore, consular of the province of Cyprus.*

87 The Latin version gives the following translation of the preceding clause: 'nor would he have involved himself in ecclesiastical affairs'.

88 The following text is given twice, in both the original Latin and Greek translation, in the Greek Acts, while the Latin version in CW is a retroversion from the Greek. Our translation gives the text once only.

The imperial authority, because of many cases and especially ecclesiastical ones, gave orders through the prorogation[89] *of divine missives for the most devout bishops to assemble at Ephesus. Because, therefore, we have ascertained that the bishop of the city of Constantia has departed from the present life and completed the day foreordained for him, we have deemed it necessary to dispatch to you this authorization, evidently lest anyone without the knowledge or disposition of the most devout assembly should have the presumption to nominate anyone in place of the deceased. For it is proper to await the decision that will be given by the accord of so many most devout bishops. For, as has been said, the aforesaid most religious men have been instructed to assemble for the sake of these matters. If, therefore, both your gravity and the office subordinate to you desires to avoid the ill consequences that fall to the contumacious, you will use every means to prevent this, nor* [120] *are you to suffer anyone to be promoted, as has already been said, prior to authorization by these most devout bishops whose concern it is reported to be. But if the ordination of the bishop in question has preceded this authorization, you are to make him come to Ephesus like the others according to the celestial oracle. For you ought not to be unaware that, if anything be otherwise attempted, you will be compelled to contribute five pounds of gold to the resources of the treasury, and your office the same again.*[90] *And so that these dispositions in accordance with the request of the most religious bishops may obtain timely execution, we have given orders that Maturius and Adelphius be specially dispatched from this office.*

Issued at Antioch twelve days before the Kalends of June.[91]

Bishop Reginus said: 'There is also another directive of the same most magnificent general Dionysius written to the most devout clergy of the metropolis of Constantia, and I request that it too be read.'

The holy council said: 'When it has been read, it too is to be inserted in the minutes of the proceedings.'[92]

89 The word is *prorogatis*, here misused in the sense of 'dispatch'. The secretary who penned the letter is unlikely to have been a native Latin speaker.

90 The purpose of these fines will have been to counterbalance the bribes offered by aspirants to the see.

91 21 May 431.

92 The following letter, being addressed to the clergy, is in Greek.

Flavius Dionysius the most magnificent and most glorious count, magister utriusque militia, *and ex-consul, to the most devout clerics of the most holy church in the metropolis of Constantia in Cyprus.*

Your religiousness knows that the triumphant and victorious masters of the world have decreed that the most sacred and most holy bishops are to assemble in Ephesus because of many other causes and especially ecclesiastical ones. Since, therefore, we have learnt from information provided by the most holy bishops who have assembled here that your most blessed bishop [121] *has expired in accordance with the divine will, I have deemed it necessary to inform your reverences of this and to charg you to ensure that no one is elected or ordained bishop by anyone; for decree on this matter will certainly be issued, and you are to await th issuing of a mandate from here. For it is proper and in accordance with ecclesiastical law for the holy fathers to follow the prescriptions of the fathers. But if it has happened that someone has been enthroned prior to our letter, which we do not expect, instruct him to go to Ephesus with the other most devout men in accordance with the divine decree, for you know well that praise will accompany the obedient, while the disobedient will be appropriately corrected by the present appropriate mandate.*

The holy council said: 'What has been read is clear; but since the reason that prompted the most magnificent and most glorious general Dionysius to send them remains somewhat obscure in his directives, may the most God-beloved bishops of the holy churches in Cyprus here present provide clearer information of what it is that prompted the most magnificent general to send these directives.'

Zeno bishop of the city of Curium in Cyprus said: 'Bishop Sapricius of blessed memory, who arrived together with us, came because of this matter. But because he has departed this life, it has to be ourselves who must inform your holy ecumenical council that it was at the prompting of the bishop and clergy of Antioch that the most magnificent general sent these directives to the governor and the clergy.'

The holy council said: 'What is it that the bishop of Antioch wants?'

Evagrius bishop of Soli in Cyprus said: 'He is trying to take control of our island and arrogate the consecrations to himself, contrary to the canons and the custom that has prevailed from the beginning and from of old.'

The holy council said: 'Is it clear that the bishop of Antioch has never consecrated a bishop of Constantia?'

Zeno bishop of Curium in Cyprus said: 'They are unable to prove that from the time of the holy apostles an Antiochene has ever presided or consecrated or communicated with the island over a consecration, or anyone else.'

The holy council said: 'The holy council is mindful of the canon of the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea at that time in defence of the privileges of each church, where it mentions the city of Antioch.[93] Inform us, therefore, if it is not the case that of ancient custom the right to carry out consecrations in your province has been vested in the bishop of the church of Antioch.'

Bishop Zeno said: 'In anticipation [of this question] we have testified that he has never presided nor performed a consecration either in the metropolis or in another city, but the council of our province assembles and appoints our metropolitan according to the canons. We request that your holy council ratify and confirm this, so that the ancient customs that prevailed may prevail even now, and so that our province may not be subjected to innovation by anyone.'

The holy council said: 'May the most God-beloved bishops please give further information: by what council[94] were consecrated Troilus of sacred and blessed memory who has now passed away, or his predecessor Sabinus of holy memory, or their predecessor the renowned Epiphanius?'

Bishop Zeno said: 'Both the holy bishops now mentioned and the most sacred bishops before them and those from the time of the holy apostles, all of whom were orthodox, were appointed by those in Cyprus, and neither the bishop of Antioch nor anyone else ever had occasion to carry out consecrations in our province.'

[122] The holy council said: 'Our most religious fellow bishop Reginus and the most devout bishops Zeno and Evagrius with him from the province of Cyprus have drawn attention to a matter that is an innovation contrary to the ecclesiastical statutes and the canons of the holy fathers and touches the freedom of all. Therefore, because general ailments require a stronger remedy, since they cause more harm, and since it was not the ancient custom that the bishop of the city of Antioch should perform consecrations in Cyprus, as we have learnt from the petitions and personal statements of the most devout men who have appealed to the holy council, those who preside

93 Canon 6 of Nicaea.

94 In the sense of a province of bishops, not necessarily of an actual meeting, though doubtless the bishops of Cyprus would assemble when a new metropolitan needed to be elected and consecrated.

over the holy churches in Cyprus are to enjoy protection from outrage and violence, and are to perform the consecrations of most devout bishops by themselves and according to the canons of the sacred fathers and ancient custom. The same is to be observed in the other dioceses[95] and provinces everywhere, so that none of the most God-beloved bishops is to take possession of another province that was not from the beginning and from of old under his authority and the authority of those before him; but if anyone has taken possession of a province and made it subordinate to him by force, he is to restore it, lest the canons of the fathers be contravened and through a pretext of priestly function the pomp of worldly power creep in, and lest unawares we destroy little by little the freedom that was bestowed on us with his own blood by our Lord Jesus Christ the liberator of all mankind. It has therefore been resolved by the holy ecumenical council that each province is to preserve pure and inviolate the rights it enjoyed from the beginning and from of old according to the customs formerly prevailing, while each metropolitan is free to take a copy of the proceedings for his own assurance. If anyone produces a decree at variance with what has now been laid down, the entire holy ecumenical council resolves that it is invalid.

(104) PETITION OF THE BISHOPS OF BIZYE AND COELA TO THE COUNCIL

Note

This petition by the bishops of the province of Europa deals with another possible difficulty arising from the split in the council. The metropolitan of the province, Phritilas, had sided with the 'Nestorian' party. The bishops siding with Cyril and against their metropolitan express the fear that he may seek to install (loyal) bishops in cities at present under their authority. Traditionally, they claim, several bishops of the province had administered more than one city. This unusual situation (normally each city would have its own bishop, or, put differently, a bishop would be in charge of one city only) might offer the metropolitan the opportunity to consecrate bishops for the additional cities administered by them and thereby remove these cities from their own, legitimate rule. In response to this petition, the council decrees that no innovation is to be permitted contrary to existing practice.

95 In the sense of groups of provinces.

Text[96]

[122] To the holy ecumenical council convened by the grace of God and at the bidding of the most pious emperors in the metropolis of Ephesus, from Euprepius bishop of Bizye and Arcadiopolis and Cyril of Coela.

An ancient custom has been in force in the province of Europa that each of the bishops should have under him two or three cities, as a result of which the bishop of Heraclea has Heraclea, Panium, Orni, and Gannus, four cities in number, the bishop of Bizye has Bizye and Arcadiopolis, the bishop of Coela likewise has Coela and Callipolis, and the bishop of Sausadia has Sausadia and Aphrodisias. Two is the number [123] of churches administered from the beginning and from old by the bishops of Europa, and the above-mentioned cities have never received their own bishops, but several happened to be under Heraclea from the beginning and one under the bishop of Bizye – I am referring to Arcadiopolis; likewise Callipolis was likewise under the bishop of Coela. But since the bishop of Heraclea, Phritilas, has now seceded from the holy council and joined Nestorius and those who share his beliefs, we have a suspicion that at some time, warding us off as unfriendly, he himself or those who administer with him the episcopal see of Heraclea may proceed to consecrate bishops, contrary to the custom that has been in force from the beginning in the above-mentioned cities under us, which have never had their own bishops, out of a wish, furthering innovation, to upset ancient custom and the practice that has been in force from the beginning and from of old. We therefore entreat your religiousness that your holy and great council issue a decree on the matter and that this be confirmed by personal subscription, so that we are not deprived of our churches in which we have worked so hard, and lest the ancient custom, confirmed by long observance, be upset by one of the aforementioned and so cause strife and serious disorder to the bishops of Europa. If we are granted this, we shall give thanks to the God of the universe who has convened your sacredness here to set right the churches throughout the world.

The holy ecumenical council said: 'The request of the most God-beloved bishops Euprepius and Cyril, presented in the appended petition, is reasonable. Therefore, since both the holy canons and secular laws accept ancient custom as constituting law, no innovation is to be made concerning the cities of Europa, but according to ancient custom they are to be under

96 CA 82, ACO I.1.7, 122–3; Latin version in CW 4, ACO I.5, 355–6.

the jurisdiction of the bishops under whom they have been from of old, with no one, including the present metropolitan (who has been stripped of his authority on other grounds), nor future ones after him being able to perpetrate any novelty contrary to the ancient order.

(105) LETTER OF THE COUNCIL TO THE BISHOPS OF PAMPHYLIA

Note

The Cyrillian council also undertook to regulate a further disciplinary matter in the province of Pamphylia. The situation and politics around this province and competing claims to authority was delicate. The behaviour and alliances of the bishops at the council may in fact be the first evidence for a subdivision into two ecclesiastical provinces – while in civil administration it remained united[97] – which by the time of the Chalcedonian Council was clearly established. The bishops around Amphilochius of Side (the new Pamphylia Secunda – or the eastern parts of the civil province) had aligned themselves closely and from the start with Memnon of Ephesus and the bishops of Asia. The bishops of Pamphylia Prima with their metropolitan Verinianus of Perge were among those who protested against the opening of a council on 21 June,[98] and so were not initially pro-Cyrillian. Yet nor did they sign any of the documents of John's counter-council soon afterwards, and so must have switched sides quickly. The decision against the Messalians (doc. 102) claims that the resolution was taken by 'all the bishops' from the province(s), but the metropolitan of Perge is not named along with the (metropolitan) bishop from Side, who is one of two sponsors of the proposal to the council. The case heard here concerns Attaleia, a city in Pamphylia Prima (under Perge), and a decision was taken in favour of Bishop Theodore, who had been among those initially opposing Cyril. Might all of this suggest that the two provinces and their metropolitans had made their peace and now acted in common? In that case the adjudication

97 See W. Ruge 'Pamphylia', *RE* XVIII.3 (1949) 354–407 (376–7); cf. H. Brandt, 'Pamphylien', *RAC* 26 (2015) 872–99.

98 Cf. doc. 37, where Verinianus of Perge signs in a prominent position at no. 4, and Theodore of Attaleia, who is directly affected by the case, signs at no. 47. Later both appended their names to the deposition of Nestorius, Verinianus at no. 192 and Theodore at no. 183.

would be very much 'internal' to the now united group and their allies in the Cyrillian camp. Such a situation may well be reflected in the exceptional tact and restraint with which the judgement is sought and expressed; even if a different and 'better' decision is arrived at in the province, it will be accepted by the council. The decision is reported in the form of a classic synodical letter. Whether other records had been prepared at all at the time may be doubted.

Under pressure from unfavourable reports about his conduct, Bishop Eustathius, even though canonically ordained, had offered his resignation, and a replacement had been consecrated. The council is careful not to criticize these measures. However, since Eustathius had not been formally tried and did not dispute the rights of the new incumbent, the council decrees that he is to retain his episcopal title and right to communion, without restitution of his right to officiate.

Text[99]

[123] Copy of the letter from the holy council to the council of Pamphylia concerning their metropolitan Eustathius.[100]

The holy council convened by the grace of God and at the bidding of the most God-beloved emperors at Ephesus sends greetings in the Lord to that in Pamphylia, to our beloved brothers, and fellow ministers.

'Do all things with deliberation', as the inspired scripture says.[101] It is particularly the duty of those entrusted with priesthood to examine with strict precision whatever needs to be done. Those who choose to lead their lives accordingly find that their affairs fulfil the fairness of their hopes and are borne along, as if by a favourable wind, according to their wishes. This statement has great probability. But sometimes keen and unbearable distress descends upon the mind and has the power to perturb it mightily, to distract it from pursuing what it should, and to induce it to look at what is by nature harmful as at something advantageous. We have observed something of this kind happening to the most devout and most religious Bishop Eustathius. For as testimony shows, he was consecrated canonically; but having been bewildered, as is reported, by certain people and [124] having encountered unexpected problems, he then, as a result of

99 CA 83, ACO I.1.7, 123–4; Latin version in CW 5, ACO I.5, 356–7.

100 Bishop of Attaleia, not a metropolitan.

101 Prov 31:4 (LXX).

being extremely unbusinesslike, gave up trying to cope with the anxieties that beset him, even though he could have refuted[102] the ill reports of those who were besetting him, and sent in (we know not why) a letter of resignation. He ought, once entrusted with priestly responsibilities, to have borne them with spiritual vigour and (as it were) to have stripped for labour and voluntarily endured the exertion that brings a reward. But once he had shown himself to be neglectful, as a result of inexperience rather than sloth and idleness, your religiousness was obliged to consecrate our most devout and most religious brother and fellow bishop Theodore to look after the church; for it would not have been proper for it to be widowed and for the flock of the Saviour to continue without an overseer.

When, however, he came to us weeping, not disputing over the city c the church with the aforesaid most religious Bishop Theodore but begging in the meantime for the rank and title of bishop, we all felt pity for the old man and, judging his tears to be generally shared, tried to ascertain whether he had undergone deposition lawfully or rather had been convicted on charges of inappropriate conduct by some who had chattered idly against his reputation. What we discovered was that nothing of the kind had happened, and that he had not been charged but had simply resigned. For this reason we did not criticize your religiousness for consecrating in his place, as was proper, the aforesaid most devout Bishop Theodore; but since it is improper to be too contentious over the man's lack of practical sense, and it is necessary rather to take pity on an old man who for so many years has been a stranger to his native city and his parental home, we have ordained and decreed that, without any dispute, he is to have the title, rank, and communion of a bishop, but is not to carry out ordinations nor to recover his church and exercise priesthood on his own authority, but, if at all, only when invited or permitted, if it so happen, by his brother and fellow bishop according to goodwill and love in Christ. But if you decide on something better in his regard, either now or later, this too will have the approval of the holy council.

102 Contrast the Latin version: 'because he could *not* refute ...'.

4. NESTORIUS' RESIGNATION

Introduction

The emperor's decision allowing Nestorius to leave Ephesus and return to his monastery is commonly dated to 4 September. It rests on the report by the eastern bishops of 11 September (doc. 112, p. 555 below), which speaks of an interval of eight days. However, this interval is not calculated from the date of the letter and of the first colloquium, but refers to their arrival at Chalcedon, which presumably occurred a few days before the date set for the first colloquium. The decision, then, must have been taken and announced to Nestorius at the end of August or the very beginning of September. The fact was certainly not yet known in Ephesus when the eastern envoys left the city for Chalcedon. No document of the emperor's decision is preserved; perhaps Theodosius only instructed imperial officials orally and left it to them to communicate his will. The letter written by the pretorian prefect Antiochus (doc. 106) outlines the travel arrangements made for Nestorius. In his response (doc. 107) Nestorius claims to have first learned of the emperor's decision from the prefect's letter. In the *Liber Heraclidis* Nestorius speaks of his frequent petitions to the emperor, directly and via other officials, offering his resignation; consequently what will have been news to him was not the granting of his request but its timing.[103] Nestorius further insists on the need for an imperial letter to make public as well the emperor's rejection of Cyril's 'nonsense'.

With the exception of one letter (doc. 85) carried by Nestorius' friend Irenaeus to Constantinople in July, the short note concerning his resignation is the only one written by Nestorius after the arrival of John of Antioch in Ephesus on 26 June to be preserved. There will have been more, certainly before he was taken into custody along with Cyril and Memnon in August. Yet no one, it seems, had any interest in collecting and preserving them.

103 Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* II.1 (387 Bedjan/248f. Nau; trans. Driver/Hodgson, 280f.).

(106) LETTER OF THE PRAETORIAN PREFECT ANTIOCHUS TO NESTORIUS[104]

[71] Letter of the praetorian prefect Antiochus[105] to Nestorius about his departure to his own monastery in the East when his deposition was confirmed.

For a long time we postponed the execution of the judgement decreed at the council, even though many people sharply criticized and importuned us. But since a letter of your sacredness has been delivered to us stating that staying in Ephesus has become disagreeable and that the desire o your religiousness is now to depart, we have sent people with the duty o escorting you throughout the journey, whether they decide to go by sea or to travel through Asia or Pontica, so as to escort you as far as the monastery. We have also dispatched warrants for the public post and public provisions, while we pray that through the mercy of God your sacredness may enjoy good health and an agreeable life. For we do not believe that you stand in need of consolation, when we think of your wise soul and countless virtues.

(107) LETTER OF NESTORIUS TO ANTIOCHUS[106]

[71] Letter of Nestorius written in reply to the same prefect Antiochus.

We have received the letter of your magnificence, from which we have learnt that our most pious and wholly laudable emperor has ordered us to reside in the monastery,[107] and we have welcomed what his decree bestows, for we prefer nothing to solitude for the sake of piety. We request your magnanimity to give constant reminders to the most pious emperor on the subject of religion, that by imperial letter he should publicly inform the churches of the orthodox everywhere of the condemnation of Cyril's nonsense, condemned by his piety, lest, if the condemnation of Cyril's views by the pious emperor be reported without a letter, this provide a cause of stumbling to the more simple-minded, who might suppose that

104 CA 55, ACO I.1.7, 71; Latin version in CC 112, ACO I.4, 64.

105 Probably 'Antiochus (Chuzon I) 7', *PLRE* II, 103f. He was Prefect for Oriens in 430–31 and consul in 431.

106 CA 56, ACO I.1.7, 71; Latin version in CC 113, ACO I.4, 64.

107 The monastery at Antioch where Nestorius had lived before becoming bishop of Constantinople.

this report was not true; and it would be fitting for your intelligence to contribute whatever is possible to the advocacy of the truth. It is sufficient to say this much to you, since every task entrusted to you wins you esteem.

6. FROM THE COLLOQUIA AT CHALCEDON TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL

1. COLLOQUIA AT CHALCEDON (SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER 431)

108.	CV 95	Mandate to the envoys of the council
109.	CV 96	Mandate to the envoys of the Easterners
110.	CV 108	Report to Theodosius II sent via the envoys of the Cyrillian council
111.	CA 57	Imperial *sacra* sent to Flavian of Philippi at Chalcedon
112.	CA 65	(First) letter of the eastern delegates to those at Ephesus (11 September)
113.	CA 66	(Second) letter of the eastern delegates to those at Ephesus
114.	CA 67	Letter of the Easterners at Ephesus to those at Constantinople
115.	CA 68	Report of the Easterners at Ephesus to Theodosius II
116.	CV 97	Letter of John of Antioch and others to Rufus of Thessalonica
117.	CA 69	Letter of Theodoret to Alexander of Hierapolis
118.	CC 294	A list of gifts from Cyril to people at court

2. DISSOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL AND CONSECRATION OF MAXIMIAN

119.	CC 118	First *sacra* dissolving the council
120.	CA 62	First petition of the eastern delegates
121.	CA 63	Second petition of the eastern delegates

122.	CA 64	Third petition of the eastern delegates
123.	CA 70	(Third) letter of the eastern delegates to those at Ephesus
124.	CA 97	Final *sacra* dissolving the council

3. REPERCUSSIONS AND RESPONSES

125.	CA 71	Homily of Theodoret delivered at Chalcedon
126.	CA 72	Homily of John of Antioch delivered at Chalcedon
127.	CV 114	Letter of Maximian of Constantinople to Cyril
128.	CA 90	Letter of Cyril to Maximian's consecrators
129.	CV 113	Letter of the synod at Constantinople to the bishops of Epirus Vetus
130.	CA 92	Letter of the synod at Constantinople to the clergy and laity of Tenedos
131.	CA 93	Petition of Peter of Traianopolis to the synod at Constantinople
132.	CA 94	Petition of Julian of Sardica to the synod at Thessalonica
133.	CC 130	Letter of Acacius of Beroea to Alexander of Hierapolis

1. COLLOQUIA AT CHALCEDON

INTRODUCTION

Mandates

Count John's attempts in Ephesus to bring both sides together had failed. Doubtless on receiving instructions from the court in response to his reports (the date will be late August), he communicated to the bishops an order summoning embassies of both parties to the court for colloquia – the exact form of which (to judge by the Easterners' mandate) appears so far to have been left undefined. The emperor initially ordered delegates to come to Constantinople, but doubtless because of an explosive atmosphere in the city and fear of public unrest, the bishops were detained at Chalcedon. There the meetings eventually took place on the imperial estate of Rufinianae (on the Sea of Marmora south-east of Chalcedon) and involved both members of the consistory and the emperor personally.

In response to the imperial orders we have the two mandates issued by either side, authorizing and instructing their delegates. The Cyrillian side (doc. 108) produced a mandate signed by 140 bishops, which focused strongly on the cases of Cyril and Memnon. The delegates were to avoid communion with John's party at all costs, and even under political pressure were to agree to return to communion with the Easterners only if they signed Nestorius' deposition, anathematized his doctrines, begged the council for forgiveness, and joined them in working for the reinstatement of Cyril and Memnon. With the mandate comes a letter (doc. 110) for the delegates to present to the emperor at their envisaged meeting. This letter serves to introduce the delegates, while adding an account of events thus far as perceived by the Cyrillians.

The corresponding mandate produced by the Easterners (doc. 109) instructs their delegates to sign any suitable document required for the establishment of peace, on one essential condition: the 'intrusion' of Cyril's heretical Chapters into the Nicene faith[1] had to be rejected and anathematized. Together with this mandate the delegates were handed a signed document (appended to the former) which quoted the Nicene

1 This repeats the Easterners' claim that the session of 22 June had formally approved Cyril's Chapters, thereby putting them on a par with the Nicene Creed.

Creed and explicitly professed exclusive adherence to it, while – again – rejecting the Cyrillian Chapters. The signatures, evidently, were intended to demonstrate that the bishops of this party had fulfilled the imperial demand passed on by Count John earlier in the month for a total adherence to the Nicene faith.

From the emperor we have a short personal note to Flavian of Philippi (doc. 111), one of the leading Cyrillian delegates, concerning his health.

Apart from these documents produced in preparation for the planned meetings, our information about the colloquia held at Chalcedon rests entirely on the reports and letters by the eastern bishops. No documents from Cyril's side have been preserved.

This absence of any documents about the colloquia from the Cyrillian side requires explanation. It cannot be a mere accident of textual transmission. Nor is it probable that the Cyrillian bishops would not have communicated at all with their peers and allies in Ephesus over the entire period, not even with Cyril who was detained there under house arrest. Since all relevant early collections go back to an Alexandrian prototype, the exclusion of whatever documents were hypothetically written must be understood in view of the distinct interest and agenda of Cyril and his immediate circle. If we take the Antiochene reports as indications of the agenda items treated in the meetings – however polemical their judgement about the Cyrillians' unwillingness to discuss the Chapters, and their 'shocking' theological incomprehension when the subject was broached – it is perhaps not surprising that the accusations levelled against the Chapters by the Easterners were not something Cyril wanted to preserve for posterity. Equally, we may presume that the eastern delegates advanced constant accusations against Cyril's personal character and conduct, and we should note the determination of the emperor and significant segments in the consistory even at this late stage to uphold and execute Cyril's and Memnon's deposition declared by John's council. If discussion of Cyril's personal role in the conflict and the question of the fate he deserved featured in any hypothetical reports sent by the Cyrillian delegates, they were not something to be included in a selection of documents intended to support his case and protect his memory. And even the manoeuvres and arguments that resulted in their eventual success in securing his release and retention of office (if narrated in imaginary reporting) cannot have been something Cyril wanted 'proudly' remembered. The whole topic and controversy about his involvement and responsibility was best left untouched, and the eventual *sacra* allowing him to remain in office allowed

to speak for itself.[2] For a collection of Ephesine documents originating in Alexandria, the entire topic of 'Cyril' (and its treatment in the colloquia at Chalcedon) was unedifying and uncomfortable; the issue was best left alone, and whatever documents there may have been did not find a way into the earliest assemblage of texts and were consequently lost to history.

Letters of the Easterners

Writing to the bishops remaining at Ephesus, the first letter of the eastern delegation (doc. 112), led by John of Antioch, speaks of the imminent first hearing of the case before the emperor. The bishops restate as their main objective the condemnation of Cyril's Chapters and their utter determination in the matter. The letter also contains the information about Nestorius' retirement, which must have come as a shock to the bishops, taking much wind out of their sails.

The second letter (doc. 113) looks back at the hearing and recounts with elation the complete victory of their party in theological debate with the Cyrillians. The emperor had visibly expressed his displeasure at statements from Acacius of Melitene in particular. Apparently the emperor demanded a written exposition of their faith from both sides. The eastern bishops insisted on the sufficiency of the Nicene Creed and again presented their exposition of it; this too, they assert, met with the emperor's approval. They ask the bishops staying behind in Ephesus to sign the creed yet again and send the signed document to them. In response, the eastern bishops in Ephesus congratulate and exhort their delegation on their defence of the true faith and send the copies demanded (doc. 114); their letter carries 42 signatures. At the same time, the bishops in Ephesus also express incredulity at the removal of Nestorius, and a fear that accepting Nestorius' fate might open the door for the recognition of the Chapters as well. These remarks were a

2 The wisdom of leaving unmentioned (in a hypothetical early collection) all discussion concerning the theology of his Chapters and especially the circumstances surrounding his return to office may be further illustrated by Cyril's *Apology* addressed to Theodosius and written in the autumn of the year not long after the colloquia and his return to Alexandria (CV 118, ACO I.1.3, 75–90, see CPG 5224). While he takes great pains to explain and excuse at some length his premature opening of the first session (repeating the whole host of arguments about John's delay and his apparent signal to proceed without him) he makes no mention of the circumstances of his return from Ephesus. He knew it was in one sense indefensible, and because of the embarrassment it must have caused the emperor, best not so much as even hinted at.

perceptive forecast of the probable consequences of Nestorius' removal.[3] His relegation to his former monastery must have taken away a central plank in the Easterners' case against the Cyrillians, even if they are otherwise remarkably silent about him in the documents from the period.

Sent to Chalcedon most probably in the same dispatch as their response to the reports of their peers, the eastern council in Ephesus also approaches the emperor (doc. 115) with a supplication making the same point: it pleads with him not to allow the deposition of Nestorius to stand, since the record of the same meeting in which the Cyrillians 'decreed' it (sc. the protocol of 22 June) proves them to be heretics. The anxieties of the eastern bishops in Ephesus that the recognition of Nestorius' deposition would pave the way for a more general acceptance of Cyril's council would soon prove justified. Meanwhile their delegation in Chalcedon also wrote to Rufus of Thessalonica (doc. 116) calling for his support and explaining the stand they had taken throughout the summer. The letter was written after five meetings had already taken place in which they found the Cyrillians stubbornly refusing either to withdraw the Chapters or to provide a full theological defence of them. We may suspect that they had begun to realize that the talks would achieve nothing. To Rufus, they offer a brief refutation of the theology of the Chapters, sketch their similarities with past heresies and point out in addition the Cyrillians' infringement of the canons; in contrast they stress their own Nicene credentials and include a number of documents to this effect. More revealing is a letter from Theodoret of Cyrrhus to his metropolitan, Alexander of Hierapolis (doc. 117), who had stayed behind in Ephesus. Writing not much later but revealing a change of atmosphere in the consistory, Theodoret not only expresses frustration over the inability to budge the Cyrillians but also reveals the pressure exerted on the eastern delegation to return to communion with Cyril's party. Despite their apparent victory in the theological debate, the eastern delegates were now experiencing imperial disfavour: every mention of Nestorius met with hostility in the consistory, and the disposition towards him of the emperor in particular had become one of antipathy. Theodoret is very clear in ascribing these changes of attitude in the consistory to bribery. A note – preserved in a letter from 432, but using a list that can with high probability be ascribed to October 431 (doc. 118) and placed here in our collection of documents to illustrate this accusation – provides a telling

3 On the earliest 'reception' of Cyril's council as it was in many ways initiated, and much bolstered by the acceptance of Nestorius' loss of office, see Graumann (2010) 147–62.

list of goods given to various officials to win them over to the Cyrillian cause. Theodoret makes the claim that the laity remained solid in their support for the Easterners' cause, but he also mentions the unmitigated hostility of clergy and monks who had come across, we may surmise, from Constantinople. Theodoret also narrates an exchange with the emperor about the conduct of services by either side. It must have been around this time that a first draft of a document dissolving the council was composed (doc. 119), though doubtless not published, which acknowledges the colloquia's failure to achieve peace and unity; while dissolving the council, this first *sacra* confirms the deposition of Cyril and Memnon – a stance that a second *sacra* (doc. 124 below) will reverse.

(108) MANDATE TO THE ENVOYS OF THE COUNCIL[4]

[33] A mandate issued by the holy council to the most devout bishops it sent to Constantinople to plead against those from the East.

To the most God-beloved and most religious Presbyter Philip, representing the most holy and most God-beloved Celestine archbishop of the apostolic see of Great Rome, [34] and to the most God-beloved and most holy bishops Arcadius, Juvenal, Flavian, Firmus, Theodotus, Acacius, Euoptius, greetings in the Lord from the holy ecumenical council assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus by the grace of God and the decree of the most pious emperors.

Charged by the most pious and Christ-loving emperors to send delegates on behalf of the entire world, which has taken up the fight for the orthodox faith by means of those assembled with us in the city of Ephesus, we have voted to entrust to your religiousness, as in the presence of Christ, an embassy on behalf of orthodoxy and of our holy fathers and brothers the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril and our most God-beloved fellow bishop, Memnon. Taking thought for both of them and for the safety of both ourselves and you, we have given you these instructions, so that we may know on what conditions we have sent you, and your religiousness may recognize that you are to do nothing that contravenes them. Above all, therefore, your sacredness must be aware

4 CV 95, ACO I.1.3, 33–6. Two Latin versions are extant, CC 60, ACO I.3, 173–4, lacking the subscriptions, and CW 11, ACO I.5, 364–6, with them. The Latin list of subscriptions has the same names as the Greek, with a few displacements in the order.

that you are in no way to accept communion with John of Antioch and his schismatic assembly, because they have refused to join us in deposing that preacher of impiety Nestorius, but have continued till your departure to defend him, and have had the effrontery contrary to all the canons to condemn both the most holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Cyril and the most holy and most God-beloved Bishop Memnon; moreover, even now they campaign for the doctrines of Nestorius, some of them are disciples of Caelestius and already deposed,[5] and they have had the effrontery to calumniate the ecumenical council as heretical. If, however, some compulsion be applied by the most pious emperor (since it is necessary to obey a Christ-loving and pious decree to the best of one's ability), on condition that the above-mentioned agree to sign Nestorius' deposition, to ask in a petition for forgiveness from the holy council for their reckless treatment of our chairmen, to anathematize the doctrines of Nestorius, to expel those who manifestly hold or have held them, and to join us in working for the restoration to us of the most holy archbishops Cyril and Memnon, then we instruct your holinesses, should this occur, to promise them communion and to write to us so that perfect peace may be made with them after we have given you our assent, but not to promise them communion until the holy council receives back its chairmen. We wish your sacredness to know that, if you fail to observe any of this, the holy council will neither accept your actions nor be in communion with you.

[35] The signatures[6]

(1) Bishop Verinianus of Perge: I hereby sign these instructions.
(2) Bishop Erennianus: I hereby sign.
(3) Bishop Dalmatius: I hereby sign.
(4) Bishop Severus: I hereby sign.
(5) Bishop Pius: I hereby sign.
(6) Bishop Hellanicus: I hereby sign.

5 Cyril himself was accused by the Easterners of declaring null the excommunication by their metropolitan (unnamed) of various 'Euchites or Enthusiasts' who had been condemned for holding the views of Pelagius and Caelestius (ACO I.1.3, 42,5–8).

6 The great majority of these names can be identified with confidence; there are just two entirely new names – Asterius (61) and Callippus (33). Where, however, not all the bishops with a particular name can have signed (since their number is deficient), we have no means of telling who lost out in this game of musical chairs. Nos 1–15 and 62–3 are metropolitans. Doubtless all the signatories used the formula that is only given in full for the first name.

(7) Palladius likewise.
(8) Amphilochius likewise.
(9) Perigenes likewise.
(10) Iconius likewise.
(11) Valerianus likewise.
(12) Cyrus likewise.
(13) Aristonicus likewise.
(14) Maeonius likewise.
(15) Dynatus likewise.
(16) Idduas likewise.
(17) Epiphanius likewise.
(18) Gregory likewise.
(19) Hesychius likewise.
(20) Tribonianus likewise.
(21) Philip likewise.
(22) Heracleon likewise.
(23) Peter likewise.
(24) Theodosius likewise.
(25) Eusebius likewise.
(26) Venantius likewise.
(27) Anysius likewise.
(28) Domninus likewise.
(29) Zenobius likewise.
(30) Aetius likewise.
(31) Timothy likewise.
(32) Eugenius likewise.
(33) Callippus likewise.
(34) John likewise.
(35) Theodotus likewise.
(36) Ablabius likewise.
(37) Domninus likewise.
(38) Eustathius likewise.
(39) Constantius likewise.
(40) Ennepius likewise.
(41) Euprepius likewise.
(42) Paralius likewise.
(43) Silvanus likewise.
(44) Limenius likewise.
(45) Cyril likewise.
(46) Euporus likewise.
(47) Rhodo likewise.
(48) Tychicus likewise.
(49) Martyrius likewise.
(50) Thomas likewise.
(51) Nicias likewise.
(52) Nestorius likewise.
(53) Theodore likewise.
(54) Archelaus likewise.
(55) Aphobius likewise.
(56) Hermolaus likewise.
(57) Macarius likewise.
(58) Docimasius likewise.
(59) Theosebius likewise.
(60) Domnus likewise.
(61) Asterius likewise.
(62) Reginus likewise.
(63) Senecio likewise.
(64) Bessulas deacon likewise.
(65) Maximus likewise.
(66) Theodulus likewise.
(67) Commodus likewise.
(68) Modestus likewise.
(69) Aristobulus likewise.
(70) Euthalius likewise.
(71) Heraclius likewise.
(72) Paul likewise.
(73) Theon likewise.
(74) Hieracis likewise.
(75) Chrysaorius likewise.
(76) Hermogenes likewise.
(77) Aristocritus likewise.
(78) [36] Alexander likewise.
(79) Lampetius likewise.
(80) Severus likewise.
(81) Aedesius likewise.
(82) Apellas likewise.
(83) Alypius likewise.
(84) Anderius likewise.

(85) Paul likewise.
(86) Macedonius likewise.
(87) Acacius likewise.
(88) Spudasius likewise.
(89) Aphthonetus likewise.
(90) Philetus likewise.
(91) Promachius likewise.
(92) Nectarius likewise.
(93) Metrodorus likewise.
(94) Dorotheus likewise.
(95) Tarianus likewise.
(96) Abraham likewise.
(97) Peter likewise.
(98) Eudoxius likewise.
(99) Adelphius likewise.
(100) Eulogius likewise.
(101) Theonas likewise.
(102) Cyrus likewise.
(103) Marcellinus likewise.
(104) Evagrius likewise.
(105) Theodore likewise.
(106) Solon likewise.
(107) Matidianus likewise.
(108) Eusebius likewise.
(109) Heraclides likewise.
(110) Ammon likewise.
(111) Zenobius likewise.
(112) Zeno likewise.
(113) Isaac likewise.
(114) Natiras likewise.
(115) Timothy likewise.
(116) Zeno likewise.
(117) Eusebius likewise.
(118) Philadelphus likewise.
(119) Macarius likewise.
(120) Paviscus likewise.
(121) Andrew likewise.
(122) Phoebammon likewise.
(123) Sabinus likewise.
(124) Eusebius likewise.
(125) Alexander likewise.
(126) Saidas likewise.
(127) Eutherius likewise.
(128) Peter likewise.
(129) John likewise.
(130) Ammonius[7] likewise.
(131) Romanus likewise.
(132) Paul likewise.
(133) John likewise.
(134) Rufinus likewise.
(135) Nesius likewise.
(136) Thomas likewise.
(137) John likewise.
(138) Timothy likewise.
(139) Eusebius likewise.
(140) Paul likewise.

7 'Ammon' both here and at 112 in the MSS. In one of these entries it must be an error for Ammonius.

(109) MANDATE TO THE ENVOYS OF THE EASTERNERS[8]

[36] A mandate issued by the Easterners to the bishops they sent to Constantinople to plead against the orthodox bishops sent by the ecumenical council to the same city of Constantinople.

The holy council convened at Ephesus, to the most God-beloved and most sacred John archbishop of the great city of Antioch, John bishop [37] of the metropolis of Damascus, Himerius bishop of the metropolis of Nicomedia, Paul bishop of Emesa (speaking also on behalf of the most sacred bishop Acacius of Beroea), Macarius bishop of the city of Laodicea (speaking also on behalf of Cyrus bishop of the metropolis of Tyre),[9] Apringius bishop of Chalcis (speaking also on behalf of Alexander bishop of the metropolis of Apamea), Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus (speaking also on behalf of Alexander bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis), and Helladius bishop of Ptolemais: we, being present, have issued these instructions to you in your presence.

Since, because of the ecclesiastical matter for which we were a summoned to Ephesus your religiousness has at the present time by decre of our most pious emperors been summoned to renowned Constantinople to join in the struggle for the truth, the faith of the holy fathers, and the orthodox doctrines (we were not all commanded to accompany you, but it is necessary to declare our unanimous conviction, which is that we abide by your proceedings and consider them to be valid and to contribute to the fear of God and to peace and good order in the church), for this reason we have written you this injunction, by which we empower you and entrust and commit to you the full authority that we ourselves, present here, have possessed, so that, when with the help of God you come to the aforesaid great city, whether it has to be in the presence of the most pious emperor or whether it is in the consistory or the sacred senate or at a council of fathers that discussion on the matters under investigation is to be conducted, you may enter it on behalf of the fellowship of the churches with the frankness, understanding, and grace that befit you, and take on the combat on behalf

8 CV 96, ACO I.1.3, 36–9. Three Latin versions of the first part are extant (CC 62, ACO I.3, 176–7; CC 111, ACO I.4, 63; CW 13, ACO I.5, 368), and three of the second part, the document on the faith (CC 110, ACO I.4, 61–2; CS 5, ACO I.5, 287–8; CW 14, ACO I.5, 369). The two parts must originally have been separate.

9 Schwartz deduced from this that Macarius' see was in Phoenice; see p. 180, n. 324. But even the Laodicea in Phoenice was not in Cyrus' province.

of us all, as long as we, of course, continue to be in agreement and accord and deem valid all your proceedings in this matter, present or future. If some need arise for reconciliation or peace in the church or anything else that requires signing on behalf of us all, we urge your holinesses to accomplish this without any delay for the benefit of the fellowship [of the churches] and for the glory of Christ the Lord. If it seems good, however, for you to send here a conciliar decree requiring the signatures of all, we all in common and each individually agree to sign it with all readiness and to send it to the pious court, once it becomes clear that in every way the heretical chapters intruded by Cyril of Alexandria into the faith of the fathers of Nicaea are being rejected with anathemas as alien to the catholic and apostolic church.

[38] Alexander metropolitan bishop of Hierapolis: If you transact anything in accordance with the faith expounded by the holy fathers of Nicaea, with nothing being intruded into the faith of the holy fathers and with a rejection of the heretical chapters of Cyril of Alexandria, I assent to it. For I have already signed this exposition of the faith, together with the holy council [that meets] with you.

Dorotheus bishop of Marcianopolis in Moesia Secunda: I hereby sign the preceding mandate likewise.

And all the rest signed.

When the mandate had been handed over, there was also handed over a document containing the following:

The holy council of the diocese of the East and those assembled together with them from various dioceses and provinces, Bithynia, Pisidia, Cappadocia Secunda, Paphlagonia, Europa, Moesia, Rhodope, Thessaly, and Dacia, have passed the following resolution.

Summoned to the city of Ephesus, because of the ecclesiastical questions that have recently arisen, by those who have been approved by God to rule justly and entrusted with the direction of the world and who govern their subjects wisely and piously, we came to the aforesaid city without delay. After no little time had been taken up by the disruption caused by Cyril the Egyptian and two or three letters had come from our most pious emperors, charging us to unite the churches of God everywhere in the bond of peace and to remain content with the creed issued by the most blessed fathers at Nicaea, on condition of course that the causes of offence that have recently arisen would be rejected, we tried to persuade the bishops who share the beliefs of the Egyptian, and had signed the heretical chapters he had issued,

to rescind them, since they are clearly destructive of the orthodox faith, and to be content with the teaching issued at Nicaea, in accordance with the decree of our most pious emperors. Since we were unable to persuade them because of their wrong preconceptions, we who keep to the sound faith of the fathers and allow nothing alien to be intruded into it have been compelled to set it out in writing and to confirm our confession by our signatures. For the exposition provided by these few words is sufficient to teach the precision of piety, to show the path of the truth, and to refute the error of heretical misbelief.

[39] We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, both those in heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down and was enfleshed, became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not,' and 'Before being begotten he was not,' and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.

This is the creed that the fathers issued, originally against the blasphemies of Arius who said that the Son of God was a creature, but also against all the heresies of Sabellius, Photinus, Paul of Samosata, Mani, Valentinus, and Marcion (and every heresy that rose up against the catholic and apostolic church), who were condemned by the 318 bishops who convened in the city of Nicaea. This exposition of the faith we all profess adherence to, both those of us who have assembled in Ephesus and also the most God-beloved bishops in our provinces, who have agreed to abide by all our proceedings. For we follow the wise man who said, 'Do not remove everlasting landmarks placed by your fathers.'[10] The heretical chapters recently issued by Cyril of Alexandria, to which he attached vain and extravagant anathemas and tried to confirm them by the votes and signatures of bishops, are rejected as alien to the orthodox faith by the holy council convened at Ephesus.

10 Prov 22:28.

John bishop of Antioch in the East: I hereby give my assent to the holy creed given above.

The same subscription was made by the rest of their bishops.[11]

(110) REPORT TO THEODOSIUS II SENT VIA THE ENVOYS OF THE COUNCIL[12]

[65] Report to the emperors sent via the most God-beloved bishops Juvenal, Firmus, Flavian, Arcadius, Theodotus, Acacius, and Euoptius, and the most devout Presbyter Philip.

To the most pious, most God-beloved and Christ-loving Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, always Augusti, from the holy council convened by the grace of God and the decree of your authority at Ephesus.

Every aspect of your reign is praiseworthy and displays great zeal for piety, Christ-loving emperors, and therefore all of us in common and each individually offers up prayers to Christ the Lord on behalf of your everlasting reign, beseeching that your Christ-loving headship may be preserved for the world forever. When even now your piety, moved by our petitions, gave orders through the most magnificent and most glorious Count John for our ecumenical council to send to your authority whichever most God-beloved bishops it might choose and to make known our whole situation in person, we naturally gave thanks to your Christ-loving imperial rule and selected the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Arcadius, Juvenal, Flavian, Firmus, Theodotus, Acacius, and Euoptius, and Philip presbyter of Rome, representing the most holy and most God-beloved Celestine bishop of the apostolic see of great Rome. In this letter we present them to your serenity, deeming them worthy to receive a benevolent look and hearing. Knowing that your Christ-loving soul, dedicated to God, makes much of service to Christ, our champion and saviour, and of honouring his priests in every way, because of the saying of his, 'He who hears you hears me, and he who receives you receives me,'[13] we make bold to add to our letter an account of the cause of our distress.

11 The Greek continues: 'who in their following letter asked also Bishop Rufus to join with them' – as a transition to CV 97, which we give below (doc. 116).

12 CV 108, ACO I.1.3, 65–6; Latin versions in CC 61, ACO 1.3, 174–6 and CW 12, ACO I.5, 366–7.

13 Luke 10:16; Matt 10:40.

We came to Ephesus for no other reason than to examine the faith according to your pious decree. Since the abominable doctrines of Nestorius had upset its calm, undisturbed from of old, we appropriately proposed a discussion of this sixteen days after the appointed date[14] and summoned Nestorius, who was unsettling the churches with his doctrines; and since, constrained by a bad conscience, he refused to come, we examined the impious doctrines that he had expounded in writing about the incarnation of Christ the Lord, after which we anathematized them and totally ejected their progenitor from episcopal dignity. But John of Antioch, [66] after arriving 22[15] days after the appointed date (and only just), and as if avenging himself on us for our zeal for the faith, assembled 30, more or less, around him, of whom some were disciples of Caelestius, while others had been deposed long before, and proceeded against our very chairmen: those zealots for orthodoxy, the most holy and most religious Cyril archbishop of Alexandria and our most holy and most God-beloved fellow bishop Memnon, although they had neither been formally accused by them nor summoned according to canonical procedure, he subjected to the outrage of deposition, and deceived your God-beloved and pious ears with the allegation that the holy ecumenical council had joined with him in this injustice against them. In accordance with the canons, this stirred into action the holy ecumenical council, with which is in session both the most holy and most God-beloved Celestine archbishop of your great Rome and the whole western council through the holy bishops whom it sent to us, and with which is also in session the whole of Africa and Illyricum: it decreed that both John himself as the leader of the schismatic assembly and those with him were excluded from all ecclesiastical communion; it also stripped them of every priestly function and annulled their uncanonical proceedings.

Notification of the proceedings in their regard we sent to your headship earlier; and now, by means of this letter and the most God-beloved bishops we have dispatched, we clasp your pious knees with outstretched hands, entreating that what was done through beguilement against the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Cyril and Memnon, since the canons accord it no validity, should be null and void, in such a way that our council should

14 The appointed date was Pentecost (7 June), and the actual date 22 June, precisely sixteen days later, according to the customary inclusive reckoning.

15 This is the reading of all the Greek MSS and the Latin version in CC. CW alone gives the correct figure of twenty days.

not be without its head, and that neither we nor all the priests of Christ in the world should be incessantly worn down by unbearable grief over our chairmen, but may, on gaining our request, join the churches in the world in offering up our customary prayers to Christ the Lord that your Christ-loving reign may be granted to us forever. For the false accusations made against them by John of Antioch and those with him affect all of us, since we share the faith of the aforesaid and exercise priestly ministry together with them. The entire council[16] of the West bears witness to their orthodox and unimpeachable faith, while we ourselves, being totally convinced of this, have uttered cries, which are recorded in the minutes, that they are orthodox and hold the same convictions as our holy fathers about the doctrines of the catholic and apostolic church. We therefore entreat your authority: release from our bonds both ourselves and them, for we share the bondage of those bound, since they are our brothers and the chairmen of our holy council.

(111) IMPERIAL *SACRA* SENT TO FLAVIAN OF PHILIPPI AT CHALCEDON[17]

[71] Copy of the *sacra* sent to Flavian bishop of Philippi, who had come to Chalcedon with the others who had been sent with him from the holy council.

The emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, most great and always venerable Augusti, to the most devout Flavian bishop of Philippi.

Having heard from the most magnificent and most glorious John count of our divine largesses that your religiousness had fallen ill, we felt no slight anxiety. For even if something contrary to our most serene intention resulted from the dissension between the most holy and most religious bishops with the result that peace was not decreed there, especially since your holiness had gone there, we nevertheless rejoice at the news that your religiousness has recovered and come to Chalcedon. Through you, by the will of God, we trust that the previous failure will receive a correction that befits ecclesiastical peace and our piety. In the meantime, therefore, remain in the aforesaid city, performing your customary prayers on behalf

16 Meaning not an actual council in session, but simply the entire episcopate.

17 CA 57, ACO I.1.7, 71. There is no Latin version.

of our piety and with confidence in our attachment to you. May God preserve you for many years, most holy and most devout father.

(112) (FIRST) LETTER OF THE EASTERN DELEGATES TO THOSE AT EPHESUS[18]

[76] To the most holy and God-beloved council at Ephesus, greetings in the Lord from John, John, Paul, Macarius, Apringius, and Theodoret.

When we arrived at Chalcedon (for neither we nor our opponents were allowed to enter Constantinople, because of demonstrations by the splendid monks), word reached us that eight days before our arrival[19] our most pious emperor had decreed that lord Nestorius was to leave Ephesus [77] for wherever he chooses to go, and we were much distressed in soul, if indeed it were true, because what had happened without judgement or law appears for the time being to prevail. May your sacredness know that we are contending courageously for the faith and that our choice is to contend to the death. Today, that is, the eleventh day of the month of Gorpiaeus,[20] we are expecting our most pious emperor to cross over to Rufinianae and there give a hearing to the case. May your holinesses therefore pray that Christ the Lord will assist us, so that we may be able to confirm the faith of the holy fathers and to tear up by the roots the chapters that have sprung up to the detriment of holy church. We exhort your sacredness to believe and do the same, and to maintain your admirable zeal for the orthodox faith. When this letter was written, the lord Himerius had not yet arrived;[21] perhaps he has suffered some upset on the road. Let none of this trouble your religiousness; for we hope that distress will be quenched and the truth shine forth, through your religiousness eagerly joining us in combat.

18 CA 65, ACO I.1.7, 76–7; Latin versions in CC 114, ACO I.4, 64–5 and CW 18, ACO I.5, 374.

19 With the inclusive system of counting days, this means precisely one week before.

20 11 September 431.

21 If Himerius (metropolitan of Nicomedia) arrived at Chalcedon after the Syrians, it may well be because he had business to conduct in his own province of Bithynia on the way.

(113) (SECOND) LETTER OF THE EASTERN DELEGATES TO THOSE AT EPHESUS[22]

[77] Another letter from the same to the same.

Thanks to the prayers of your sacredness we have had a meeting with our most pious emperor and, on receiving divine help, we have for the time being prevailed in the contest against those with opposing beliefs, with the result that all our points were accepted by our Christ-loving emperor, while their statements were shown up as unacceptable and incoherent. For despite making mention of Cyril in every possible way, and urging that he be summoned to make his own defence, they have not till now carried conviction, but were told that it was necessary to open the discussion about piety and for the faith of the blessed fathers to be confirmed. We also refuted Acacius, who in the minutes had declared that the Godhead is passible,[23] at which our pious emperor took such offence that he shook his purple robe and stepped backwards at the magnitude of the blasphemy; and we observed that the whole consistory very much approved of us for contending on behalf of piety. Our most pious emperor decided that each side should set out its own beliefs and present them to his piety, but we replied that it was impossible for us to produce an exposition other than that made at Nicaea by the most blessed fathers, and this pleased his authority; and so it remains for us to present to his piety the exposition that your sacredness signed.[24] The whole people of Constantinople crosses over to us constantly, entreating us to contend nobly for the faith, and we have great trouble in restraining them, so as not to appear to give a pretext to our opponents. We have sent your religiousness a copy of the exposition, that you may be so good as to make two copies and sign both.

22 CA 66, ACO I.1.7, 77; Latin versions in CC 115, ACO I.4, 65 and CW 19, ACO I.5, 374–5.

23 At the session of 22 June, Acacius of Melitene had insisted that the divine Word was the subject of the passion, but denied that the divine nature was passible (doc. 39, at CV 47.8; see also CV 53).

24 The statement of faith attached to the mandate to the eastern delegates (doc. 109).

(114) LETTER OF THE EASTERNERS AT EPHESUS TO THOSE AT CONSTANTINOPLE[25]

[77] To the in all respects most God-beloved, most holy, and most sacred fellow ministers John, John, Himerius, Paul, Macarius, Apringius, Theodoret, and Helladius, bishops, [78] the council convoked at Ephesus sends greetings in the Lord.

(1) Hearing of your contests in defence of piety and with the help of divine grace in the presence of our Christ-loving and most pious emperor, we have learnt by experience that Christ the Lord has not abandoned his churches, for he has given the necessary grace to you the orthodox, covered your opponents with shame, and made our most pious emperor embrace the orthodox faith of the most holy church. And we are confident that, if you contend with the boldness that belongs to the priests of Christ, and if the life of our most pious emperor is preserved by God, the affair will have a peaceful conclusion with heresy being pilloried, while the orthodox faith of the holy fathers will shine again in the churches throughout the world. Our opponents have not ceased till now exercising their usual tyranny through experiencing no censure; for by communicating their unlawful depositions to the churches everywhere, they harass both the clergy and the laity.

(2) We have signed two copies of what was sent by your sacredness, and exhort you in defence of them to maintain your opposition to the point of shedding your blood. As you contend in defence of the truth against the impiety that has sprung up, you are to know that we are in total agreement with your sacredness and ready to lay down our lives rather than accept any of the heretical chapters of Cyril of Alexandria.

(3) On learning about the person who has been wronged [Nestorius], we were reduced to complete speechlessness; for those who have deposed him have, as you know, in their heretical minutes attached the heretical chapters to the creed of the fathers,[26] and thereby shown themselves to be heretics and strangers to the orthodox faith. How is it possible, I ask, for both of these things, being contradictory, to be conjoined – both the deposition and the chapters? For if they are worthy of respect for having deposed him, they will also be worthy of respect in relation to the heretical chapters they have

25 CA 67, ACO 1.1.7, 77–8; Latin versions in CC 116, ACO 1.4, 65–6 and CW 20, ACO 1.5, 375–6.

26 Here again the minutes of the session of 22 June are interpreted by the Easterners as constituting a formal approval of the Twelve Chapters.

issued; but if the chapters prove them to be heretics, then the deposition also is most certainly the work of heretics.

(4) This we have also declared to our most pious emperor, and have sent your sacredness [a copy] so that you may do what you think right. For, as in the presence of the Truth itself,[27] we are anxious, should the deposition decreed by the heretics prevail, lest the heretical chapters and their other decrees against many priests may acquire a certain force also. We are confident that your sacredness, on learning all this, will take steps to annul all the heretics' decrees against everyone, whether of deposition or excommunication, by both conciliar letter and imperial enactment. For your religiousness is not unaware that we find some of the bishops with us to be isolated in their own provinces. We have sent your sacredness the recently issued interpretation of the heretical chapters by the Alexandrian,[28] who has provided by means of it yet more precise proof of his impiety. As we have already urged your sacredness, be so good as to see to it that we are soon allowed to depart, especially since winter is drawing near.

[The signatures][29]

(1) Tranquillinus bishop of Antioch the metropolis of Pisidia: I entreat that you may continue in good health and pray for me to God, my lord brothers.

And the rest subscribed likewise:

(2) Helladius bishop of Tarsus
(3) Alexander bishop of Apamea
(4) Julian bishop of Sardica
(5) Bosporius bishop of Gangra
(6) Peter bishop of Traianopolispolis
(7) Cyrus bishop of Tyre
(8) Rabbula bishop of Edessa

27 Cf. Christ's words in Jn 14:6, 'I am the way and the truth and the life'.

28 Cyril, *Explanation of the Twelve Chapters* [CPG 5223], ACO I.1.5, 15–25. For a translation, see McGuckin (1994) 282–93.

29 These are given only in the Latin version in CC 116. The numbers are original. There is one new name in the list: Cyriacus of Diocletianopolis (Thessaly). Nos 1–12, 14–16, and 24 are metropolitans.

(9) Alexander bishop of Hierapolis
(10) Maximin bishop of Anazarbus
(11) Dorotheus bishop of Marcianopolis
(12) Asterius bishop of Amida
(13) Pausianus bishop of Hypata
(14) Dexianus bishop of Seleucia
(15) Basil bishop of Larissa in Thessaly
(16) Eutherius bishop of Tyana
(17) Gerontius bishop of Claudiopolis
(18) Musaeus bishop of Aradus
(19) Placo bishop of Laodicea
(20) Marcianus bishop of Abrittus
(21) Cyril bishop of Adana
(22) Phritilas bishop of Heraclea
(23) Cyriacus bishop of Diocletianopolis
(24) Antiochus bishop of Bostra
(25) Daniel bishop of Faustinopolis
(26) Marcellinus bishop of Arca
(27) Sallustius bishop of Corycus
(28) James bishop of Durostolus
(29) Theophanius bishop of Philadelphia
(30) Meletius bishop of Neocaesarea
(31) Diogenes bishop of Ionopolis
(32) Polychronius bishop of Epiphaneia
(33) Hesychius bishop of Castabala
(34) Tarianus bishop of Augusta
(35) Cyrus bishop of Marcopolis
(36) Polychronius bishop of Heraclea
(37) Heliades bishop of Zeugma
(38) Anastasius bishop of Tenedos
(39) Valentinus bishop of Mallus
(40) Julian bishop of Larissa
(41) Diogenes bishop of Seleucobelus
(42) Theoctistus bishop of Caesarea

(115) REPORT OF THE EASTERNERS AT EPHESUS TO THEODOSIUS II[30]

[78] Report of the Easterners at Ephesus and those with them to the emperor. To the most pious and Christ-loving emperors Theodosius and Valentinian Augusti from the holy council convened at Ephesus.

(1) On being informed, by a letter from our most holy and most God-beloved fellow ministers who on behalf of the whole council [79] have made their way to your pious court, of their favourable admittance to your piety's presence and of your authority's zeal for orthodoxy, we rejoiced as if we were present with the aforementioned and had joined them in beholding your piety's serene countenance. For we have learned how our opponents' doctrine proved unacceptable to your right judgement, while the faith of the holy fathers at Nicaea (in defence of which both the most God-beloved bishops who are present and we ourselves are contending) received acceptance; and we are confident that, with your piety being so devoted to God, those who have made the attempt will never be able to undermine the apostolic faith through which your authority inherited imperial rule from your ancestors of old and holds every foreign race under your sway. For this reason we have, as is our wont, joyfully offered up to Christ the Lord acclamations of thanksgiving and earnest petitions on behalf of your piety.

(2) Since under your pious rule priests enjoy great freedom of speech, we have the confidence to inform your authority of what casts us into anguish and despondency and to ask for this to be remedied: therefore, prostrate at your feet, we entreat that we your suppliants may be received by your piety with patience as we beg for justice for the person who has been wronged by those who have accepted the heretical chapters of Cyril of Alexandria and committed impiety against the Godhead itself. For those who introduced the heretical chapters and obscured the faith of the holy fathers have in their minutes also carried out, as far as they could, an unlawful deposition, and we trust that it will not appear just to your unswerving and right judgement that their verdict of condemnation should stand, since they themselves manifestly ought to be condemned as proven heretics. What in particular they have perpetrated against the statutes of the church and your most pious letters has already been made known to your authority by many,

30 CA 68, ACO I.1.7, 78–9; Latin versions in CC 117, ACO I.4, 67–8 and CW 21, ACO I.5, 376–7.

while the one they have wronged has in no respect offended against your decrees and provides orthodox teaching of the church's faith. For even if he himself, to escape turmoil, makes the choice countless times to lead a life of retirement, it is necessary that the faith suffer no harm as a result of the unlawful deposition committed by those who introduced the heretical chapters.

(116) LETTER OF JOHN OF ANTIOCH AND OTHERS TO RUFUS OF THESSALONICA[31]

[39] To the most God-beloved and most sacred fellow minister Rufus, greetings in the Lord from John, Himerius, Theodoret, and the others.

We consider that piety and ecclesiastical peace have been much harmed by the absence of your holiness, for if you had been present, you would have put an end to the confusion that has occurred and the disorder that has been perpetrated [40] and would have striven with us against the heresies that have been intruded into the orthodox faith and the teaching of the gospels and apostles, which children always received from their fathers and handed down as far as us. We do not say this thoughtlessly, but after having learnt of another objective of your sacredness from what your religiousness wrote to the most God-beloved and most holy Julian bishop of Sardica. For the letter declared that this most religious bishop has a duty to join in the struggle for the creed issued by the blessed fathers convened at Nicaea and not to allow a blemish to be inflicted on those few words that suffice both to demonstrate the truth and refute falsehood. This your sacredness expounded rightly, correctly, and piously, and the one who received the letter followed the advice of the letter; but many of those who had come to the council 'turned aside and became corrupted' in the words of the prophet,[32] abandoning the faith they had received from the fathers and subscribing to the Twelve Chapters of Cyril of Alexandria, which are full of the heresy of Apollinarius, accord with the impiety of Arius and Eunomius, and anathematize everyone who does not accept this barefaced irreligion.

31 CV 97, ACO I.1.3, 39–42. There is no Latin version. In the event, Rufus sided with the Cyrillian council, whether out of conviction or because (after Maximian's consecration as Nestorius' successor) he could not stand against both the new bishop of Constantinople and the Roman legates (see doc. 132, pp. 608ff.).

32 Ps 13:3.

We who have assembled from the East as well as others from various dioceses have firmly opposed this corruption of the faith, with the result that the faith expounded at Nicaea by the blessed fathers has been confirmed. For, as your holiness knows, it lacks nothing for the teaching of the gospel doctrines and for the refutation of every heresy. We continue to contend in its defence, despising at the same time all the pleasures and pains of life, so as to preserve unstained this ancestral inheritance. For this reason Cyril and Memnon, the former as an heresiarch, the latter as a collaborator who has given him every assistance to achieve the confirmation and validation of the chapters issued for the ruin of the churches, we have subjected to deposition; we have also excommunicated those who had the audacity to subscribe and assent to the doctrines opposed to piety, until they anathematize them and return to the faith of the holy fathers who convened at Nicaea. But our patience has proved of no benefit to them, for till the present day they defend those men's perverse doctrines. They have impaled themselves on the canonical rule that clearly lays down that, if a bishop deposed by a council, or a presbyter or deacon by his own bishop, allows himself [to celebrate] the liturgy and does not await the judgement of a council, he loses all opportunity for a defence even at another synod, but together with those who communicate with him is totally excluded from the church.[33] Those who were deposed or excommunicated have fallen foul of this rule; for immediately after learning of the deposition and excommunication that had taken place they even celebrated the liturgy together and continue to celebrate it, clearly in disbelief of the one who said, 'Whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven.'[34]

We deliberated communicating this immediately to your holiness, but because we expected that there would be some change in the sorry situation, we postponed doing so till the present time. But we have been disappointed in our hope, for they have continued to defend this impious heresy and do not even [41] respect the advice of the most pious emperor. For he has already met with both us and them five times,[35] and

33 Canon 4 of Antioch, for which see p. 502, n. 22.

34 Matt 18:18.

35 That after what he calls five meetings John did not mention to Rufus anything that might allow the inference of an imperial decision to reinstate Cyril and Memnon contrasts markedly with a letter by the same eastern bishops to their allies in Ephesus (doc. 123, pp. 587ff.) – also said to have been written after the fifth meeting – where this news is communicated with exasperation. Is the reticence in the letter to Rufus the consequence

has ordered them either to reject Cyril's chapters as contrary to the faith or to agree to argue in their defence and demonstrate that they are in accord with the confession of the blessed fathers; for we have to hand the proofs which show that they are a direct attack on the orthodox teachers and are strongly in agreement with the teaching of the heretics. For in them the begetter of this evil progeny teaches that it was the Godhead of the only-begotten Son of God that suffered and not the manhood that he assumed for our salvation, with (of course) the indwelling Godhead appropriating the sufferings as being of his own body, while suffering nothing in his own nature; and in addition [he teaches] that there is one nature of Godhead and manhood. For he has interpreted 'The Word became flesh'[36] as the Godhead undergoing an alteration and being changed into flesh. In addition to this he anathematizes those who distinguish the sayings about Christ the Lord in the gospels and apostles and attribute the lowly ones to the manhood and the divine ones to the Godhead of Christ.[37]

This was the view of the Arians and Eunomians, who referred the lowly sayings about the dispensation to the Godhead and contrived to assert that God the Word was something created and made, and was unlike the Father and of a different essence. It is easy to perceive whatever blasphemy results from this; for it introduces a fusion of the natures and assigns to God the Word the saying, 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?'[38] and 'Father, if it is possible, may this cup pass from me',[39] and the hunger and thirst,[40] and being strengthened by an angel,[41] and the

of a cautious diplomatic approach for which mention of this fact seemed inopportune? Or should we query the number of meetings? Might there have been several more than those five 'official' ones, at the last of which the emperor seems to have informed the bishops of his decision concerning Memnon and Cyril? And could, therefore, John's reference to five recent meetings describe a different, earlier occasion than that mentioned by the group's letter? No certainty can be achieved. The emperor's position and the demands he describes certainly appear to represent a phase where the project of a communal debate had not yet been abandoned.

36 Jn 1:14.

37 The distinction between the sayings in the gospels by or about Christ that relate to his manhood and those that relate to his Godhead was made explicitly by the Formula of Reunion, drawn up by the Antiochenes but accepted by Cyril in 433.

38 Matt 27:46.

39 Matt 26:39.

40 Matt 4:2; John 19:28.

41 Luke 22:43.

words, 'Now is my soul troubled'[42] and 'My soul is very sorrowful, unto death',[43] and whatever of this kind happened to the manhood of the Lord. One can see without difficulty that this clearly accords with the impiety of Arius and Eunomius; for they, in their inability to establish a difference of essence, assigned the sufferings and the humble sayings to Christ's Godhead, as we said above.[44] May your religiousness know that what the Arian teachers now teach in their churches is nothing other than that the very teachers of the *homoousion* now share the beliefs of Arius and that after a long time the 'truth' has finally emerged.

But we abide by the doctrines of the blessed fathers assembled at Nicaea and those after them who were outstanding teachers – Eustathius of Antioch, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory, John, Athanasius, Theophilus, Damasus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and those who taught the same as they – and we follow in their pious footsteps. For, following the statements of the gospels, apostles, and prophets, they bequeathed to us a precise rule of orthodoxy, which all of us living in the East are zealous in preserving firm and unshaken, as do likewise those of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia Secunda, Pisidia, Dacia, Moesia, Thessaly, Europa, Rhodope, and many others from various provinces. It is clear that the Italians also will not tolerate this innovation, for the most God-beloved and most holy Martin bishop of Milan has sent us a letter [42] and dispatched to the most pious emperor a book by the blessed Ambrose on the Lord's incarnation, which teaches the opposite to those heretical chapters.[45]

May your holiness know that Cyril and Memnon have not been satisfied with corrupting the orthodox faith, but have also trampled on all the canons. For persons who had been excommunicated by various dioceses and provinces they received at once into communion, and in addition others as well who are under accusation of heresy and hold the same beliefs as Caelestius and Pelagius; for they are Euchites or Enthusiasts, and because of this had been excommunicated by both the bishop and the metropolitan. All these, in contempt of ecclesiastical order, they have received into

42 Jn 12:27.

43 Matt 26:38.

44 In other words, the Arians tried to bolster their contention that the Father and Son are different in essence by attributing the lowly sayings to Christ's Godhead and thereby claiming that it was different in essence from that of the Father.

45 Theodosius II passed on the text to the Syrian delegates. Richard (1951) 723 comments, 'By this gesture Theodosius II wanted to show who, in his opinion, were the true culprits, responsible for the schism.'

communion, assembling from all sides a mob around themselves, and endeavouring to lay down doctrine in a manner that is more tyrannical than pious; for since they are devoid of piety, they have had to devise for themselves another, human, source of power, thinking to overcome the faith of the fathers by a flood of money. But none of this will avail them, since your sacredness is in good health and is championing piety, as is your wont.

Therefore, most holy master, we exhort you to be on your guard against the communion of those who have committed these outrages and are introducing this heresy, and to make known to all, both those near and those afar, that these are the chapters for which the thrice-blessed Damasus deposed the heretics Apollinarius, Vitalius, and Timothy, and that it is essential not to adhere in simplicity to the letter he [Cyril] issued in which he placed a veil over his heretical ideas and applied a veneer of pious doctrine.[46] For in the chapters he fully revealed his impiety, and then had the effrontery to anathematize those with different beliefs, while in the letter he made a criminal attempt to seduce the more simple-minded. May your sacredness not think slightly of this matter, lest later, when you see the heresy consolidated, you be grieved and distressed to no avail, but find yourself no longer able to protect piety.

We have also sent a copy of the document that we presented to our most pious and Christ-loving emperor, containing the creed of the holy fathers at Nicaea, in which we rejected the heretical chapters recently intruded by Cyril and judged them to be alien to the orthodox faith.[47] Since only eight of us have come to Constantinople (for so the most pious emperor commanded), we have also appended a copy of the injunction we were given by the holy council, to make known the provinces represented at it, which your sacredness can discover from the subscriptions of the metropolitans.

We send greetings to all the brotherhood with you.

46 Schwartz (ad loc.) takes this to be a reference to the *Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius.*

47 See doc. 109, which contains both this document and the mandate from the council referred to below.

(117) LETTER OF THEODORET TO ALEXANDER OF HIERAPOLIS[48]

[79] Letter of Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus to Alexander of Hierapolis, written from Chalcedon.

(1) We have neglected no form of gentleness or harshness, of entreaty or invective; [there is none] that we have not employed in the presence of the most pious emperor and the illustrious consistory, adjuring them, in the sight of God who looks down on everything and of our Lord Jesus Christ who will judge the world in righteousness and of the Holy Spirit and of the elect angels, not to let the faith be destroyed by those who have accepted the heretical chapters and have had the audacity to sign them, but to give orders that the faith of Nicaea alone be expounded and that the heresy intruded for the ruin and destruction of piety be rejected. But right up to the present day we have been unable to achieve anything, with our hearers being swayed this way and that, now praising our position and now being counter-persuaded.

(2) None of this, nevertheless, has induced us to abandon our former opposition, but we staunchly maintain it (with God's help, let it be said); for we have assured our most pious emperor with an oath that it is impossible for us to reinstate Cyril and Memnon and that there is no way in which we can [80] communicate with the others, unless they first reject the heretical chapters. This, then, is our goal; but those who 'seek their own interests and not those of Christ'[49] are eager to reinstate them, even against our judgement. But nothing of this worries us, for God demands our resolution and scrutinizes our power, and does not exact a penalty for what happens contrary to our wishes.

(3) As for our friend [Nestorius], may your holiness know that, whenever we mention him before either the most pious emperor or the illustrious consistory, we are condemned for treason, so great is the hostility of its members towards him. And most distressing of all is the fact that the most pious emperor himself has conceived a unique antipathy to his name, saying bluntly to us, 'Let no one say anything to me about that man: his case has been settled once and for all.'[50] Nevertheless, while we are here,

48 CA 69, ACO I.1.7, 79–80; Latin versions in CC 119, ACO I.4, 69–70 and CW 22, ACO I.5, 377–8.

49 Phil 2:21.

50 The emperor had already accepted Nestorius' resignation: see p. 555 above.

we shall not cease to exert ourselves to the full in attending to this matter, knowing the injustice he has suffered from the godless.

(4) We also are eager to get free from here and to free your religiousness; for there is nothing good to hope for here, since the judges themselves have all been won over by gold and contend that there is one nature of Godhead and manhood. But all the laity are sound, with God's help, and come out to visit us constantly, and we have begun to preach to them and to hold large services.[51] Thanks to the prayers of your religiousness, I have preached to them four times about the faith, and they have heard me with such joy that they have not left till the seventh hour and put up with the heat of the sun. For a great crowd gathered in the courtyard, which is very large and has four porticoes, and we delivered our sermons from above, from the second storey.

(5) The whole clergy together with the splendid monks makes determined war against us, so that there was even one engagement, when we were returning from Rufinianae after a meeting with the most pious emperor, and there were many wounded, both among the laymen on our side and the bogus monks. The most pious emperor has learnt that a great crowd assembles to hear us, and when he met us in a private audience, he said, 'I hear that you hold rival services.' I said to him, 'Since you have given us leave to speak, please listen with patience. Is it fair that heretics and the excommunicate can congregate in church, but that we who strive in defence of the faith, and for this very reason excommunicated them, should not be allowed to enter a church?' He said, 'What can I do?' So I replied to him, 'What your *magister*, the count of the largesses, did at Ephesus. For when he found them holding services and us unable to do so, he prevented them, saying, "If you do not make peace, I shall not allow just one faction to hold services." Your piety ought likewise to give orders here that the bishop[52] should not allow either them or us to hold services until we are reconciled, so that your just verdict may become known to all.' At this he said, 'I cannot give orders to a bishop.' So I replied, 'Then do not give orders to us. We shall take a church and hold a service, and your piety

51 Theodoret's confidence in the laity may at least in part sound too optimistic. However, the church historian Socrates noted that the city's populace was still divided over Nestorius approximately a decade after the council. For all the reports of popular protests against him in the summer and autumn of 431, the Easterners were evidently not without popular support, and the city still not completely on Cyril's side.

52 The reference is to the bishop of Chalcedon.

will discover that those on our side are far more numerous than those on theirs.' In addition we said to him, 'Our services contain neither readings from the holy scriptures nor the eucharistic offering, but simply prayers on behalf of the faith and of your rule and sermons on piety.' He acquiesced, and hitherto has not banned this taking place. Consequently the services will become larger, with a quantity of people coming across to visit us and hearing the teaching with great joy. May, therefore, your religiousness pray that this affair may end in a way pleasing to God; for we are in danger every day, being in fear of attacks from the monks and the clergy and seeing the pliability of the authorities.

(118) A LIST OF GIFTS FROM CYRIL TO PEOPLE AT COURT

Note

The following list of bribes from Cyril of Alexandria to officials in the imperial household survives as it was incorporated in a letter from Cyril's *syncellus* to Bishop Maximian, written in 432 when the negotiations were proceeding that led to a reconciliation between Cyril and John of Antioch.[53] The list served to substantiate the claim made in the letter that Cyril himself stopped at no trouble or expense in order to secure the victory of orthodoxy; the letter mentions that the clergy of Alexandria were lamenting the fact that their church had been stripped bare.[54] The purpose of the letter was to induce Maximian to do likewise. It mentions that the letters to the recipients referred to in the list were written by Cyril himself.[55]

A date of September or October 431, rather than 432, for these gifts and the list itself[56] is established by the inclusion among the beneficees of Scholasticius, who died at the time of the dissolution of the council, as we learn from a letter that we give below, written by Acacius of Beroea

53 CC 293, ACO I.4, 222–4.

54 CC 293, ACO I.4, 223,31–2.

55 CC 293, ACO I.4, 223,5–13.

56 That the following list was composed in 431, rather than compiled when Epiphanius was writing to Maximian in 432, is confirmed by its consistent use of present subjunctives with future reference (if we may trust Rusticus' Latin translation) to express the response desired from the recipients. For a recent discussion of this famous list, see Rist (2013) 51–60.

soon after the return of the Syrian bishops to their homeland, which says that Scholasticius was discovered after his death to have received large quantities of gold from Cyril.[57] In addition, Acacius refers to a memorandum (*ypomnisticum*) listing gifts of gold to Scholasticius and apparently other gifts 'in various forms' that had been presented to a variety of individuals; this could well be this very list.

The use of bribery by the Cyrillian party was an open secret, and is referred to in letters of the time by John of Antioch and Theodoret.[58] Substantial bribes appear to have been a regular feature of the conduct of business at the court of Constantinople. The Acts of Chalcedon (Session III. 57) inform us about plaintiffs against Dioscorus who appealed to leading figures at court and found themselves required to give over huge sums of money.[59] What remains a distinctive feature of the reign of Theodosius II is the influence attributed to *cubicularii*. That Scholasticius played a significant role is supported by the fact that Nestorius chose to write a long letter explaining his theology to him (doc. 85 above).

Text[60]

[224] A list of things sent from here [Alexandria] to those who are there [Constantinople] by my most holy lord your[61] brother Cyril.

To Paul the *praepositus*:[62] four large thick carpets, two medium thick carpets, four dining couches, four tablecloths, six large woven hangings,[63] six medium hangings, six stool covers, twelve for doors, four large curtains,[64] four ivory chairs, two ivory stools, four benches,[65] four large tables, two ostriches,[66] and so that he may help us in the cause concerning

57 Doc. 133, pp. 610ff.

58 See docs 116; 117; 123.

59 *Acts of Chalcedon* III. 57, ACO II.1.2, 20–2; Price and Gaddis II, 58–61.

60 Extant only in Latin, CC 294, ACO I.4, 224–5.

61 This refers to Maximian of Constantinople, the recipient of this list.

62 'Paulus 10', *PLRE* II, 850. He and Chryserôs were the two *praepositi sacri cubiculi* (high chamberlains of the imperial bedchamber), one for Theodosius and the other for his spouse Eudocia.

63 See *PGL*, 295, βῆλον. These were curtains used as screens or in lieu of doors.

64 The Latin word is *cortina*, probably used in the original Greek (as κορτινη), from which 'curtain' derives. Kidd (1922) III, 258 translates it here as 'tapestry'.

65 The word is *persoina*, understood to mean benches (Souter (1949) 299). Kidd (1922) III, 258 translates the phrase as 'six [benches] in leather'.

66 Perhaps ostriches made out of silver as table decorations.

what has been written to him, 50 pounds of gold. And for his *domesticus* one thick carpet, two ordinary carpets, four hangings, two stool covers, and 100 gold *solidi*.

To Marcella, *cubicularia*:[67] the same as has been sent to him [Paul], and so that she may beseech and persuade the Augusta, 50 pounds of gold.

To Droseria, *cubicularia*:[68] the same as has been sent to Marcella, and so that she may help her as has been written to her, 50 pounds of gold.

To the *praepositus* Chryserôs,[69] so that he may cease to oppose us, we have had to send double quantities: six large thick carpets, four medium thick carpets, four large carpets, eight dining couches, six tablecloths, six large woven hangings, six medium hangings, six stool covers, twelve for chairs,[70] four large curtains, four ivory chairs, four ivory stools, six benches, four large tables, six ostriches, and if he does what has been written to him by the most magnificent Aristolaus[71] and helps us, with the lord Claudianus[72] acting as intermediary, 200 pounds of gold. And to Solomon his *domesticus* two large thick carpets, four dining couches, four tablecloths, four woven hangings, four stool covers, six for chairs, six curtains, two ivory chairs, two ostriches, and so that he may persuade the *praepositus* to do what has been written to the lord Claudianus, 50 pounds of gold.

To the lady Heleniana, the wife of the praetorian prefect:[73] the same to her in all respects as has been sent to Chryserôs, and so that she may persuade the prefect to help us, 100 pounds of gold. And to his assistant Florentius: the same to him in all respects as has been sent to Solomon, and 50 pounds of gold.

And to the other *cubicularii*[74] the usual suppliant blessings[75] have been sent.

67 *Cubicularia* could be translated 'maid of the imperial bedchamber'. See 'Marcella 3', *PLRE* II, 707.

68 'Droseria', *PLRE* II, 381.

69 'Chryserôs 1', *PLRE* II, 297.

70 Understood by Kidd (1922) III, 258 to be cushions.

71 See 'Aristolaus', *PLRE* II, 146–7. He later negotiated the peace of 433 between Cyril and John of Antioch; see also p. 617, n. 3.

72 A presbyter of Alexandria (list of references in ACO I.4, 258).

73 Probably the wife of the praetorian prefect of the East. See 'Heleniana', *PLRE* II, 530.

74 Officials in the imperial household.

75 A euphemism for bribes.

To Romanus the *cubicularius*:[76] four large carpets, four dining couches, four hangings, four stool covers, six for chairs, two curtains, two ivory chairs, and so that he may help us in the cause, 30 pounds of gold.

To Domninus the *cubicularius*:[77] four large thick carpets, four large carpets, four medium woven hangings, four tablecloths, four medium hangings, six stool covers, six for chairs, two large curtains, two ivory chairs, two ivory stools, four ostriches, and so that he may help us as has been written to the lord Claudianus, 50 pounds of gold.

To Scholasticius the *cubicularius*: the same in all respects as was sent to Chryserôs, and 100 pounds of gold.

And to Theodore his *domesticus*: as was promised by the lord Claudianus, if he persuades Scholasticius to renounce friendship with our opponents, 50 pounds of gold. We have also sent blessings to him which ought to induce him to think in our favour: two thick carpets, two dining couches, four tablecloths, four carpets, four stool covers,[78] six for chairs, two curtains, two ostriches.

To the most magnificent Artabas:[79] the same in all respects to what has been sent to Scholasticius in goods, and so that he may help us as has been written to him, 100 pounds of gold.

To the *magister*: the same that has been sent to Artabas in the same goods, and 100 pounds of gold. And to his *domesticus* the same in all respects as has been sent to Rufinus.

And to the *quaestor* the same as has been sent to the *magister*, and 100 pounds of gold. And to his *domesticus* Ablabius the same as to Eustathius in all respects.

Your brother wrote to the most devout clerics that if anything were done according to the zeal of his holiness my lord[80] and the wishes and advice of the lord Philip and the lord Claudianus, and if what is needed were accomplished, all these things would be sent.[81]

76 'Romanus 3', *PLRE* II, 947. He was later *praepositus sacri cubicularii*.

77 See 'Domninus 2', *PLRE* II, 373.

78 We correct *scamna* (stools) to *scamnalia*, according to the other entries.

79 'Artabas', *PLRE* II, 154: 'He was possibly a *cubicularius* since he received the same bribe as Scholasticius'.

80 This refers to Maximian himself, while 'your brother' is Cyril.

81 This final paragraph concludes Epiphanius' letter to Maximian, and is not part of the list. It cannot mean that the gifts were only promised, with delivery conditional on the desired response, but only that preliminary arrangements needed to be made.

2. DISSOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL AND CONSECRATION OF MAXIMIAN

INTRODUCTION

We have already tentatively suggested that a first *sacra* for the dissolution of the council (doc. 119) was drafted after the failure of (at least) five colloquia. It cannot have been published (as is also confirmed in a letter from Acacius, doc. 133) and its main decision, viz. to uphold the depositions of Cyril and Memnon, finds no echo in the documents immediately following. That it could nevertheless be genuine, and a situation may be imagined in which Theodosius could still cling to his initial aversion to Cyril in particular, while hoping to resolve the problem of a replacement for Nestorius, will require a more general discussion of the final days of the council.

The precise circumstances surrounding the final days of the conciliar period are obscure. The only certain date is the consecration of Maximian on 25 October; the other – if we trust a remark in the *Collectio Casinensis* (see our discussion below) – is Cyril's arrival in Alexandria on 31 October.

What may be deduced from the Easterners' petitions and letters (docs 120–123) – the only sources available – is that Theodosius at some point invited the delegates of Cyril's council around Juvenal to come to Constantinople in order to conduct the consecration of a new bishop for the city. The Easterners' second petition (and the third indirectly confirms it – docs 121 and 122) still speaks of it as an anticipated – but in their view illicit – undertaking. It seems that at this point the emperor sought a solution to the intractable situation principally in the capital. Appointing a new bishop after the resignation of Nestorius was crucial to calming the situation. In the group around Juvenal he found the bishops willing to conduct it, which was something the Easterners would not have entertained. Employing the Cyrillian delegates to conduct the ordination meant in effect recognition of the majoritarian council. But this did not necessarily include forgiveness for the perceived ringleaders of the turmoil and illegality at Ephesus, Cyril and Memnon. The first *sacra* would thus be expressive of the aim, still entertained by the emperor, to relegate these two along with Nestorius as the main troublemakers and chief obstacles to the desired reconciliation of the two parties. Not long afterwards, however, the Easterners related in a letter to their allied bishops who remained in Ephesus the basic content of the second and final *sacra* (doc. 124), which sent the bishops home and

allowed Cyril and Memnon to retain their sees. What accounts for this change? Two scenarios are possible and their implications and effects could be mutually reinforcing. News of Cyril's departure could have reached the emperor, and the new tone of the second *sacra* corresponded, in a face-saving exercise, to the changed reality on the ground. Interpretations along these lines have traditionally been advanced and retain a high level of plausibility (see below). Additionally, the bishops around Juvenal may have made lifting the house arrest and suspension of Cyril and Memnon the indispensable condition for going ahead with Maximian's consecration; this had been their main objective during the talks in Chalcedon and had been frequently stated in their documents just before it. The public entry of the bishops into the city, the highly visible preparations and announcements for Maximian's enthronement – we may expect – gave them incomparable leverage, if Theodosius was to avoid a very public collapse of his design: A refusal to go through with the consecration at the last minute would have sent shock waves through the city and probably excited riots and unrest.

If both scenarios had closely coincided in time, the pressure exerted on the emperor could hardly have been greater, and upholding a critical stance towards Cyril would have become all but impossible. Every reason, then, to swiftly draft and promulgate the final *sacra*, before the original intentions of the as yet unpublished first *sacra* – now superseded – became widely known and gained any purchase. A scenario like this is of course, as any explanation must be, inevitably hypothetical. The inner reflections of the emperor and his close advisors are inaccessible to us, and a dearth of documents from the Cyrillians adds to the difficulty. Yet its distinct advantage over alternative suggestions lies not least in the fact that of the documents that are preserved none needs to be rejected as an alleged 'forgery' because it runs counter to a scholarly hypothesis. Crucially the suggested sequence of events also fits the evidence for a plausible time line (for which see the detailed discussion of an alternative dating below).

The question remains how an unpublished draft of a *sacra*, swiftly overturned, could nevertheless find its way into at least one documentary collection. Some imaginative thinking is required to account for this. We could imagine a party in the consistory who still favoured the Antiochene side purposely 'leaking' the document to the eastern bishops. When the bishops on their way home to their sees spoke of the emperor's support for the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, it could have been in the sense of relating – more in hope than from certitude – his 'real' intentions and sentiments, irrespective of his recent formal pronouncements, in particular

since their reports of this 'original' imperial plan were directly related to the accusation of recourse to bribery that they made against their opponents. The alternative hypothesis – of the fabrication of an imperial *sacra* virtually under the eyes of the emperor – creates more difficulties than it attempts to solve.

In a situation, then, where Theodosius had clearly abandoned the project of reconciliation by means of the colloquia and found himself in agreement with the Cyrillian side over the case of Nestorius, a first unpublished draft of the *sacra* for the dissolution of the council finds a probable context. Three petitions by the eastern bishops (showing no knowledge of it or keeping to diplomatic nicety by not mentioning an internal document yet to be published) are a response initially to the failure of the colloquia and soon also to the emperor's evident determination to bring the Cyrillian bishops around Juvenal to Constantinople and have them consecrate a new bishop (docs 120–122).

The first petition (doc. 120) entreats the emperor to act as judge on the disputed matters of faith and to reject the heretical Chapters. The bishops again deplore the unwillingness of their opponents to enter into any meaningful doctrinal discussion. They also mention attempts by Juvenal and others to advance their own power and authority to the detriment of the rights of eastern bishops. They warn of the political consequences of a disunited church and wavering orthodoxy both in the empire and with respect to success or failure in any conflict with Persia and other barbarian nations; the third petition will more bluntly make a direct connection between their case for orthodoxy and gaining God's favour in the war in Africa. The rubric for this first petition situates it at the time when Theodosius had already entered Constantinople with the Cyrillian delegation to consecrate a new bishop of the capital, which would date it to shortly before 25 October; but unlike the second petition this one does not specifically mention either fact, and so it may be preferable to date it a little earlier.

The second petition (doc. 121) – directly motivated by the failure to receive an imperial response to the first – again retraces the main steps in the conflict, from the offences committed by the Cyrillian part-council at Ephesus, culminating in the 'confirmation' of the heretical Chapters, up to their continued refusal to enter into discussion in Chalcedon. This petition does this by placing particular emphasis on the Cyrillians' habitual violation of imperial instructions at every step. It concludes with the warning that any consecration carried out by the Cyrillians would be uncanonical and

invalid and bring about a schism. The reference to the emperor's invitation of the Cyrillian bishops to Constantinople dates it firmly to only a short time before October 25, the date of Maximian's consecration.[82]

A third petition (doc. 122) by the same group still speaks of the consecration as an illicit act to be anticipated, and must therefore equally date to just before 25 October. Yet it is remarkably different in tone from the other two. Unless a more traditional *exordium* attempting to secure the emperor's goodwill has fallen victim of an editor's excising,[83] the brusque opening and subsequent exposition can only be interpreted as a sign of both exasperation and desperation. Dire warnings, direct reference to the war in Africa, and the poignant reminder of the emperor's responsibility for orthodoxy, with an adoption of the prophetic voice of scripture, and in particular the stark final Pauline phrase forcefully rejecting any responsibility for what was to come ('we are innocent of the blood of all') all contribute to an extraordinary, dramatic expression.[84] We find, then, three petitions written and sent in quick succession and with increasing despair and exasperation. The lack of a response makes it clear that Theodosius had chosen no longer to communicate with the Easterners. The planned consecration of Maximian was not to be derailed and the schism of which the Easterners warned was now unavoidable.

It seems plausible to place the second imperial *sacra* (doc. 124) for the dissolution of the council in this approximate context and to suggest a date near the end of October. A letter by the eastern bishops sent to their colleagues in Ephesus (doc. 123) connects the news of the emperor's decision with their report about the fifth colloquium; yet this rhetorical linkage seems insufficient grounds for dating the *sacra* to before Maximian's consecration. While Theodosius' decision could have been communicated to the eastern bishops at this time, the formal publication of the *sacra* may not have occurred until later. The *sacra*'s rubric in the Latin *Collectio Casinensis* initially narrates its dispatch to Ephesus 'after the emperor's entry into Constantinople' together with the Cyrillian bishops, only for the same collection to provide a further narrative statement that follows the text, in which – perhaps aiming to add precision to the collector's earlier assertion, or in a slight correction to it – the publication of the *sacra*

82 Socrates Scholasticus, *H.E.* VII. 35 (384 Hansen).

83 It begins, 'It was not for this ...': an antecedent is required, and this points to excision.

84 Schwartz, ACO I.1.8, 12, presumably from similar observations, therefore placed it after the *sacra* of dissolution, the low point of eastern aspirations.

is placed even later, after Cyril's return to Alexandria (31 October). The evident uncertainty of the collector(s) involved offers no clear indication beyond an approximate correlation in time with Maximian's consecration. For the *sacra*'s issuance from Constantinople – and its probable parallel promulgation in the capital – Theodosius may have judged either the eve of Maximian's ceremonial enthronement or its immediate aftermath the most opportune moment.[85]

The final *sacra* struck a precarious balance in its stance towards the two sides and drew attention to the responsibility borne by the bishops for the failure to achieve the unity desired. On the one hand, it insisted that the eastern bishops were not guilty of any offence – a sentiment that chimes with the eastern documents of the time. On the other, the reinstatement of Cyril and Memnon indirectly confirmed that in actual fact the Cyrillians had finally prevailed. The consecration of Maximian settled the case of Nestorius for both the emperor and the Cyrillians. In various documents the Cyrillian bishops had also made it abundantly clear that they would not accept any solution to the crisis that did not entail the restoration of Cyril and Memnon. Unlike the first version, then, the second and final *sacra* ruled that Cyril and Memnon were to retain their sees. In anticipation of the news, Cyril had already departed for Alexandria, where he arrived on 31 October.

If the final *sacra* dissolving the council was in fact published at or just after Maximian's consecration, as we have suggested, the enthronement of a new bishop in the capital by the leading Cyrillian bishops around Juvenal of Jerusalem can in one sense be described as the final act of the 'council'. The consecrating bishops soon assembled around Maximian as the local *synodos endemousa* and took decisive steps to ensure the enactment of the Cyrillian council's decisions and deal with its disciplinary fallout (docs 129–131).

The sequence of events and documents sketched above conforms in outline to that proposed originally by Eduard Schwartz in ACO,[86] and which – with variations in detail – shapes most scholarly accounts. A completely different reconstruction of the last days of October has recently been suggested by George Bevan. To him, Cyril left Ephesus lawfully on 31 October, after learning from the returning bishops of the emperor's final *sacra* and its permission to retain his see; the 'first *sacra*', in contrast, is

85 Schwartz, ACO I.1.8, 12 suggested the time of the consecration.

86 ACO I.1.8, 12.

dismissed as a forgery committed by the Antiochene bishops and used by them to deceive others of the emperor's real position.[87] This account must, however, be rejected on philological grounds and on the incontrovertible historical evidence of a number of documents. Philologically, Bevan's conjectural alteration of the note stating Cyril's arrival in Alexandria is unconvincing.[88] Historically, the supporting claims according to which the seven Cyrillian delegates left Constantinople before Maximian's consecration, in time to present the final *sacra* to Cyril before his departure, is contradicted by several documents which very clearly attest the presence of the bishops in Constantinople not just at the consecratio but even thereafter at the *synodos endemousa*, formed of bishops prese in the capital, at which Maximian took his first administrative decisio in office (docs 129–131).[89] As a consequence, there are also no reasons f rejecting the first *sacra* as an outright forgery, committed (in Bevan's view) by the Antiochene bishops.

We may therefore return to the generally held view that Cyril's departure was both earlier than Bevan proposes and without authorization. As such, it explains why an earlier *sacra* that insisted on Cyril's deposition was replaced by a later one that reluctantly allowed him to retain his see. That the first *sacra* remained unpublished explains the absence of reference to it before November, when both its content and missing publication were acknowledged.

87 Bevan (2016) 198–204.

88 CC 64a (ACO 1.3, 179,11–12): ... *ingressus autem est Cyrillus episcopus Alexandriae Athyr tertia* [that is: 31 October] *et suscepit eum ciuitas cum multa excellentia et gloria.* Bevan considers the text problematic in that it fails to indicate the direction of travel (such as *in Alexandriam*) after *ingressus*, and proposes emending *ingressus* to *egressus* or *degressus*. This does not make the text any more satisfactory, and the replacement of an original *egressus* by *ingressus* is highly improbable. A better explanation of *ingressus est Cyrillus episcopus Alexandriae* is that *Alexandriae* is dative case (a possible Latin idiom in place of *[in] Alexandriam*), and that the text originally read *ingressus autem est Alexandriae Cyrillus episcopus*. Bevan's discussion of the text is at p. 201.

89 Their continuing presence in Constantinople also rules out Bevan's belief that Cyril preached Homily 4 (doc. 59) after their arrival in Ephesus, on 30 October. Eduard Schwartz was right to insist that the sermon could not both date to late October and also be preached by Cyril. While he considered Cyril's authorship spurious (ACO 1.1.4, xxv), we in agreement with most scholars uphold his authorship but place the sermon earlier in the summer (p. 339, n. 92).

(119) FIRST *SACRA* DISSOLVING THE COUNCIL[90]

[68] The emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant and great victors, always to be venerated, to the holy council convened in the city of Ephesus.

Our purpose, even if we were not writing to you now, must be familiar to you from many other [letters], as is the greatness of our zeal for the orthodox faith and for the unity of the churches, since we were taught this by our fathers and grandfathers and have up until the present time given priority to nothing over sound faith. On its behalf we hastened a short time ago to summon your holinesses to Ephesus, and when you were assembled, we wrote [to you] of everything from which it followed that the true faith which held of old should unshakeably remain uncontested, with you yourselves united in friendship. But because, contrary to the aims and hopes of our piety, certain disputes arose among you and some proceedings that manifestly caused dissension, in our wish that discord among you all should cease, [69] we sent the most magnificent and most glorious John, master of the divine offices,[91] so that the disputes that had arisen between you should be settled. Because it seemed necessary that some of you should come here, so that our piety could give them a hearing, in our presence and their presence, in order that the union we desired should come about through pious consent, this too we brought about, hoping that everything would be settled amicably. But because the dissension that had arisen still continues, aware that your religiousness was suffering distress from the pressures of the council, we have given permission for you all to return from Ephesus to your homes and occupy again your own churches. This each one of you is to do, together with the bishops who came from his province; but Cyril alone, who was formerly bishop of Alexandria, and Memnon, who was bishop of Ephesus, we do not include among you and recognize to be excluded from episcopacy, as we wrote earlier to your holinesses. On returning to your own churches, see to the tranquillity of the cities, embracing in everything the gentleness becoming to the priesthood.

90 Extant only in a Latin version, CC 118, ACO I.4, 68–9. As is clear from the wording of the letter, it was addressed to the metropolitan bishops at Ephesus, the recipients of the original summons. This *sacra* must date to before Theodosius II had gone over totally to the Cyrillian side and not just approved the consecration of Maximian but also ceded the bishops' demands for the reinstatement of Cyril and Memnon.

91 John had evidently been promoted from the position he held (that of count of the sacred largesses) when he was sent to Ephesus in August.

As for your conduct here, of whatever kind it was, it is proper that some atonement be made in subsequent developments; and it will be made, if you preserve the dignity of the churches together with the public good that corresponds to it.

(120) FIRST PETITION OF THE EASTERN DELEGATES[92]

[72] [Greek version] The first petition of the seven eastern bishops, which was sent to the emperor from Chalcedon because they were not allowed to enter Constantinople.

[Latin version, CC] The first petition of John patriarch of the see of Antioch and the other six, which they sent to the emperor Theodosius from Chalcedon, when, leaving them there, he entered Constantinople with those who had been sent in an embassy by the blessed Cyril and the council that had likewise convened at Ephesus.

(1) It was to be wished that the account of piety would not be betrayed by some other person through outrageous suppositions, least of all by those who have been appointed to the priesthood and preside over churches; but they, we know not how, have been led by a desire for precedence and power and by certain empty promises to despise the whole totality of the Christian proclamation, and to serve solely the aims of a man who out of predisposition has conceived the hope of achieving everything for himself and his accomplices in this. We are speaking of Cyril of Alexandria, who out of sheer contentiousness, by introducing heretical doctrines into the holy churches of God and expecting them to be confirmed, has conceived the hope, simply through the services of Memnon and those of the bishops of this conspiracy, to escape punishment for his offences.

(2) As a result, although we have a particular love of retirement and had resolved to pursue philosophy in future, we have come to consider retirement and contemplation in these circumstances to be a betrayal of the faith, and therefore address supplication to you, who, after the power from above, are the sole saviours of the world; we consider striving in defence of piety to be particularly appropriate for you, since you have protected it till now and by it have been greatly protected. We present this supplication as one that will vindicate us in the sight of God the all-holy one, if we shirk

92 CA 62, ACO I.1.7, 72–3; Latin versions in CC 121, ACO I.4, 71–3 and CW 15, ACO I.5, 370–1.

nothing in defence of religion, but reveal to your piety the teaching that upholds it. For in these Christian times there is nothing more for priests to do than to appeal to so faithful an emperor, even though we would be ready to lay down our lives and bodies a thousand times in combating in defence of the faith.

(3) Therefore, in the sight of God, who looks down upon us all, of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is going to judge us all in righteousness, and of the Holy Spirit, by whose grace you govern the empire, and of the elect angels[93] who watch over us, whom you will behold standing by the dread throne and continually offering to God that awesome ascription of holiness,[94] which some are now trying to falsify, {we beg you}[95] to defend piety under siege and to order a rejection of the heretical chapters that have been intruded into the faith, which are totally alien to orthodox doctrine and agree with the false tenets of the heretics; or if any of those who accepted and signed them [73] still wishes to be contentious even after our offer of forgiveness, bid him come forward and openly champion them, while liable to the ecclesiastical penalties, with your piety sitting in judgement. For nothing, O emperor, would be more imperial than the cause on behalf of which you have already hastened to start wars against the Persians and other barbarians, while Christ rewards you for your zeal on his behalf with effortless victories. We request that in the presence of your piety there should be investigations in writing, for in this way those in error would be more easily detected and refuted for all future time. And if anyone, shirking discussion of his offences, were to wish to prevail over the orthodox faith by a word of command, it would fall to your just judgement to see if the very name of teacher has not been abandoned by those who shirk debate over the doctrines they introduce and, in fear that their conspiring with each other should prove fruitless, are not ready to stand up for their statements, lest they be convicted of impiety and of refusing to withdraw them.

(4) That, on top of this impiety, they have planned some grants of precedence in support of this impiety, as well as other decrees destructive of the canons, has already been shown by what they have attempted and will be proved with still greater precision, unless your authority prevents it;

93 The phrase 'in the sight of ... holy angels' reappears in virtually identical form in Theodoret's letter to Alexander of Hierapolis, given below, which suggests that Theodoret drafted this petition.

94 Cf. Isa 6:3.

95 Supplied from the Latin versions.

and before long your piety will witness them seeking to distribute a reward for this betrayal as spoils of the Christian faith. We ourselves already, when certain attempts were previously made by the most devout Juvenal of Jerusalem, chose to remain silent, despite our duty to defend the canons, lest we appeared to be resentful over our own honour, and even now we are aware of his machinations and similar fantasies over Arabia and both provinces of Phoenice;[96] but for the time being we do feel able to contest the matter, since we would prefer to lose cities entrusted to our ministration and even life itself, if need be, rather than our zeal for the faith.

(5) Against the hopes of these men, however, we shall oppose the judgement both of God and of your piety; what we now entreat is that attention be paid first and solely to piety, and that the radiance of the orthodox religion that shone forth at long last under Constantine of holy memory and was then confirmed by your thrice-blessed grandfather and father and your piety, and has been strengthened by your power in relation to both other barbarian nations and the land of Persia, should not suffer within the imperial palace itself or be obscured in the presence of your serenity. For you, O emperor, will not send confused teaching to Persia, nor will our [religion] be thought something great by them if we are at variance and no one acts as judge; nor will anyone share devoutly in confused teaching or mysteries, or out of piety distance themselves from so great fathers and blameless saints.[97] Neither will the good fortune of the empire be attributed to the prayers of those whose beliefs are contradictory, nor will the mockery be slight that we shall endure from the enemies of piety. One could list countless other dire consequences of their wicked contentiousness.

(6) If there is anyone who thinks that our relation in this way to the things of heaven is of little importance, let him be anyone at all, on condition it is not the one to whom God has given complete authority over the world, while our prayer is to receive a judgement from your piety; for God will direct your mind to an accurate understanding of the matters under investigation. If there is anything that at present hinders this (for not everything comprehensible to your piety in matters of business is comprehensible to

96 Juvenal of Jerusalem was clearly pressing for a grant of jurisdiction over these provinces as a reward for his support of Cyril. He finally obtained it at Ephesus II (449), but was stripped of it at Chalcedon. See Session VII of Chalcedon, Price and Gaddis II, 244–9.

97 In other words, no one will be ready to accept defective teaching and thereby distance himself from the great orthodox fathers of previous generations.

us), we ask your serenity to grant us at least an easy and safe return home; for we perceive that the cities entrusted to us are suffering no slight harm from this delay, while no progress is being made here because of those who choose, it appears, to be contentious even towards your piety.

(121) SECOND PETITION OF THE EASTERN DELEGATES[98]

[74] The second petition of the same, sent to the emperor from Chalcedon.

(1) Often already, both in person and through envoys, have we informed your piety that the doctrine of orthodoxy is in danger of destruction and that there is a plot to dismember the body of the church on the part of those who have turned everything upside down, have trampled on every church ordinance {and every imperial law}[99] and have utterly confounded everything, in order to make the heresy expounded by Cyril of Alexandria prevail. For when we were summoned by your piety to Ephesus to examine the questions that had arisen and to confirm the faith of the gospels and apostles as expounded by the blessed fathers, before all the bishops summoned had arrived, they held a partial assembly and approved in writing, within the minutes, those heretical chapters which agree with the impiety of Arius, Eunomius, and Apollinarius.[100] By deceiving some, intimidating others, receiving others charged with heresy into communion {without a preceding examination},[101] granting restoration to communion as a reward to some who had been excommunicated, and exciting others with hopes of improper authority, they have gathered a multitude round themselves, as if unaware that it is not a multitude but truth alone that is proof of piety.

(2) There was read again the letter of your piety communicating through the most magnificent Count Candidianus that it was necessary for the questions that had arisen to be examined in a fraternal and peaceful spirit with all the most God-beloved bishops who had been summoned meeting together, but the reading proved of no avail. There arrived the

98 CA 63, ACO I.1.7, 74–5; Latin versions in CC 123, ACO I.4, 74–6 and CW 16, ACO I.5, 371–3.

99 Supplied from the two Latin versions.

100 This claim was based on the mere fact that the letter and Chapters had been included in the minutes of 22 June; they had not been the object of any explicit endorsement.

101 Supplied from the Latin version in CC, ACO I.4, 74,23.

hallowed *magistrianus* Palladius bringing another letter from your authority, declaring that it was necessary for everything transacted by merely a part of the council to be rescinded, for the assembly to be reconvened, and for the true doctrine to be confirmed; even this your pious decree was treated with disdain, as is their wont, by those who stop short at nothing. Next there arrived the most magnificent *magister* John, at that time count of all the largesses,[102] who again brought another letter stating that the deposition of the three had been accepted by your authority, and that the causes of offence that had arisen had to be brought to an end, while the faith expounded by the blessed and holy fathers at Nicaea needed to be confirmed by all; this ordinance too was broken, as is their wont, by those who make a mockery of everything. For even after the reading they did not cease to communicate with those deposed and to refer to them as bishops; nor could they bear to reject the chapters issued for the detriment and destruction of the pious faith, and this although they were repeatedly invited by us to a discussion, for we had exposés of the heretical chapters to hand.[103] There is as a witness to this the above-mentioned most magnificent *magister*, who summoned them and us three or four times and heard us make this proposal.

(3) After this, in consequence of their disobedience, it was necessary for us to be summoned here. We came without delay. From the time of our arrival we have not ceased to urge them to agree to a debate over the chapters and come for a discussion in the presence of your piety and of the glorious consistory, or {at least}[104] to reject them as alien to the orthodox faith and to keep solely to the teaching of the creed of the blessed fathers who assembled at Nicaea. Even though they have refused to do any of this and persist in this heretical contentiousness, they have been allowed to use churches and exercise priesthood, while we have remained for a long time without the synaxis both at Ephesus and here,[105] have undergone countless dangers both there and here, have been stoned by lackeys disguised as monks and nearly killed, and have nevertheless put up with it, in our readiness on behalf of piety [75] to endure everything.

102 John received promotion from count of the sacred largesses to master of the offices in the course of the council; see 'Ioannes 12', *PLRE* II, 596.

103 This probably refers to the refutations of the Chapters written before the council by Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata.

104 Supplied from the Latin version in CC.

105 The bishop of Chalcedon, Eulalius, was a staunch supporter of Cyril and appears to have barred the Easterners from access to local churches.

(4) After this it seemed good to your authority to summon both them and us again and to compel the recalcitrant to attend a doctrinal examination. When we were expecting this to take place, your piety came to the city and gave instructions that persons accused of heresy, and therefore either deposed or excommunicated by us and falling finally under the canon,[106] were to repair to the city and carry out priestly acts, including ordination, while as for us, who have striven in defence of piety and choose to undergo every danger in defence of orthodox doctrine, you neither bade us enter the city, defend the embattled faith, and stand firm in defence of orthodox doctrine, nor did you allow us to return home, but we remain at Chalcedon, distressed and sorrowful over the threatened schism in the church.

(5) Because of this, since we have received no reply, we have judged it necessary to inform your piety in this letter, in the sight of God and his Christ and the Holy Spirit, that if anyone is consecrated by the heretics before orthodox doctrine is restored, the whole church is bound to be divided, with clergy and congregations in schism and contending against each other; for none of those who practise piety will bear to be in communion with those who have heretical beliefs, and thereby forfeit their own salvation. Should this come about, your piety will be compelled to act contrary to your policy; for, contrary to your wishes, schism may well grow strong and cause distress to the champions of piety, who will not bear to lose their souls and come to an accord with those who strive to vindicate Cyril's impious doctrines. The defenders of piety are many, both all of us of the diocese of the East and also the provinces on our side in the Pontic, Asian, and Thracian dioceses and in Illyricum and Italy; for neither will the latter tolerate agreement with Cyril's doctrines, for they sent to your piety a book of the most blessed Ambrose that teaches the contrary to this religion that has sprung up.[107] Lest, however, anything of the kind should happen and your piety be all the more disheartened, we entreat, beg, and beseech you to decree that the consecration should not take place until the orthodox faith is defined, for the sake of which your Christ-loving head gathered us together.

106 Canon 4 of Antioch, as cited in docs 91 (p. 502) and 116 (p. 562).

107 Cf. the letter to Rufus of Thessalonica (doc. 116).

(122) THIRD PETITION OF THE EASTERN DELEGATES[108]

[72] [Greek version] A petition by the same sent likewise from Chalcedon.

[Latin version, CC] The third petition which the same seven bishops sent to the emperor Theodosius.

(1) [75] It was not for this that we thought we were summoned by your piety. For we were summoned with honour by the emperor as priests, and summoned for the confirmation of the faith of the holy fathers. For this reason we came out of obedience to a pious emperor, and when we came we neither departed from ecclesiastical procedure nor did we ignore your decrees, but from the day we arrived at Ephesus till today we have continued to follow your commands. Yet our orderly behaviour has been of no benefit to us, it appears, in the present life, but rather, as we observe, has caused us the greatest harm. For right until now we have maintained our orderly behaviour by staying under constraint in Chalcedon, and now we have been sent home. But as for those who have disrupted everything, have filled the whole world with confusion, strive to divide the churches, and make open war against piety, they exercise priesthood, conduct church services, have the authority (as they suppose) to carry out the illicitly awaited consecration, stir up contention in the churches, and lavish the contributions for the needs of the poor on their own fomenters of discord. And yet you are not only their emperor [76] but ours as well. For the East is no small part of your empire, orthodoxy has always flourished in it, and the same is true of the other provinces and dioceses from which we have assembled.

(2) May your authority not disregard this corrupting of the faith in which both you and your forebears were baptized, on which the foundation of the church is laid, for which the thrice-blessed martyrs suffered countless forms of death with pleasure, with the help of which you conquered barbarians and deposed tyrants,[109] and which you need in the present war that has engulfed Africa.[110] For the God of the universe will be your ally, if you champion his holy doctrines and prevent the body of the church from

108 CA 64, ACO I.1.7, 75–6; Latin versions in CC 124, ACO I.4, 76–7 and CW 17, ACO I.5, 373–4.

109 This refers to Theodosius' victory over the western usurper John (423–5).

110 This is a reference to General (*magister militum* at the time) Aspar's campaign against the Vandals, which enjoyed some early success but soon ended in crushing defeat (see p. 637 below). See 'Fl.[avius] Ardabur Aspar', *PLRE* II, 164–9, at 166.

being torn asunder; for it will be torn asunder, if the notions that have been intruded into the faith by Cyril and ratified by the other heretics are confirmed. To these we often previously bore witness before God both at Ephesus and here, and instructed your piety in them, vindicating ourselves before the God of the universe; for this is what he demands of us, as we are taught by the holy scriptures, both the prophets and the apostles. For the blessed Paul exclaims: 'I bear witness in the presence of God who gives life to the dead and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who in his testimony before Pilate made the good confession.'[111] And God charged Ezekiel to warn the people and added a threat, saying, 'If you do not warn them, I shall require the blood of those who perish from your hands.'[112] In fear of this judgement, we deem it necessary to inform your authority yet again that the doctrines of Apollinarius, Arius, and Eunomius are being taught in the churches by those who are allowed to conduct services and who perform sacred actions unlawfully and contrary to the canons, and destroy the souls of those who enter, if anyone has the patience to listen to them. For through the divine grace that cares for all men and 'wishes all to be saved',[113] most of the people are sound and contend for the pious doctrines; it is especially for them that we are grieved and distressed in soul, and are afraid that the disease, by gradually intensifying, may lay hold of the many and the evil become a general one. This is what we teach your serenity; we shall not cease to teach it, and we beg your authority to listen to our petitions and to allow nothing to be intruded into the faith of the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea. But if after this our entreaty and teaching about God your piety remains obdurate, we shall shake the dust from our feet and exclaim with the blessed Paul, 'We are innocent of the blood of all.'[114] For we have not ceased day and night, from the moment we entered this blessed council, from adjuring emperor, officials, soldiers, priests, and laymen not to betray the piety handed down to us by the fathers.

111 1 Tim 6:13.
112 Cf. Ezek 3:18, 20.
113 1 Tim 2:4.
114 Acts 20:26.

(123) (THIRD) LETTER OF THE EASTERNERS AT CHALCEDON TO THOSE AT EPHESUS

Note

The letter goes straight to an account and assessment of the fifth colloquium, repeating the frequent complaints by the Easterners' delegation about the unwillingness of the Cyrillians to engage them on the substance of theology, and pointing out the hostility to Nestorius which Theodoret had also mentioned in the letter to his metropolitan Alexander (doc. 117). Unless a preface to this letter has been cropped by a later editor, this immediacy may suggest it was written almost immediately after the meeting and with its impression fresh on their minds. Reception of the news that Cyril and Memnon were to retain their sees at the dissolution of the council could have been the cause of the bluntness and urgency in tone. The anger is palpable, not least in the contrast made between Cyril's countless offences and the innocence of Nestorius, who had nevertheless suffered relegation to a monastery.

If (as this letter indicates) the imperial decision about both bishops' reinstatement was taken around the time of the fifth colloquy, and communicated to the bishops on that occasion, the timeline for the dissolution of the council becomes more complex still. This scenario implies the conduct of the fifth and final colloquy not long before the consecration of Maximian. If the earlier draft for a *sacra* intent on upholding their deposition (doc. 119) is genuine (as we have argued), news of Cyril's thwarting of such plans by escaping from Ephesus (with the help of bribery) must have reached the emperor – if not necessarily the bishops on either side – before the fifth meeting and motivated the production of the final *sacra* in time for it. On this timeline, one can hypothetically place Cyril's departure from Ephesus in mid-October. This is actually consonant with a calculation of travel speeds at the time of the year, according to which a journey to Alexandria by ship (assuming no adverse conditions, and depending on the type of ship) took between approximately five and sixteen days.[115] Given his arrival in Alexandria on 31 October, his departure could on this calculation theoretically have taken place any time between 15 and 26 October; the suggested relationship to the fifth colloquy and the

115 As calculated by ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World, http://orbis.stanford.edu; accessed 15 October 2018.

subsequent ordination of Maximian places it more early than late in this period. The need, then, on the part of the emperor to take account of the new situation created by Cyril's flight allowed him, at the same time, to display a semblance of imperial generosity in acquiescing to the constant demands expressed by the Cyrillan delegates that these bishops' restitution was for them the necessary condition for any solution to the crisis. By meeting this demand, the emperor paved the way for them to conduct the consecration of a new bishop for the capital, something Theodosius must have been anxious to achieve after he had abandoned Nestorius. With the new and final *sacra* Theodosius could at once meet the likely precondition of the bishops around Juvenal for conducting a consecration, and save face *vis-à-vis* the embarrassment caused by Cyril's escape. On our reconstruction, he could do so before the latter became the subject of rumour and gossip in the capital. He could thereby present his change of heart to the bishops around Juvenal (and indirectly to the Constantinopolitan public) as a sovereign act of imperial benevolence in granting their wishes, not as a forced retreat before Cyril's decisiveness.

Text[116]

To the most honourable lords and most God-beloved bishops staying in Ephesus [from] John, John, Himerius, Paul, Macarius, Apringius, and Theodoret.

(1) This was our fifth appearance; we contended at length about the heretical chapters and vowed repeatedly to the most pious emperor that it is impossible for us to be in communion with those who hold contrary beliefs, unless they reject the Chapters, and that not even if Cyril rejects the chapters will he be accepted by us, because he is the originator of this impious heresy. Hitherto we have achieved nothing, since our opponents are obstinate and our hearers do not press those who are putting up a shameless resistance, and do not make them proceed to an examination and debate. For they totally shun a testing of the chapters and cannot bear any discussion of them. But with the help of your prayers we are ready to persist till death in our refusal either to accept Cyril and the Chapters he issued or to be in communion with these people until the evil insertions into the faith are rejected. We therefore urge your holinesses to share our convictions

116 CA 70, ACO I.1.7, 81; Latin versions in CC 120, ACO I.4, 70–1 and CW 23, ACO I.5, 378–9.

and display the same resolve; for our struggle is on behalf of piety, which is our sole hope and through which we expect to enjoy the goodwill of our Saviour in the life to come.

(2) As regards the most God-beloved and most holy Bishop Nestorius, may your reverences know that we were eager to speak about him as well, but hitherto this has been impossible, because everyone is hostile to his mere name. But even in this situation, however, if we get the opportunity and the goodwill of our hearers, we are eager to do so, if (of course) God assists our intention.

(3) May your holinesses also be aware that, on seeing that the Cyrillians have deceived virtually everyone with their despotism, deceit, flattery, and gifts, we repeatedly urged the most pious emperor and the most magnificent officials to let us return to the East and you to return to your homes. For we are well aware that we are delaying for no purpose, since we can achieve none of our aims, because Cyril evades all and any discussion with us, knowing as he does how obvious is the refutation of the blasphemies expounded in his Twelve Chapters. After many appeals our most pious emperor has decided that each of us is to return home, with both the Egyptian and Memnon of Ephesus remaining in their place. For this is how the Egyptian was able to deceive everyone through his gifts, with the result that, although he has committed countless offences, he is returning to his see, while the man who is innocent has been relegated to his monastery.

To all the brotherhood with you we and those with us send abundant greetings.

I, Bishop John of Antioch in the East, pray that you be in good health in the Lord, my most God-beloved and most holy lords.

The others signed likewise.

(124) FINAL *SACRA* DISSOLVING THE COUNCIL[117]

[142] [Greek version] A divine letter to the holy council at Ephesus sending all the bishops home and restoring the most holy Cyril and Memnon to their churches.

[Latin version] After the petition by John and the other bishops who were kept in Chalcedon and the emperor's entry into Constantinople with

117 CA 97, ACO I.1.7, 142; Latin version in CC 122, ACO I.4, 73–4.

the opposed party, this *sacra* was sent to the bishops who had convened with the bishop of Alexandria.[118] After the preface the text runs:[119]

Since we place the peace of the churches above every other responsibility, we decided to convene you not simply through our officials but indeed through ourselves, for we believed it to be impious and unworthy of our imperial rule if, through remissness on our part and a failure to do everything possible, the churches were to be divided. But since it has not proved possible to bring you into union, and since your reverences have refused to proceed to a discussion of the points under dispute, we have decreed that the eastern bishops are to depart to their own homelands and churches and that the council at Ephesus is to be dissolved, with Cyril going to Alexandria and Memnon remaining at Ephesus. For we declare to your religiousness that, while we live, we cannot condemn the Easterners; for they have been convicted of nothing in our presence, since no one agreed to debate with them. If therefore peace is your goal, choose it in no contentious spirit and then inform us; but if not, then, in response to what we have written, see immediately to your departure, for it is not us who are guilty, but God knows the guilty.[120]

118 This suggests that the version found in the Greek exemplar used by the Latin collector was that sent specifically to the Cyrillian bishops in Ephesus. Since the *sacra* contained orders for the eastern bishops as well, a further identical letter must have been sent to them.

119 The Latin rubric suggests the close association of this *sacra* with the time of the consecration of Maximian as bishop of the capital. The information given could not have been gleaned from the text itself and may have some historical merit. The rubric mentions the preface of the decree, which the collectors chose not to provide and which is also not preserved in the Greek manuscript tradition. Perhaps the connection between the council's dissolution and Maximian's consecration was stated there or could be inferred from it. It would not be implausible to understand this consecration as the final act of 'the council' before the formal dissolution. The *sacra*, therefore, must have been issued no earlier than 25 October 431, the date of Maximian's enthronement, and very likely even a few days later; cf. following note.

120 In the *Collectio Casinensis* the *sacra* is followed by a remark dating it to the time when Cyril had already returned to Alexandria, i.e. after 31 October: *Praemissa sacra ultima omnium directa est, quando iam redierat in ciuitatem suam beatus Cyrillus Alexandriae patriarcha* (ACO 1.4, 74,8–9). From what evidence, if any, the collector arrived at this statement is unclear.

3. REPERCUSSIONS AND RESPONSES

INTRODUCTION

With Maximian enthroned as bishop of Constantinople on 25 October and an imperial *sacra* sending the bishops home probably shortly thereafter, the council was formally terminated. In the last days of October and in early November, we see the different fates and activities of the two groups of delegates sent to the colloquia at Chalcedon. The 'Cyrillians' under Juvenal's leadership remained in Constantinople long enough after Maximian's consecration to constitute themselves under his presidency and along with other bishops present in the capital as the local *synodo endemousa*. Several texts relating to it show the first steps in implementing the Ephesine decisions, and the corresponding efforts by some bishops to regain communion with the Cyrillian council, which in terms of ecclesiastical politics had indubitably prevailed. At the same time, we see the eastern bishops still in Chalcedon preparing to leave, fearful of what imperial repression they might have to endure but determined to uphold their defence of orthodoxy (as they saw it). On their way home they recounted the events from their perspective. We conclude our selection of documents with the despairing note by Acacius of Beroea on hearing their reports, a bishop who had lived through the trinitarian controversies of the fourth century and who probably thought he had seen it all. All the more poignant is the sense of utter calamity that he projects. These documents thereby illustrate the contrasting responses to the state of affairs in Constantinople and the wider church immediately after the dissolution of the council by imperial decree.

The first two documents present the homilies (or extracts from the same) delivered by two of the leading bishops of the East, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and John of Antioch, on the occasion of their departure from Chalcedon. The entire delegation of eastern bishops had been prevented from entering Constantinople where Maximian was consecrated by the Cyrillian delegation to replace the deposed Nestorius. Theodoret's homily (doc. 125) gives a little masterclass in biblical exegesis and rhetoric. Couched in biblical language and replete with biblical quotations, it analyses the present circumstances and warns prophetically of the dire consequences of the present apparent victory of the opponents and their heresies, even though he firmly expects their eventual downfall. In a

much shorter address (doc. 126), Bishop John exhorts his loyal followers to hold on steadfastly to the correct Christological teaching as to the true ancestral faith, calling the audience confessors and evoking images of martyrdom and persecution. He offers a brief recapitulation of the most salient points of this teaching. Both preachers' conviction of the truth of their own theology and acute sense of the defeat they had endured are vividly presented in these homilies.

The following set of documents relates to the consecration of Maximian as Nestorius' successor on the episcopal throne of the capital, conducted by those leading representatives of Cyril's party who had been sent as his council's delegation to the imperial court. Maximian announces his enthronement as the complete victory over Nestorius, his followers, and the heresy they espoused (doc. 127). Cyril's letter congratulates the consecrating bishops and Maximian on this victory (doc. 128).

Two more letters (docs 129–130) announce Maximian's accession to the throne of Constantinople to other parts of the church, as was customary; there will have been many more similar letters to this effect, which have not survived.[121] They also show him, and the small group of Cyrillian bishops now convened in synod around him, beginning at once to engage with the disciplinary fallout from the decisions of the (Cyrillian) council.

Next come two interesting and very telling petitions by bishops who had associated themselves with Nestorius and the Antiochene party (docs 131–132). Their submission and pleas for forgiveness and readmission into communion show the quick realisation of where power now resided and how the tides were now running in favour of Cyril and his allies. The consecration of Maximian as bishop of the capital produced facts on the ground that sealed the outcome of the Ephesine Council at least for the time being. There remained, of course, bishops who refused to capitulate. The *Tragoedia* of Irenaeus provides a list of fifteen of them (some not present at the council) who, in his interpretation, put their conscience before expediency and so resigned from office or were deposed and exiled.[122] The

121 The rubric in the *Collectio Atheniensis* describes the letter – specifically addressed to Epirus Vetus according to the *Collectio Vaticana* – as an encyclical to all provinces (CA 91, ACO I.1.1, 137,34–7). Such an encyclical announcing Maximian's taking of office may be presumed. Perhaps the collector of the *Collectio Vaticana*, from which we take the text, simply included the copy available to him, which was that sent to Epirus Vetus, and noted this address.

122 CC 279 with Irenaeus' introduction (as rendered in the excerpting translation by Rusticus) ACO I.4, 203f. The bishops listed (we rearrange the names) are Dorotheus of

eventual removal – in some cases a few years after the council – of these objectors and dissidents, whether through resignation or deposition, helped to assure the Cyrillian victory.

The selection concludes with the poignant letter of the centenarian Acacius of Beroea (doc. 133), who recounts the complete theological victory of the eastern bishops in debate before the emperor; if nevertheless they had in a sense lost the day, it was only because of bribery by Cyril's party and the venality of courtiers and imperial officials. Acacius speaks of the intended imperial confirmation of Cyril's and Memnon's deposition as it had been set out in the first version or draft of the imperial letter dissolving the council (doc. 119). Cyril had thwarted this by taking to flight; a second, markedly different version had in fact reinstated both bishops. Acacius' complete silence over the latter, final *sacra* (doc. 124) need not mean that his Antiochene informants had chosen not to mention the emperor's change of heart and in effect deceived him.[123] It can be explained, rather, by the fact that Acacius' main intention was to convey the discovery of evidence of Cyril's bribery and to emphasize the resultant overturning of what the emperor had initially wanted to decree (see our note on the letter below).

Acacius' exasperation over the events and his despair over the rift in the church, which the council had failed to heal, present the council as in essence a total failure. It is from this low point that subsequent efforts at reconciliation had to start.

Marcianopolis (metropolitan of Moesia II) and his suffragans Valerianus and Eudocius; Julian of Sardica (metropolitan of Dacia Mediterranea – but see his petition below); Basil of Larissa (metropolitan of Thessaly) and his suffragans Maximus of Demetrias and Pausianus of Hypata; Anastasius of Tenedos in the Islands (on his case, see below); Theosebius of Cius in Bithynia; Eutherius of Tyana (metropolitan of Cappadocia Secunda); Zenobius of Zephyrium in Cilicia Prima; Meletius of Mopsuestia in Cilicia Secunda; Alexander of Hierapolis (metropolitan of Euphratensis) and his suffragans Abbibus of Doliche and Aquilinus of Barbalissus in Euphratensis. For discussion, see Price (2012b) 419–20.

123 As Bevan (2016) 203, 214, claims. Bevan speaks (ibid., at 209) of the 'shameful manipulation of the elderly Acacius'.

(125) HOMILY OF THEODORET DELIVERED IN CHALCEDON

Note

Theodoret must be considered the leading theologian of the eastern bishops. This homily preserves a sample of his preaching and exegesis, here interpreting current affairs in the light of scripture; it is excerpted from a longer sermon. He opens with Christ, the object of the entire controversy, and uses a kaleidoscope of biblical imagery and metaphor to link the fight for Christological orthodoxy with notions of the church and of salvation. Of current events, the homily reveals how the Easterners had been prevented from entering Constantinople and contrasts this with their access, as the true orthodox believers, to the heavenly Jerusalem. The homily also shows the eagerness of its citizens to hear the preaching of the eastern bishops. The seeming defeat at the hands of Cyril's party is prophetically foretold, but at the same time revealed by scripture as only a temporary setback. At the end of his sermon, Theodoret once more emphasizes a key concern of his theology: that the impassibility of God remain inviolate[124] – to him a key distinction from pagan error – which, we may infer from his brief allusions, rests on the distinction of natures in the incarnate Christ.

Text[125]

[82] Part of a homily by Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus delivered in Chalcedon when they were about to depart.

Let Christ lead off our sermon, for it is on his account both that there are sermons themselves and that we are ministers of his divine sayings. Christ was 'for the fall and rising of many and as a sign to be spoken against',[126] formerly for the carnal Israel and now for the spiritual one. Christ is for unbelievers 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence',[127] but does not shame believers. Christ is the precious stone and the foundation according to the

124 Cf., for this concern in the controversy, Gavrilyuk (2004) 135–71.

125 CA 71, ACO I.1.7, 82–3; Latin versions in CC 125, ACO I.4, 77–9 and CW 24, ACO I.5, 379–81.

126 Luke 2:34.

127 1 Pet 2:8.

saying of Isaiah.[128] Christ is 'the stone which the builders rejected and which became the cornerstone'.[129] Christ is the foundation of the church. Christ is the stone cut without hands that became a great mountain and covered the earth according to the prophecy of Daniel.[130] Christ is the one for whom and with whom and on account of whom we are warred against, and because of whom we have been kept out of the imperial city. But we have not been deprived of the kingdom of heaven, and we have as our city the heavenly Jerusalem, 'whose architect and creator is God' according to the saying of Paul.[131] Christ is the one for whose sake you have braved the fearful waves of the Propontis in order to hear our voice, deeming it an echo of the voice of your shepherd; for you desire to hear the delightful piping of your shepherd, the shepherd whom his fellow shepherds (as they suppose) have killed with their pens. It is with reference to them that God exclaims through the prophe' 'Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard and defiled my portion; the have made my desirable portion into a trackless desert.'[132] Let him spea about them through another prophet also: 'According to their number, so have they sinned against me; I shall turn their glory into dishonour.'[133] Let him speak again through another prophet: 'Woe to you, rebellious children. You have made a plan, but not through me, and a covenant, but not through my spirit, to pile sins on sins. Repent, you who have planned a deep and lawless plan.'[134] Let Isaiah say to them, 'Your hands are defiled with blood and your fingers are in sins. Your tongue has uttered lawlessness, and your mouth meditates injustice. No one utters what is just, because they conceive trouble and beget lawlessness. They have broken the eggs of asps and weave a spider's web.'[135] Note how evil is arraigned and the putridness of evil is exposed – the eggs of asps and the webs of spiders, the former expressing the generation of evil and the latter an exposure of weakness.[136] Have you

128 Isa 28:16.
129 1 Pet 2:7.
130 Dan 2:34–5.
131 Heb 11:10.
132 Jer 12:10.
133 Hos 4:7.
134 Isa 30:1, 31:6.
135 Isa 59:3–5a.
136 At this point the Greek text has: 'For the eggs of asps are the form of evil, while a spider's web is the conviction of weakness. And the one intending to eat of their eggs found, on breaking them, a wind egg'. The first of these sentences reads like a gloss, while the second comes also a few lines down, where it fits better.

observed the weakness of evil? Have you observed that the one injured is not actually injured? Have you observed that the one made war on is crowned? {He therefore adds,}[137] 'And the one intending to eat of their eggs found, on breaking them, a wind egg.'[138] What is a wind egg? A sterile one, meaning one without effect. Isaiah, tell us also about the form of evil {for the text adds something surprising}:[139] 'and in it was a basilisk'.[140] What is striking is that there was in it both a basilisk and a wind egg. A basilisk signifies evil; for since this beast is the most spiteful of all [83] creeping animals, he compares the progeny of evil to it. A wind egg is the same again, because of the weakness of evil.[141] Then comes the judgement: 'Their web will not be for a garment, nor shall they be clothed from the works of their hands'.[142] Why? 'Because their works are works of lawlessness'.[143] Tell us the form lawlessness takes: 'Their feet run to evil'. To do what? 'And they are swift to shed blood'.[144] What in addition to this? 'Affliction and wretchedness are in their ways; for their paths, by which they make their way, are crooked, and they know not the way of peace'.[145] That priests should speak in this way of priests is much to be regretted; we say this not so much to accuse them as to take thought for you.

And further down: Truly 'the sky was dismayed at this and the earth shuddered even more, says the Lord, because my people have done two wicked things. Me' (the text says) 'they have abandoned, the spring of living water. And they have dug for themselves broken cisterns that will not be able to hold water.'[146] Let God speak to them through Jeremiah the prophet, 'Cross over to the islands of Cettiim and see.'[147] Do you refuse, he is saying, to endure my words? Can you not endure the prophets? Do you not accept the law? Do you not believe the divine scriptures? Take

137 Supplied from the Latin version in CC 125.
138 Isa 59:5b.
139 Supplied from the Latin version in CC 125.
140 Isa 59:5 *fin.*
141 CW 24 (p. 389,13) adds 'for evil is weak'.
142 Isa 59:6a.
143 Isa 59:6b.
144 Isa 59:7a.
145 Isa 59:7c–8.
146 Jer 2:12.
147 Jer 2:10a. The Greek text continues, 'And send to Cedar and observe carefully whether such things have happened. What things? Whether the Gentiles will change their gods. Cross over to the islands of Cethim'. This is omitted in CC 125 and bracketed by Schwartz as an interpolation – dittography of what comes a few lines down.

the children of the pagans as your teachers, go to the Gentiles and learn how those thought to be gods are honoured by them, even though they are not gods. 'Cross over to the islands of Cettiim and see, and send to Cedar and observe carefully whether such things have happened'. What things? 'Whether the Gentiles will change their gods'.[148] What gods are these? 'And these are not gods'. And why do you say this? 'My people have changed their glory, from which they will not profit'.[149] This is what it is fitting to say about the matter. The children of the pagans, who honour wood and stone, call them immortal, but you – while telling them not to worship these things but the sole true God, who 'weighed the mountains with scales and the valleys with a balance', who 'measured the water with his hand and the sky by a span and all the earth by a handful',[150] who 'set up the sky as a vault, and holds the circle of the whole earth and those who inhabit it as if grasshoppers',[151] who created all these things by a word and in one moment of time, and who made things that are not into things that are, and gave existence to the non-existent by a mere act of will – do you, forgetting all this, yield to passions and decree that a passible God is to be worshipped? The children of the pagans, as has already been said, being chronically insatiable, call the sky impassible and style the sun impassible, lay down that the stars are immortal and make a god out of the earth they tread; and are we to believe that the invisible, uncreated, infinite, and incomprehensible one is passible? Perish the thought, O our Saviour and benefactor! Far be it from us to be in this way apostates from your worship, ignorant of your nature, ungrateful for your gifts, or to conceive our liberator to be passible, who transferred us from passions to impassibility and bestowed impassibility on passible beings. This petition on our behalf and also on yours we offer to God, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

148 Jer 2:10–11.
149 Jer 2:11b.
150 Isa 40:12.
151 Isa 40:22.

(126) HOMILY OF JOHN OF ANTIOCH DELIVERED IN CHALCEDON

Note

Bishop John of Antioch, speaking after Theodoret on the same occasion, bids a brief farewell to the congregated followers of his party. He tries to strengthen their resolve in the expectation of imminent imperial repression (which did not materialize), and goes on to recapitulate very succinctly the central concepts and terminological preferences of eastern Christological 'orthodoxy' in contrast to the main misconceptions of the Cyrillian opponents.

Text[152]

[84] Homily by John bishop of Antioch, delivered in Chalcedon after the homily by Theodoret.

It is a sacred rule that the qualities of the children should be attributed to their fathers. 'Mine is Galaad and mine is Manasseh',[153] but rather not mine but God's, who gathered your sacred flock around us and granted it, along with other gifts, perseverance in piety. My purpose in standing up among you to speak is to greet you and at the same time say goodbye to you. For after staying with you we are now departing, and yet in departing to your brethren we are still with you, for it is the nature of love to move about everywhere without hindrance. So I give you my greetings, and urge you, who were believers even earlier and are now confessors as well, to be at peace with God. Everyone who believes that he has acquired great possessions, without shirking exertion for what he has acquired, strives with determination not to surrender it. So let no one deprive you of your ancestral faith, which we also must hand down as an inheritance to our children. Look back to your forebears, whom neither torture nor death nor anything else merely human was able to deprive of genuine faith. In your case, slight are the threats, but great is the reward; slight are the sufferings, but great are the crowns. Let no one strip you of what has been entrusted to you, I mean accuracy in doctrine; let no one persuade you to believe that the Godhead is passible or that there is a single nature of body and Godhead. For one of the

152 CA 72, ACO I.1.7, 84; Latin versions in CC 126, ACO I.4, 79 and CW 24, ACO I.5, 381.
153 Ps 59:9.

natures is very God, while the other he assumed. For this reason we teach conjunction and not fusion, union and not mixture. This [the body] is God because of that; this is Son because of that; this is everything because of that. It is worshipped together with that, it has been glorified together with that; and being united to it always and inseparably, it counts as the first fruits of our nature. Hold onto this, and the God of peace will be with you, assisting you in the way that he himself knows. To him be glory for ever. Amen.

(127) LETTER OF MAXIMIAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO CYRIL

Note

Maximian's letter was written not long after his enthronement as bishop of the capital (25 October 431).[154] Doubtless referring to his detention in Ephesus, he praises Cyril for his endurance and suffering on behalf of Christ and in imitation of Christ, especially over the distress caused by the disfavour of the 'ruler' (i.e. Theodosius II). This remark, however oblique, nevertheless betrays the fact that Theodosius II remained opposed to Cyril throughout the entire conciliar period, and indirectly gives further credibility to the critical sentiments expressed in the first *sacra* of dissolution. Crucially, however, the letter asserts, with Christ's help Cyril has triumphed, not least (the letter implies) in Maximian's own consecration. Maximian calls for the continuation of mutual alliance and support, as the guarantee of victory against future challenges.

Text[155]

[71] To the most God-beloved and most devout fellow minister Cyril, Maximian sends greetings in the Lord.

Your desire, most God-beloved, has been fulfilled: your aim on behalf of piety has been accomplished, and your longing on behalf of piety has

154 The letter does not enable us to determine how soon after his consecration Maximian was writing. He must have been aware of Cyril's departure from Ephesus and therefore in all probability directed the letter to Alexandria. Bevan (2016) 206 – without offering justification, but not implausibly – places both Maximian's letter and Cyril's response in November 431.

155 Cyril, *ep.* 30, CV 114, ACO I.1.3, 71; Latin version in CC 65, ACO I.3, 179.

attained its goal. You 'have become a spectacle to both men and angels',[156] and to all the priests of Christ; you have not only believed in Christ, but also suffered for him.[157] You alone were judged worthy of the sufferings of Christ, being held worthy to bear his marks on your own body.[158] You acknowledged him before men; [and so] you have been acknowledged by him in the presence of the Father and the holy angels.[159] You have won crowns on behalf of piety. Through empowerment by Christ you have prevailed in everything. You have humbled Satan by your endurance. You have laughed at punishment. You have trampled upon the wrath of rulers. You have despised hunger, for you had the bread that came down from heaven and which gave to men the life that is from above.[160]

Since we too were not wanting in these things,[161] but were instructed in some of them by what we have observed here and in others by hearing of your tribulations 'against the principalities of those opposing, against the powers, against the cosmic rulers of the darkness of this age, against the spiritual forces of wickedness',[162] and since we have been promoted to the high priesthood of the great city, deign, most God-beloved one, to strengthen us by your prayers, to instruct us by your counsel, and to show every goodwill towards us, so that in our case also there may be fulfilled the scriptural saying, 'Brother aided by brother is like a strong city'.[163] For truly, spiritual love is a strong city that cannot be overcome or stormed by the devil, neither by undermining nor by scaling. For it does not yield to the siege engines of Satan, because it is guarded by Christ the Lord, since Christ has conquered the world and prepared for you eternal blessings, and said, 'Whoever does not take up his cross and follow after me is not worthy of me.'[164] Having become worthy of Christ the Lord by taking up the cross and following him, do not fail to intercede for us with Christ, and deem the successes of a brother to be your own triumphs.

May you enjoy good health in the Lord and pray for me, most God-beloved and most sacred brother.

156 1 Cor 4:9.
157 Cf. Phil 1:29.
158 Cf. Gal 6:17.
159 Cf. Matt 10:32.
160 Cf. John 6:50.
161 The reference must be to trials, not attainments.
162 Eph 6:12 ('of those opposing' being an addition).
163 Prov 18:19.
164 Matt 10:39.

(128) LETTER OF CYRIL TO MAXIMIAN'S CONSECRATORS

Note

Cyril's letter to the bishops and clergy who originally formed the delegation sent from his party to the colloquia in Chalcedon, and who had acted as consecrators of Maximian, is a response to news of Maximian's enthronement. In this event the truth shines forth and heresy falls silent. Curiously, Cyril omits from his list of addressees the Egyptian bishop Euoptius of Ptolemais, who had been one of the council's delegates at Chalcedon and of the consecrators of Maximian. Instead, the papal delegate Projectus features along with his Roman colleagues, even though he had not been a delegate at Chalcedon. It poses the intriguing questio of whether Cyril was unreliably informed, or whether the letter coul have been written from Alexandria some time after Cyril's return at the end of October. Perhaps it was Euoptius himself who brought the news of Maximian's consecration to Alexandria,[165] and so Cyril naturally omitted him from the addressees of this letter. Since Euoptius is attested at the *synodos endemousa* (see doc. 129; signing at no. 9), his departure cannot have been immediate and Cyril's letter would have to be dated well into November. Unless Cyril simply wanted to show courtesy to Projectus on the presumption that he would have joined his fellow Roman delegates after the dissolution of the council, news of his presence in Constantinople could have come from the same source.

Text[166]

[137] To the most dear lords and most religious brothers and fellow ministers Juvenal, Flavian, Arcadius, Projectus, Firmus, Theodotus, Acacius, and Philip the presbyter, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.

We have again been filled with assurance and learnt from experience itself that the truth lives and conquers, according to the statement of a holy

165 If he left within a couple of days after Maximian's consecration, the voyage by ship could have brought him to Alexandria as early as the first week of November, taking some ten days under ideal conditions (all calculation of travel are based on http://orbis.stanford.edu; accessed 15 October 2018).

166 Cyril, *ep.* 32, CA 90, ACO I.1.7, 137; Latin version in CC 66, ACO I.3, 180.

man,[167] and that nothing at all resists it, but it is so mighty that it rises up against every enemy and destroys the power of those who oppose it. For behold, behold, the lips of those who utter falsehood have fallen silent, and the miasma of monstrous blasphemy has ceased, while the beauty of the doctrines of the truth has shone forth, with the consecration as bishop, by the desire and decree of God and through your religiousness, of the most devout and most religious Maximian, who has been adorned with a long old age spent not in ease and luxury but in labour for the sake of virtue, and has also been distinguished by a great concern for affairs, I mean those in defence of the truth and of the doctrines of piety. Rejoicing, therefore, with all the churches and their congregations, I would fittingly say, 'Blessed be the Lord for he has visited and redeemed his people.'[168] For it was not possible for so good a Shepherd to fall asleep, and this is why he laid down his life for his sheep.[169] For always knowing how to save, he has scared off the wicked beast from the sacred and godly fold, and has appointed as overseer one most wise and also expert in all virtue. We believe that he will be conspicuous for every good quality and guide the congregations under his authority into the holy and excellent life.

I pray that you are in good health and remember us to the Lord, beloved and most dear [brothers].

(129) LETTER OF THE SYNOD AT CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE BISHOPS OF EPIRUS VETUS

Note

This synodical letter to the bishops of the province of Epirus Vetus[170] illustrates the formal transformation of the group of bishops consecrating Maximian as the new bishop of the capital into a synod convened around him and under his presidency; his name is now placed first in the list of the letter's senders. The synod conformed, on the one hand, to the mould of the many synods convening to consecrate and install new bishops of

167 1 Esd 4:38.

168 Luke 1:68.

169 Cf. John 10:11.

170 Situated on the Ionian Sea in the secular diocese of Macedonia and part of the Illyrian prefecture.

which we hear in the fourth century and, on the other, constituted the recently established Resident or Home Synod of Constantinople (*synodos endemousa*).[171] In the short letter Maximian and the synod give note of his appointment and warn against communion with the supporters of Nestorius. He encloses the Cyrillian bishops' encyclical letter of mid-July (doc. 74) for their information. It shows how Maximian began his administration by disseminating and enacting the decisions of the Cyrillian council at Ephesus.

Another letter from the same synod (doc. 130 below) has a list of 23 signatories appended to it (including Maximian and his consecrators), which doubtless reveals the full attendance at the synod.

Text[172]

[70] A synodical letter written from Constantinople.

To all the most God-beloved and most devout brothers and fellow bishops of Epirus Vetus, greetings in the Lord from Maximian, Juvenal, Arcadius, Philip, Flavian, Firmus, Theodotus, Acacius, Euoptius, Daniel, and the holy council present with them.

Knowing the plots of the schismatics and the deceit they have practised against the churches, and that, speeding round all the churches, as if in communion with the holy and great council at Ephesus, they endeavour to deceive everyone and to divert to themselves communion with the laity and clergy, we have taken great thought for the matter and have resolved, together with appointing the in all respects most God-beloved and most holy lord Maximian to be bishop of the great city, to join him in sending this letter to you, so that, with full knowledge of these men you may beware of them and of communion with them. For the sake of still greater certainty and so that you may know that you are heeding not only our letter but also the decisions of the holy ecumenical council at Ephesus, we have appended the synodical letter,[173] so that you may be assured by it as well

171 See Hajjar (1962). Meetings of the Home Synod, comprising the bishops staying for various reasons in the capital at any one time, were convened sporadically and spontaneously if urgent business presented itself. A famous later example is the Constantinopolitan synod of November 448 that condemned Eutyches, and in so doing initiated the sequence of events that led to the Second Council of Ephesus and ultimately to the Council of Chalcedon.

172 CV 113, ACO I.1.3, 70–1. There is no Latin version.

173 This is the conciliar encyclical of July 431 (CV 91), the first few lines of which are appended to the letter given here in the MSS. For the full text see doc. 74 (pp. 398ff.).

what are the decrees about those who are schismatics and have held the beliefs of Nestorius and what are the penalties for those who dare to be in communion with them.

We and all those with us send greetings to all the brotherhood with you. May you enjoy good health in the Lord and pray for me, most God-beloved brothers.[174]

Likewise the other bishops listed above also signed.

(130) LETTER OF THE SYNOD AT CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF TENEDOS

Note

The same synod instructs the church of Tenedos on the deposition of their bishop, Anastasius. The decree provides a first example for the disciplinary fallout of the decisions taken by the Cyrillian council in Ephesus. A local petition against the bishop adds to the case against him; together they form the basis of the synod's verdict. For the petition by local clergy against their bishop to reach the *synodos endemousa* we need to allow an interval of at least a few days from Maximian's consecration, enough for the short journey to the island of Tenedos to be made twice – once with news of his consecration and then a return journey with the petition of the local clergy.[175] The notice of Anastasius' 'deposition' contrasts with the information provided about his fate in the *Tragoedia* of Irenaeus. According to Irenaeus, 'Anastasius of Tenedos [...] voluntarily retired from his church and went round visiting those who were in exile, and so died'.[176] In this Irenaeus lists him as one of those principled opponents 'who left [their] holy churches, through refusing to sully their consciences and accept the deeds of Cyril or put up with his communion'.[177] Whether his removal was 'voluntary' or should be considered the result of 'deposition' may have been a matter of interpretation by either party.

174 This is the personal subscription of Maximian.

175 Not much time may have been required for the drafting of the petition itself. It is even possible that grievances against Anastasius' conduct in office had been more or less ready to be presented at an opportune occasion even before Maximian's consecration.

176 CC 279, ACO I.4, 204,6–7.

177 ACO I.4, 203,26–7.

Text[178]

[137] To the most devout and Christ-loving clergy and the most venerable council and all the faithful people of the city of Tenedos,[179] greetings in the Lord from Maximian, Juvenal, Firmus, Arcadius, Philip, [138] Flavian, Theodotus, Euoptius, Daniel, and the holy council present with us.

We have been informed by a plaint presented to us by the beloved and most devout Presbyter Timothy and those with him of what has been perpetrated against orthodoxy by Anastasius, who (I know not how) became your bishop contrary to ancient custom. Welcoming the zeal of those who presented it, we are writing to give you instructions that you also are to display the same zeal and to know that Anastasius, who is totally alien to God and has performed actions that are foreign to the body o the church, has been deposed. For in addition to the accusations alread mentioned, minuted proceedings at the holy ecumenical council convened at Ephesus have been shown to us,[180] in which minutes the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Rhodo, Archelaus, Aphthonetus, Philetus, and Themistius and the most devout Protopresbyter Asclepiades of Rhodes and Eusebius, presbyter and steward of [the church of] the holy apostle Timothy, testified that he had uttered terrible blasphemies against the holy Virgin the Theotokos and against the holy council convened long ago at Nicaea and that at Ephesus; impelled by this, the holy ecumenical council in the synodical letter it issued mentioned the same Anastasius; this missive declared that those who uttered blasphemies and held the beliefs of Nestorius were totally excluded from priestly rank.[181] The plaint presented by the most devout Presbyter Timothy and those with him gave the information that he added to the aforementioned impieties the following: relying on himself, he assailed both the see and the hierarchy, with the consequence that he can never have any hope of presenting a defence. Knowing therefore that he is totally excluded from episcopal rank, keep a guard on yourselves and

178 CA 92, ACO I.1.7, 137–8. No Latin version.

179 The name of a small island, and its town, near the entrance to the Dardanelles.

180 These minutes are not extant.

181 This refers to the conciliar encyclical of mid-July 431 (doc. 74), where the list of condemned bishops that we find in the Latin MSS includes Anastasius (p. 399. Lat 31). This is one of the pieces of evidence that support the authenticity of the Latin list in contrast to the different one in the Greek MSS. See Price (2012b) 411–13. A plaint sent to Theodosius II by the Cyrillian council on 1 July also denounced Anastasius along with other bishops active at Ephesus in support of Nestorius (p. 362 at no 31).

the church and all ecclesiastical property. Be subject, according to ancient custom, to the bishop of Lesbos, the most devout John, whom we ourselves have charged to take care of you. If after this letter anyone holds a different opinion, he too will be liable to the same penalty.

(1) Maximian bishop: I pray that you be in good health in the Lord, most dear brothers.
(2) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, likewise.
(3) Arcadius bishop, likewise.
(4) Philip presbyter of Rome, likewise.
(5) Flavian bishop of Philippi, likewise.
(6) Firmus bishop of Caesarea, likewise.
(7) Theodotus bishop of Ancyra, likewise.
(8) Acacius bishop of Melitene, likewise.
(9) Euoptius bishop of Ptolemais, likewise.
(10) Daniel bishop of Colonia, likewise.
(11) Olympius bishop of Cucusus, likewise.
(12) Marinus bishop of Heliopolis, likewise.
(13) Euprepius bishop of Bizye, likewise.
(14) Bessulas deacon of Carthage, likewise.
(15) Romanus bishop of Raphia, likewise.
(16) Silvanus bishop of Ceretapa, likewise.
(17) Paul bishop of Anthedon, likewise.
(18) Aeanes bishop of Sycamazon, likewise.
(19) Acacius of Ariarathia, likewise.
(20) Isaiah, bishop, likewise.
(21) Severus bishop of Codrula, likewise.
(22) Phanias bishop of Harpasa, likewise.
(23) Chrysaphius bishop of Apra, likewise.

(131) PETITION OF PETER OF TRAIANOPOLIS TO THE SYNOD AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Note

In another example of the disciplinary fallout from the council, Bishop Peter[182] submits his plea for forgiveness over his former association with Nestorius – not for doctrinal reasons, he assures the bishops, but friendship alone – for his separation from 'the council' (that is Cyril's council) and for signing the Oriental's 'uncanonical' condemnation of Cyril and Memnon (doc. 53; signing at no. 17). He petitions the Constantinopolitan synod for readmission into communion, offers a statement of his orthodox faith, and anathematizes Nestorius. We do not know the synod's decision.

Text[183]

[139] To the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Maximian, Juvenal, Flavian, Firmus, Arcadius, Philip presbyter of Rome, Theodotus, Acacius, Euoptius, and all the holy council, from Bishop Peter.

Many, I think, of the holy bishops here present are well informed about me, that by the grace of God I grew up from of old and from the first in this holy and orthodox faith. When the commotion over Nestorius occurred, I too went to Ephesus with the others. At first, expecting that there would be peace between both parties, I associated with the aforementioned, not because of doctrine but solely out of friendship, and after his deposition some people came to us and by bringing false charges against the holy council did damage to my conscience, for which reason I did not, although being in Ephesus, join the holy council. But then I went along and sought to ascertain whether the holy council had truly said the things that certain people had accused them of, falsely as I now know. Having met holy bishops of whom one was the most religious Bishop Flavian, who explained what had offended my conscience, I was completely convinced by him with total precision on the points I had been doubtful over, and learnt that the faith of orthodoxy proclaimed by your holy council, like the earlier one at Nicaea, was pure and sound.

182 Not much is known about Peter of Traianopolis outside the conciliar context; see J. Irmscher, 'Peter of Traianopolis', in Di Berardino (1992) II, 679.

183 CA 93, ACO I.1.7, 139. No Latin version. The headings given to this and the following document in CA aptly style each of them a 'petition of repentance'.

For this reason I apply to your reverences, begging forgiveness for separating myself from the holy council and for being seduced into signing the unlawful and uncanonical outrage of the supposed deposition by John of Antioch and those with him of the most holy and most God-beloved bishops Cyril and Memnon.[184] I join in professing the orthodox belief of the church, which is also held by your religiousness; with a loud voice I call holy Mary 'Theotokos', and I acknowledge that the most God-beloved and most sacred Cyril and Memnon are bishops and that they were wronged by John of Antioch and those with him who set themselves up in opposition to the holy ecumenical council. I also anathematize the heretic Nestorius, once bishop of the great city, and his impious doctrine, and all those who hold his beliefs and have not followed the faith of the holy fathers. I hold to be excommunicate those whom your holy council decreed to be excluded and without any function,[185] and I beg to be received into communion, since I have kept myself excommunicate till now according to the penalty imposed by the holy ecumenical council, while I await clemency from you.

I, Peter, bishop of the metropolis of Traianopolis,[186] hereby present this petition and sign it with my hand.

(132) PETITION OF JULIAN OF SARDICA TO THE SYNOD AT THESSALONICA

Note

Julian of Sardica (the metropolis of Dacia Mediterranea) submits a very similar plaint, and with the same object, to the competent synod in his case – that of Thessalonica. He, too, had stood unwaveringly on the eastern bishops' side, starting from the protests against an early meeting on 21 June right until the end of the council, and subscribed to their various letters and reports over the course of the summer. Originally misguided by concerns for friendship (he claims by way of excuse), he has since

184 This most likely refers to the decision taken by the meeting of the Easterners on 26 June (doc. 53 above; cf. doc. 62). Peter is named by the Cyrillians among the associates of John of Antioch whom they deposed, deposed (doc. 66, p. 362) Peter had also signed Nestorius' complaint against the meeting of 22 June (doc. 49, p. 311 at no 11).

185 That is, excommunicated and forbidden to exercise any priestly function.

186 This is Traianopolis, the metropolis of the province of Rhodope in Thrace.

been fully convinced of the validity and orthodoxy of Cyril's council. The language used is in key elements identical to that of Peter's petition. He goes further than his colleague in providing a fuller declaration of his faith couched in soundly Cyrillian terms. In addition to Nestorius he anathematizes the representatives of 'Pelagian' error, in a nod to distinct western sensibilities. How his grovelling petition can be squared with the defiance with which he is credited in the *Tragoedia* of Irenaeus remains a puzzle. His list of principled dissenters to Ephesus standing firm includes 'Julian metropolitan of Sardica, who, keeping himself innocent of the punishment inflicted on his brother [sc. Nestorius], preferred to undergo many thousands of dangers'.[187]

Text[188]

[139] To the holy and reverend priests Archbishop Rufus, Eucharit Senecio, Flavian, Domninus, Basilianus, Hermias, Perrebius, Marcian Cresconius, Projectus, and Gennadius, from Julian bishop of Sardica.

I do not think that my case is unknown to your beatitude and all the holy council present with you. For you are well informed that by the grace of God from of old and from the first I received from my forebears the holy and orthodox faith that you profess, and grew up in it. When [140] the commotion over Nestorius occurred, I too, in accordance with the decree of the most pious emperors, went to the metropolis of Ephesus, where I received a letter from your holiness charging me to keep clear of all divisions and to adhere to the orthodox creed issued in the city of Nicaea by the 318 holy fathers. At first I associated with the aforementioned Nestorius, not because of doctrine but solely out of friendship, and after his deposition some people came along and by bringing false charges against the holy council that had deposed him caused me and many others by their vain talk a certain mental damage; seduced for this reason, as I have said, I did not, although being in Ephesus, join their holinesses. But then I went along and was persuaded that everything that had been said to me against the holy council was worthless, and I was completely convinced that the council had preserved pure and sound the profession of the orthodox faith that the multitude of holy fathers convened at Nicaea had expounded and which your holinesses continue to proclaim.

187 CC 279, ACO I.4, 204,11–12.
188 CA 94, ACO I.1.7, 139–40. No Latin version.

For this reason I apply to your reverences, begging forgiveness for separating myself from the holy council and for being seduced into signing the unlawful, unholy, and uncanonical outrage of the supposed deposition by John of Antioch and those with him of the most holy and most religious bishops Cyril and Memnon. I also, manifestly, proclaim the orthodox belief of the church, which is also held by your religiousness, and with a loud voice I proclaim holy Mary to be and to be called Theotokos, since God the Word, existing before the ages, the only-begotten Son of God, through whom was created everything in heaven and on earth, himself came down, and while remaining what he was by nature, without any change or alteration, was hypostatically united to the flesh and born from her. And I acknowledge that the most God-beloved and most sacred Cyril and Memnon are orthodox bishops and preachers of the orthodox faith, and that they were wronged by John of Antioch and those with him who set themselves up in opposition to the holy ecumenical council. I also anathematize the heretic Nestorius, formerly bishop of Constantinople, and his impious doctrine, and also Pelagius, Celestius, Bonosus, and all those who hold their beliefs and have not followed the faith of the holy fathers. I hold to be excommunicate those whom the holy council has decreed to be excluded[189] and without any function in priestly ministry, and I beg to be received into communion, for I have kept myself excommunicate till now according to the penalty of the holy ecumenical council which it decreed against us who went into schism and offended in many ways, while I await clemency from you.

I, Julian, bishop of Sardica, hereby sign and present this petition that has been dictated by me and read [to me].

(133) LETTER OF ACACIUS OF BEROEA TO ALEXANDER OF HIERAPOLIS

Note

Acacius passes on news of the events in Chalcedon and Constantinople which the returning bishops around John of Antioch had conveyed to him. They recalled in particular how evidence had been discovered of Cyril's bribery in subversion of the truth, and how he had managed to escape

189 We correct ἀφωσιωμένους to ἀφωρισμένους, as in the parallel passage in the preceding letter.

from Ephesus before the imperial confirmation of his deposition could be made public.

Acacius speaks only of the planned imperial confirmation of Cyril's and Memnon's deposition, as it had been set out in the first version or draft of the imperial letter dissolving the council (doc. 119); this Cyril had thwarted by taking to flight. A second, markedly different version had in fact reinstated both bishops (doc. 124). Acacius' complete silence over the final *sacra* has been interpreted as evidence of deceit and misinformation committed against him by the Antiochene bishops.[190] Acacius is, however, chiefly interested in conveying the discovery of evidence of Cyril's bribery, and therefore had a reason for keeping to the original *sacra*, as evidence of the 'correct' decision that had in the event been overturned as a result of bribery. The existence of an earlier draft of a *sacra* in this vein may have been news to his addressee Alexander (presumably of Hierapolis, the metropolis of Euphratensis, one of the staunchest supporters of Nestorius), but there was no direct need for Acacius to elaborate on the official and final version that had been formally published. Alexander had after all been one of the eastern bishops who stayed behind in Ephesus, and so must have received the eastern delegates' letter already mentioning the reinstatement of Cyril and Memnon (doc. 123), and will certainly have heard the public proclamation of the *sacra* itself in Ephesus. Acacius' silence, then, cannot be taken as evidence of recourse to 'deceit' by the bishops around John of Antioch through circulating a bogus version of the *sacra*.

Text[191]

[85] A letter of the holy Acacius bishop of Beroea, a priest of very great age and at this time already [more than a hundred years old],[192] who had been a confessor in the time of the Arians, and whose letter critical of the Chapters of the blessed Cyril had been approved by the emperor Theodosius, when writing to the council assembled at Ephesus, through John count of [the sacred] largesses, as was shown above, and who, despite his involvement in this dispute, received letters expressive of great respect from both the apostolic see and the blessed Cyril.[193]

190 Bevan (2016); see p. 593, n. 123 above.

191 Extant in a Latin version, CC 130, ACO I.4, 85–6.

192 This supplement to fill a brief lacuna is suggested by Schwartz *exempli gratia*.

193 This note is by Rusticus, referring to the imperial *sacra* of August 431 (doc. 87 above);

To my most holy Lord and most God-beloved brother and fellow minister Alexander, from Acacius.

As I earlier informed your religiousness, there came here my lord Bishop John, most holy in all respects, together with the most God-beloved bishops Alexander of Apamea, Archelaus, Theodoret, Thalassius, Eustathius, Mari, and Maru,[194] and informed me of the statements and proceedings that had followed their summoning to Chalcedon by our most religious and most God-beloved emperor, which were such that they cannot be described in speech, for no tongue has the power to express the statements and proceedings contrived by the devil. For after debate between both parties in the presence of our most pious and most God-beloved emperor, when the most pious emperor expressed total agreement with the Easterners, the great sums of money that Cyril dispensed buried the truth – for our sins. For after the death of the eunuch Scholasticius,[195] the most pious emperor, on investigating his property and the infinite quantity of gold he left, found a memorandum revealing that he had received many pounds of gold from Cyril. This gold was handed over by Paul,[196] a nephew of Cyril of Alexandria, who was count of the officers of the consistory in that place, besides other gifts which had been offered in various forms to various individuals.

The deposition of Cyril and Memnon had been confirmed, and it had been agreed that this would be announced;[197] but finding an opportunity when under guard at Ephesus, he [Cyril] had recourse to flight. Maximian,

see our n. 9 ad loc. (p. 492). Acacius was the addressee of Cyril's *epp.* 14 and 33. No letters to him from Pope Celestine (or his successor Xystus) are extant.

194 Of the bishops (presumably all Syrian) listed here by Acacius, only John of Antioch and Theodoret had been members of the eastern delegation at Chalcedon, and of the others only Alexander of Apamea had attended the Council of Ephesus. The Archelaus mentioned here may be identical to the Archelaus who was among the bishops consulted by John over the response to the ultimatum sent to Nestorius by Celestine and Cyril (doc. 23, p. 180). The presence of these bishops with John and his party may be attributed to common participation at the synod of Syrian bishops at Tarsus, held by John during his return home.

195 See 'Scholasticius 1', *PLRE* II, 981. This is very probably the same Scholaticius who is named as one of the addressees of the Easterners' letter CV 162 (doc. 82, p. 419) and of a letter by Nestorius CC 103 (doc. 85, p. 426).

196 'Paulus 9', *PLRE* II, 850. Cf. the report of Count Irenaeus from August 431 (doc. 84) which hints at the distribution of bribes in those weeks by Cyril's *syncellus*, John (p. 425 above).

197 This must refer to the first *sacra* dissolving the council (CC 118; doc. 119), which confirmed their deposition.

who was consecrated bishop in Constantinople, did not allow the Easterners to enter Constantinople. Your religiousness knows what must be known; for seeing a great crowd of monks, [86] the most pious emperor bade farewell to the bishops, at their request. In consequence, the affairs of the church are in dire straits, and need a remedy from the omnipotence of God if they are to be rescued. How those who came to us from you gave comfort together with the many others who also came, and how we were comforted by the above-mentioned most religious bishops, the most devout Deacon Patricius will inform you.

We send abundant greetings to all the brotherhood who are with you in Christ.

EPILOGUE

To conclude this documentary collection about the Ephesine Council on this dire and despairing note struck by the aged Acacius, now well over 110 years old, who witnessed orthodoxy suppressed and a church rent asunder by bribery and the devil's machinations, could seem disturbing. Yet it cannot have been only in the eyes of the great old man that the council seemed an unmitigated disaster. It left a schism between those holding communion with John of Antioch and those around Cyril of Alexandria and the new bishop of Constantinople, Maximian, who now enjoyed imperial support. By sheer intransigence in the face of demands by the opposing bishops and imperial officials, as well as through the mobilization of the populace and the monks, in the capital in particular, the latter appear to have prevailed over the machinery of imperial administration and the persuasiveness of political power as well as over their peers' attempts to involve them in intricate theological argument.

The bishops allied with Cyril will have been relieved if not elated on their way home, and Cyril's triumphant entry into Alexandria, of which the *Collectio Casinensis* speaks, could seem to confirm his victory. The congratulations on the confirmation of orthodoxy received in the spring of 432 from Pope Celestine underscored it.[1] Cyrillian propagandists presented heroic narratives of heresy vanquished; and enemies of Nestorius in Constantinople, whether clergy, monks, or lay, undoubtedly felt vindicated and liberated. But the unresolved question of Antiochene opposition, less numerous but representing a number of important provinces – equally adept at epistolary campaigning, well connected to some quarters of the imperial administration, and not without sharp conceptual thinking in their ranks – cannot have left the administration or even the most ardent Cyrillians completely satisfied with the 'achievement' of the council and the state of affairs in the churches in the eastern parts of the empire, let alone drunk with total triumph. There was unresolved business, and any elation must

1 ACO I.2, 98–101, addressed to 'the holy council at Ephesus' and dated 15 March 432.

have been tinged with anxiety and doubt. Cyril's lengthy *Apology* written to the emperor in the autumn of 431 only confirms that he did not feel completely secure. His willingness to seek common ground with John of Antioch and his party in the coming years is to be attributed not simply to political pressure but also to a recognition of the need to address an untenable situation of ecclesiastical schism, and even a realisation that the theological points raised by them could not just be roundly rejected as 'heretical' but required further consideration. The *causa Nestorii* may have been settled for the time being (though even on his personal fate the last word had not been spoken), but the Christological question had not.

The Easterners, in their turn, were not willing to give up the fight. On their way home they convened in council in Tarsus and once more decreed the condemnation of their opponents, especially Cyril and the Cyrillian delegates at Chalcedon. They had not failed to point out in their pleas to the emperor what damage this schism could do to the cohesion and even integrity of the empire, how it impacted on the way outsiders perceived its strength or weakness, and how it might undo the diplomatic and military advances of the recent past. Even if we allow for some hyperbole, we cannot doubt that for an emperor, too, the state of affairs could only be considered detrimental to his reign; no one doubted the causal link between orthodoxy, divine favour, and the welfare of the empire and its citizens.

In the light of such principal reflections it should not surprise us that Theodosius' support for Maximian did not equate to unqualified and wholesale support for the Cyrillian cause. Beyond his clear and increasing aversion to Nestorius personally, nothing suggests that even in October Theodosius had completely abandoned the Antiochene bishops; in particular he remained persuaded of their fundamental theological orthodoxy. Nor had he swung fully behind the Cyrillian party in political terms. His *sacra* addressed to the bishops in Ephesus to dissolve the council did not fail to point out that God knew those guilty of upsetting the plans for peace and doctrinal unity that he had himself incessantly and with all imaginable imperial and personal endeavour pursued. Sending them all home was not the happy conclusion of a 'mission accomplished', but an at least implicit acknowledgement of failure – including failure of the emperor's own religious policy – and frustration over the ineffectiveness of an ecumenical council, the most comprehensive and, ideally, the most authoritative institutional response to an ecclesiastical crisis that could be conceived. Failure, however, by allowing the schism to fester, could not be the last word. The emperor and the court did not acquiesce in the

situation for long. Already in 431, and with still greater vigour in 432, new diplomatic initiatives were undertaken to bring about a reconciliation and to reunite the parts of church and empire beset by schism.[2]

Sending Count Aristolaus,[3] the emperor offered both carrot and stick. He offered the possibility of a personal audience to John and Cyril, but only on their agreeing to end the schism; otherwise access to the corridors of power would be barred to them. Of John he demanded acceptance of Nestorius' deposition and condemnation of his doctrines, while of Cyril he required that he put behind him the 'injury' suffered at Ephesus. John could not accept these conditions, but after consulting his fellow Syrian bishops formulated parameters for an acceptable interpretation of the Nicene Creed, while holding up Athanasius' *Epistle to Epictetus* as common ground. This was hard for Cyril to reject, since he presented himself as the new Athanasius, and the letter would eventually become a central pillar supporting an agreement.[4] For the time being, however, John's additional demand for the effective withdrawal of the Chapters proved a formidable obstacle. Aristolaus next undertook an embassy to Alexandria. Cyril tried to play down the role of the Chapters as directed only against Nestorius personally and anathematized Arius, Apollinarius, and Eunomius, hoping to assuage concerns about the implications of speaking of 'one nature'. Acacius of Beroea seems to have been among the first to find this move helpful, but others in the eastern episcopate detected no softening in Cyril's views, and positions amongst them over the person of Nestorius were divided. Eventually, John sent Paul of Emesa to Cyril with a letter containing the profession of faith the Easterners had composed in Ephesus (cf. CA 48; doc. 90). In December of 432 and over the following month a rapprochement was slowly reached. Paul conceded acceptance of the deposition of Nestorius and of the consecration of Maximian. It was a personal concession; he had not been authorized to do so. It enabled him to win trust, however, and in two homilies he preached in Alexandria on

2 For the negotiations towards a union, see Hefele and Leclerq (1908) II.1, 378–404; Fraisse-Coué (1995) 542–9; for the debates immediately following Fraisse-Coué (1998) 9–77.

3 Imperial official in the rank and function of tribune and secretary, see 'Aristolaus' *PLRE* II, 146–7. The frequent designation does not allow a more precise characteristic of his position and role in the imperial service. Cyril describes him (in a letter to Rabbula, *ep.* 34; trans. McEnerney (1987) I, 136f.) as 'the most admirable tribune and secretary, Aristolaus, a Christian man and one who is fighting strongly for the true faith'.

4 Graumann (2003) 195–213.

25 December and 1 January he also publicly accepted 'Theotokos' to a rousing reception by the congregation.[5] Cyril's attempts to hold out for more concessions probably foundered in the face of increasing political pressure to come to an agreement. John sacrificed Nestorius and accepted his deposition and the consecration of his successor (not to universal approval among the eastern bishops; some dissenters held out for years and were eventually only removed by imperial decree).[6] Cyril's joyful announcement of the agreement (in his *ep.* 39: *Laetentur caeli*, 'May the heavens rejoice') crucially contained and accepted (not without giving it distinct interpretation) the amended and expanded Christological formula originally drafted by the eastern bishops in Ephesus. As the Formula of Reunion it became one major foundation of the later Chalcedonian Definition. Since it was presented in a letter from Cyril's pen, it was widely read and discussed as a 'Cyrillian' text in later generations. The letter itself, and the formula with it, already carried full conciliar authority (for some) by the time of renewed strife in the late 440s, even though it had no strict historical connection to the sessions in Ephesus or any decision taken there. The letter and formula thereby continued to be part of the long discussions, well beyond Chalcedon, over different emphases in assessing the legacy of Cyril's theology, and competing claims laid to the 'real Cyril' when his authority as doctrinal teacher was as good as universally accepted.

The union, then, could appear to have mended what the council had left broken. It achieved an uneasy peace, at least for a time. Years of resistance by a number of bishops followed. That development, however, could not be foreseen at the end of October 431. The disunited church plagued by heterodoxy and schism at the end of the council, and in no small part caused by the council, which Acacius lamented in his letter, and the image of the eastern bishops for all their defiance trudging home wearily (one imagines), marks a nadir not easily reconciled with high expectations of an ecumenical council as a glorious occasion in the life of the church and high point in the ecclesiastical calendar as well as the acme in the life and career of a bishop. 'Nothing good ever comes of a synod', Gregory of Nazianzus had wryly commented in the fourth century, in the light of painful personal

5 Using the term had never been a real obstacle to the more learned Antiochene theologians – it was more a symbolic than a theological concession. See the letter from John of Antioch to Nestorius (doc. 23, pp. 177–8).

6 On dissent on the Antiochene side during these years, see Schor (2011) 91–104; Millar (2006) 174–91.

experience. But the collective imagination of the great assembly of holy fathers brought together from the entire (Roman) world – the first such event since the Nicene Council under the great Constantine, the splendour of which shone brightly in collective memory[7] – could not abide such a judgement.

The ancient collectors of conciliar acts shared the dissatisfaction with the notion of a council abandoned without real achievement. It seems that practically all early documentary collections – in as much as their contours may still be deduced after centuries of further evolution towards those final shapes that form the basis of Eduard Schwartz's edition – continued the assemblage of documents beyond the *sacra* of dissolution and added a quantity of material relating to the Reunion of 433 and to both the negotiations that led to it and the reception that followed. Scholars of doctrinal history often treat the Formula of Reunion as a substitute for the common doctrinal formulation of 'orthodox Christology' that the council of 431 had failed to achieve. This serves not just the needs of later interpreters: a connection was already made in the years immediately following the council. Cyril's *Laetentur caeli* letter of 433 to John, which confirmed and announced the 'union', was soon held to enjoy the council's formal authority, together with his *Second Letter to Nestorius*, which had been formally approved at the first session at Ephesus. The perceived vacuum of doctrinal definition and the absence of a citable synodical decree on the matter also contributed to the spurious and unsubstantiated narratives, originating in Byzantium and still prevalent in collective memory today, that attribute to the Council of Ephesus a decree defining that the Virgin Mary is Theotokos, Mother of God. By the time of the Quinisext Council (691/2) this notion was firmly established, and the Second Council of Nicaea (787) unswervingly declared it an Ephesine doctrinal pronouncement.[8] As a historical statement, it needs to be abandoned.

7 The Council of Constantinople of 381, ultimately received as the Second Ecumenical Council, had not yet entered the consciousness of imperial or ecclesiastical hierarchs as an event to place alongside it.

8 Canon I of the Quinisext Council (691/2): 'We also validate as an unbreakable bulwark of piety the teaching issued by the 200 inspired fathers convened for the first time in the city of Ephesus in the reign of our emperor Theodosius the son of Arcadius, as we proclaim that the Son of God and the incarnate one are one Christ and hold that the one who bore him without seed is immaculate, ever-virgin, and properly and truly Theotokos' (ACO, ser. 2, II.4, 22, 1–8). Definition of Nicaea II: 'We acknowledge that our Lady the holy Mary is properly and truly Theotokos, since she gave birth in the flesh to one of the Holy Trinity,

The council, then, ultimately proved not a conclusion but a stepping stone in the continuing efforts to define Christian teaching on the person of the Incarnate one. From the vantage point of imperial religious politics, it also helped the emperor and his administration to a more realistic understanding of the opportunities, limitations, and potential pitfalls of this theoretically most potent instrument of imperial religious policy. When Theodosius convened another ecumenical council in Ephesus some eighteen years later, he discovered in retrospect the inner coherence of his policy and actions in the summer of 431 (not so easily perceptible then) and convinced himself of their unqualified success in defending orthodoxy, according to the role divinely assigned to him. In his practical approach to the organization of the new council, he also demonstrated the lessons learned from the first occasion and held the reins much more tightly. It turned out, however, that not even firm imperial guidance could assure a council's success. After his reign came to a premature end as the result of a riding accident, his successor undid all his designs and reversed them totally. In the process, the Second Ephesine Council was comprehensively criticized for both the way it had conducted its business and the decisions it had reached. It was the Second Council of Ephesus, arguably better organized and both more cogent and determined in its decisions (whatever their rights and wrongs), that suffered almost instant and lasting rejection, whereas the first council, which the documents here assembled have portrayed as a highly contested affair, gained almost universal recognition as the Third Ecumenical Council.[9]

Christ our God, *as was laid down as doctrine by the first council of Ephesus*' (ACO, ser. 2, III.3, 824, 9–12).

9 For the churches of the East, in the past often labelled derogatively 'Nestorian', see the discussions documented in the special issues *Istina* 43.1 (1998): Deuxième rencontre des Églises de la tradition syriaque. Colloque de la Fondation Pro Oriente, Vienne 22–27 février 1996; and *Istina* 43.2 (1998): Troisième rencontre des Églises de tradition Syriac. Colloque de la Fondation Pro Oriente, Mundelein (Illinois) 8–11 juillet 1997.

APPENDIX 1

ATTENDANCE AT THE COUNCIL

The attendance at the council of bishops (or, in a few cases, their representatives) can be gauged from many of the documents, a number of which contain lists of bishops – notably attendance lists, subscription lists, and the signatories to petitions and letters. These, however, need to be used with care. I shall start with the bishops on the Cyrillian side, both those who were on it from the start and those who came over to it in the course of the council. The attendance list of the supposed session of 22 July lacks authority, since the very historicity of this session is doubtful and the list is not an independent document but based on that of 22 June. The latter, in contrast, contains no suspicious elements, and lists 154 episcopal names. The Acts contain no further attendance lists. As for subscription lists, these exist for the sessions of 22 June and '22 July'; here the latter is an independent document and has authority, even if its real date and context are uncertain. Subscription lists could contain names of absentees provided by overzealous colleagues; however, the number of bishops who appear in one or both of these subscription lists but nowhere else is so minute as not to excite suspicion.

The most reliable evidence, along with the attendance list of 22 June, is that provided by documents which numerous bishops signed. Particular importance attaches to the mandate with which in early September the eight delegates from the Cyrillian side set off to Constantinople (or rather to Chalcedon, as it turned out): it was signed by 140 bishops (doc. 108). If we add to the 140 these eight delegates, the figure is not far short of 154 attendances at the session of 22 June. However, of the 148 no fewer than 34 had not attended that session: they had either not been in Ephesus at the time or had come over to the Cyrillian side only after the session. What had happened to the 40 bishops who had attended on 22 June, but did not sign the mandate of early September? Surely all the bishops supportive of Cyril and still available would have been asked to sign. Had the missing bishops, contrary to the emperor's instructions, already left Ephesus? This may remind us that attendance at a council lasting four months will have showed fluctuation.

On the Antiochene side we have a subscription list for the condemnation of Cyril and Memnon at the meeting of 26 June (doc. 53), which wins credence, even if the two versions of it (one in the *Collectio Vaticana* and a more complete one in the *Collectio Casinensis*) are not identical; the total number of names is 54. This was made up of precisely half of the 68 bishops who had signed a protest against the opening of the council of 22 June (doc. 37) plus the bishops who had arrived with John of Antioch.[1] Whether through intimidation by the party of Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus, or through a respect for the session of 22 June,[2] which, however contrary to the imperial mandate, was too well attended to be simply ignored, the anti-Cyrillian party had lost half its members by the time John arrived. Thereafter, however, under the determined leadership of John, it held together. The repeated claim by Cyril, first made in the letter of his council to the emperor of 1 July (doc. 66), that John's party had shrunk to a mere 37, or even to 30, is shown to have been an exaggeration by a letter from John's party still at Ephesus dating to mid-September (doc. 114), which was signed by over 40 bishops and thus, if we add their eight delegates at Chalcedon, shows that John's party still numbered around 50.

Of course, this number was dwarfed by the bishops on Cyril's side at Ephesus, originally (at the session of 22 June) numbering over 150, and by the end of the council around 200 – or 150, if we take the list of signatories of the mandate discussed above to be a reasonably complete tally of Cyril's supporters still at Ephesus. The easterners complained that the difference had arisen from the huge number of suffragans who had come from pro-Cyrillian regions (especially Asiana and Egypt), in contrast to their own observance of the instructions in the emperor's original letter of convocation, which had stated that each metropolitan was to bring 'a few most holy bishops' with him to the council (CV 25.2, doc. 28). A tally of provinces gives apparent support to this – with twenty ecclesiastical provinces on Cyril's side at the start of the council as contrasted to 26 on the other side. Even after the substantial defections to Cyril's side by the end of June, there were still nineteen metropolitan bishops on John's side. But this is to ignore the huge difference in the size of provinces, particularly in the case of Egypt, where Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt, and Libya (each of these consisting of a number of civil provinces) counted as

1 The slightly later list in a letter from John's council to the clergy of Hierapolis, CC 96 (doc. 62), adds a further six names to the tally of John's supporters.

2 See pp. 48–9 above.

a single province for ecclesiastical purposes, while the province of Asia contained more cities, and in all probability a larger population, than any other civil province. The imperial decision, communicated to the bishops at Ephesus early in August, to accept the decrees of both rival councils (that is, the depositions of Cyril and Memnon as well as Nestorius) implied a recognition that both councils had serious claims to attention and respect. The final decision, in the 'second' *sacra*, to exempt Cyril and Memnon from this (Nestorius had already resigned) reflected pressure in Constantinople from bishops, the court, and the population rather than a revised evaluation of the proceedings at Ephesus.

The following list gives the sees of all the bishops who attended (or at least probably attended) the council, set out according to province, with an indication of which party each province adhered to – whether pro-Cyrillian, anti-Cyrillian, or *originally* anti-Cyrillian (or divided) but then defecting to the other side ('became Cyrillian').[3]

Illyricum
Crete: Gortyna (metropolis), Chersonesus, Cnossus, Lappa (pro-Cyrillian)
Dacia Mediterranea: Sardica (metropolis) (anti-Cyrillian)
Epirus Nova: Dyrrachium (metropolis), Apollonia-Byllis (pro-Cyrillian)
Epirus Vetus: Nicopolis (metropolis), Dodona (pro-Cyrillian)
Hellas (Achaea): Corinth (metropolis), Coronaea, Megara, Naupactus, Opus, Thebes (pro-Cyrillian)
Macedonia: Philippi (pro-Cyrillian)
Praevalitana: Scodra (metropolis) (pro-Cyrillian)
Thessaly: Larissa (metropolis), Caesarea, Demetrias, Echinus, Hypata, Lamia, Pharmalus, Thebes (divided)

Thracia
Europa: Heraclea (metropolis), Bizye, Coela (divided)
Haemimontus: Deultum (became Cyrillian)
Moesia Secunda: Marcianopolis (metropolis), Abrittus, Durostolus (anti-Cyrillian)
Rhodope: Traianopolis (metropolis), Maronea, Maximianopolis, Topirus (divided)
Scythia: Tomi (metropolis) (became Cyrillian)

3 For a more detailed analysis see Price (2012b).

Pontica

Armenia Secunda: Melitene (metropolis), Arca, Comana (pro-Cyrillian)
Bithynia: Nicomedia (metropolis), Apamea, Apollonia, Cius, Prusa (mainly anti-Cyrillian)
Cappadocia Prima: Caesarea (pro-Cyrillian)
Cappadocia Secunda: Tyana (metropolis), Colonia, Faustinopolis, Parnassus (mainly anti-Cyrillian)
Galatia Prima: Ancyra (metropolis), Aspona, Cinna (pro-Cyrillian)
Galatia Salutaris: Pessinus (metropolis), Amorium (became Cyrillian)
Helenopontus: Amaseia (metropolis), Andrapa (pro-Cyrillian)
Honorias: Creteia, Heraclea (pro-Cyrillian)
Paphlagonia: Gangra (metropolis), Ionopolis, Pompeiopolis (divided)
Pontus Polemoniacus: Cerasus (pro-Cyrillian)

Asiana

Asia: Ephesus (metropolis), Adramyttium, Anaea, Aninetus, Arcadiopolis, Assus, Briulla, Clazomenae, Coloe, Cyme, Colophon, Erythrae, Euaza (Augaza), Hypaepa, Magnesia on the Meander, Magnesia by Sipylus, Mastaura, Myrina, Nysa, Palaeopolis, Pergamum, Phocaea, Priene, Sion, Smyrna, Teos, Theodosiopolis, Tralles, Valentinianopolis (pro-Cyrillian)
Caria: Aphrodisias (metropolis), Alinda, Amyzon, Ceramus, Cibyra, Harpasa, Heraclea Latmi, Heraclea Salbacae, Iasus, Myndus (mainly pro-Cyrillian)
Hellespontus: Cyzicus (metropolis), Germe, Parium, Pionia, Proconnesus, Scepsis (became Cyrillian)
The Islands: Rhodes (metropolis), Lesbos, Paros, Tenedos (divided)
Lycaonia: Iconium (metropolis), Derbe, Ilistra (pro-Cyrillian)
Lycia: Myra (metropolis), Choma, Olympus (pro-Cyrillian)
Lydia: Sardis (metropolis), Aureliopolis, Daldis, Philadelphia, Saittae, Stratonicea, Thyatira, Tripolis (became Cyrillian)
Pamphylia Prima: Perge (metropolis), Attaleia, Isinda, Olbia, Palaeopolis, Termessus-Eudocias (became Cyrillian)
Pamphylia Secunda: Side (metropolis), Aspendus, Carallia, Colybrassus, Coracesium, Cotenna, Erymna,[4] Etenna, Lyrbe, Selge, Sennea-Casae (pro-Cyrillian)

4 Alone of this group, Paul of Erymna started as anti-Cyrillian, but then changed sides.

Phrygia Pacatiana: Laodicea (metropolis), Attuda, Ceretapa, Diocleia, Hierapolis, Theodosiana, (?) Traianopolis,[5] Trapezopolis, Valentia (became mainly Cyrillian)
Phrygia Salutaris: Synnada (metropolis), Cotiaeum, Docimium, Orcistus (became Cyrillian)
Pisidia: Antioch (metropolis), Sozopolis (divided)

Syria and Mesopotamia
Arabia: Bostra (metropolis), Esbus, Neve (anti-Cyrillian)
Cilicia Prima: Tarsus (metropolis), Adana, Augusta, Corycus, Mallus (anti-Cyrillian)
Cilicia Secunda: Anazarbus (metropolis), Castabala (anti-Cyrillian)
Cyprus: Constantia (metropolis), Carpasia, Curium, Paphos, Soli (mainly pro-Cyrillian)
Euphratensis: Hierapolis (metropolis), Cyrrhus, Neocaesarea, Zeugma (anti-Cyrillian)
Isauria: Seleucia (metropolis), Claudiopolis, Irenopolis (anti-Cyrillian)
Mesopotamia: Amida (metropolis) (anti-Cyrillian)
Osrhoene: Hemerium, Marcopolis, Theodosiopolis (anti-Cyrillian)[6]
Phoenice Prima: Tyre (metropolis), Arca, Aradus-Antaradus, Ptolemais (anti-Cyrillian)
Phoenice Libanensis: Damascus (metropolis), Emesa, Laodicea (anti-Cyrillian)
Syria Prima: Antioch (metropolis), Chalcis, Laodicea (anti-Cyrillian)
Syria Secunda: Apamea (metropolis), Epiphaneia, Larissa, Seleucobelus (anti-Cyrillian)

Palestine
Jerusalem: Anthedon, Arindela, Augustopolis, Elusa, Gabae, Gadara, Gaza, Joppa, Livias, Maiuma, Parembolae, Phaeno, Raphia, Sycamazon (pro-Cyrillian)

5 See p. 482, n. 150. above.

6 The metropolitan, Rabbula of Edessa, appears as a signatory in three letters of the easterners. But it is highly doubtful that he attended the council, and it is likely that his name was added to complete the list of metropolitans of Syria-Mesopotamia.

Egypt (pro-Cyrillian)
Aegyptus: Alexandria, Buto, Cabasa, Cleopatris, Coprithis, Helearchia, Metelis, Onuphris, Paralus, Phlabonis, Sais, Tava, Terenuthis, Xois
Arcadia: Aphroditopolis, Heracleopolis Magna, Nilopolis, Oxyrhynchus
Augustamnica I: Achaea, Aphnaeum, Casium, Hephaestus, Ostracine, Panephysis, Pelusium, Rhinocolura, Sele, Sethroites, Tamiathis, Thmuis
Augustamnica II: Athribis, Heliopolis, Leontopolis
Libya Inferior: Darnis, Septimiace
Libya Pentapolis: Barca, Dysthis, Ptolemais, Taucheira
Thebaid, Lower: Antaeopolis, Apollonopolis, Hermopolis Magna, Panopolis
Thebaid, Upper: Coptos, Psinchos, Thinis

A DIVIDED CHURCH

This complicated pattern of rival allegiances is at first sight confusing. What pattern do they reveal? The broad picture is clear enough. Cyril enjoyed unanimous support in Egypt and Palestine, and from most of the bishops from Illyricum. Meanwhile the rest of Oriens (centred on Syria) was equally solid in its opposition to Cyril (with the exception of the island of Cyprus), as (at first) were most of the bishops of Thracia. In Anatolia we find the two parties almost equal in strength at the beginning of the council.

Can we account for these differences according to region and province? The alignment of the two rival camps reflected competing claims over jurisdiction. That the bishops of Cyprus largely refused to follow John of Antioch becomes comprehensible when we examine the session of the Cyrillian council on 31 August, at which the metropolitan of Cyprus, Reginus of Constantia, presented a petition complaining of attempts by the see of Antioch during the preceding decade to secure recognition by the bishops of Cyprus that the metropolitan of the province could only be appointed with Antiochene approval (doc. 103). Likewise, the enthusiasm of Juvenal of Jerusalem for the Cyrillian cause cannot be separated from his attempts to win, in exchange for his support, recognition of a status not merely equal to that of the bishop of Antioch but actually superior.[7]

7 At the session of the Cyrillian council of 16 July Juvenal declared, 'It was the duty of John the most devout bishop of Antioch ... to come at once to answer the charges brought

Meanwhile in Anatolia the anti-Nestorian stance adopted by both Memnon of Ephesus (the metropolis of Asiana) and Theodotus of Ancyra (the metropolis of Pontica) owed at least something to their resistance to the power increasingly exerted throughout the region by the upstart see of Constantinople.

More local tensions may also have played their part. If the bishops of Paphlagonia and Galatia Salutaris preferred to align themselves with Nestorius than with their neighbour Theodotus of Ancyra, it may be because they preferred to be under the jurisdiction of a safely distant superior. And if Amphilochius of Side (the metropolitan of what was in the process of becoming the separate ecclesiastical province of Pamphylia Secunda) led the bishops of his province into alliance with Cyril, in contrast to the support given at first to Nestorius by Verinianus of Perge (the metropolitan of Pamphylia Prima and arguably of the whole province), this reflected the fact that the creation of a separate province of Pamphylia Secunda was still a matter of contention.[8] This is not to suggest that the doctrinal debate was simply a convenient cover exploited cynically as part of a variety of political games, but rather that, even among those with doctrinal convictions, the choice of whether and how far to press the matter was influenced by political considerations.

against him and to obey the apostolic see of God's holy church of Jerusalem, especially since it is the custom deriving from apostolic procedure and tradition for the see of Antioch to be directed and judged by it' (doc. 72, p. 390). Note also the absence from the council of the metropolitans of the three provinces of Palestine: it was manifestly Juvenal's ambition to obtain control of the whole Palestinian church, making his authority in Palestine equal to that of the bishop of Alexandria throughout Egypt.

8 See Jones (1964) II, 883. Later at Ephesus Verinianus and the bishops under him went over to the Cyrillian side, and an apparent reconciliation between the two parts of Pamphylia is illustrated by doc. 105.

APPENDIX 2

FROM THE COPTIC ACTS OF EPHESUS

The first publication on the Coptic Acts of Ephesus was a summary with quotations published anonymously in an Anglican journal in 1891.[1] It was on the basis of this summary that in 1892 V.V. Bolotov published what has remained one of the two foundational studies of this text,[2] the other being that of Eduard Schwartz, to be mentioned shortly. The same year saw the first and only publication of the Coptic text (setting aside a small stray fragment discovered later), edited by Urbain Bouriant.[3] In 1904 W. Kraatz published a German translation together with an extensive commentary;[4] the translation is reliable (and superior to Bouriant's French one), but the commentary is seriously flawed. In 1928 Eduard Schwartz made his own contribution in a substantial article, building on Bolotov.[5] The only real study of the text since then appears to be the recent one by Richard Price.[6]

The text cannot be dated with any confidence, but its combination of some reliable information and some manifest fiction points to a date, say, in the second half of the fifth century, when legends about the council had begun to appear in Coptic texts but had not entirely taken over. It may well be that the whole text, and not just the authentic documents it contains, is a translation from the Greek. Even so, it remains striking that a Coptic version was needed at all, since Coptic was not a learned language and conciliar Acts were not popular literature.

1 Anon. (1891), 'The Court and City of Constantinople during the Council of Ephesus'.

2 Bolotov (1892), 'Iz tserkovnoy istorii Egipta, vyp. III, 181–234: Arkhimandrit tavennisiotov Viktor pri dvore konstantinopol'skom v 431 g.'.

3 Bouriant (1892), *Actes du concile d'Éphèse: texte copte publié et traduit.* The fragment is P. Vindob. K. 381C, published in Wessely (1914), 16–19. For a translation see Price (2014) 24–6.

4 Kraatz (1904), *Koptische Akten zum ephesinischen Konzil vom Jahr 431.* He also makes some minor corrections to Bouriant's reading of the MSS.

5 Schwartz (1928), *Cyrill und der Mönch Viktor.*

6 Price (2014), 'Fact and Fiction, Emperor and Council, in the Coptic Acts of Ephesus'.

If the Coptic Acts have received little attention from historians, there are several reasons. Firstly, they are far from complete: our two principal manuscripts (which sadly largely overlap) both break off in the middle of the Acts of the session of 22 June, although some of the preceding material relates to its aftermath. We do not know how much material relating to the later stages of the council was originally contained in the work, but the small stray fragment referred to above, in the Vienna Papyrussammlung, includes a section of the conciliar encyclical issued by the Cyrillian council after its sessions of 16–17 July.[7] Secondly, although these Acts are of interest in representing an edition very different from either the Greek or Latin ones, the material they contain that is not translated from extant Greek texts can only be used with great caution. It includes a narrative of a visit to Constantinople by Apa Victor, *hegumen* of the leading Pachomian monastery of Pbau in Upper Egypt, who, according to this account, had several private meetings with Theodosius II, where the emperor treated him as a respected adviser. This visit, however, as Bolotov demonstrated in detail and Kraatz failed to disprove, is wholly fictitious.[8] These Acts also offer a number of documents not found elsewhere; some of these are also fictitious,[9] and even where we can accept them, we cannot rely on the text provided.

There are, however, two sections of this work that seem worthy of inclusion in this edition, if only in an appendix. One of them is a letter sent to Constantinople by the pro-Cyrillian bishops, complaining of hostile and tyrannical behaviour by Count Candidianus, from the moment of his arrival at Ephesus. The letter is not wholly authentic, but it contains important and probably reliable material, unparalleled in the Greek Acts, about the early stages in the disastrous relationship between the Cyrillian bishops and the emperor's representative.

The other section of these Acts that we provide here is an account of an anti-Nestorian and pro-Cyrillian demonstration in Constantinople, including a quantity of acclamations uttered by a crowd and recorded for

7 This fragment has textual significance, since it takes us back to a version of the encyclical, and of the Acts of 17 July, superior to that in the Greek Acts. See pp. 397–8 above, with nn. 262, 269 and 271.

8 Kraatz did not believe the Acts' account of the success of Victor's visit, but he did believe that it took place.

9 See p. 206, n. 392 on the letter supposedly sent by Cyril giving an account of his journey to Ephesus, which clashes with information contained in letters of Cyril in the Greek Acts and cannot be genuine.

communication to the emperor, that the Acts themselves date to early or at the latest mid-July, but which must certainly date to mid- or late August, a period for which no Greek or Latin text provides comparable information.[10]

LETTER ABOUT CANDIDIANUS

Note

This document is a plaint that gives a highly critical account of the conduct of Candidianus, from the moment of his arrival at Ephesus till the eve of the session of 22 June. The names of its authors and its addressee(s) are not given, but the 'we' of the letter are manifestly Cyril and those bishops who collaborated with him, and it is clearly addressed to their allies in Constantinople.

The plaint tells how on his arrival Candidianus banished from Ephesus seven named persons, including clergy, monks, and laymen, whom he clearly accused of being troublemakers on the anti-Nestorian side. It proceeds to a fracas between clergy accompanying Bishop Dalmatius of Cyzicus (at this stage supporting Nestorius)[11] and clergy accompanying John of Proconnesus (on the anti-Nestorian side).[12] Candidianus, entrusted by the emperor with maintaining peace and order at Ephesus, showed pronounced partisanship, taking the side of Dalmatius and banishing John from the city. Against the authenticity of this account it could be objected that in fact John must have remained in Ephesus since he was present at the session of 22 June, where he is named three times – in the attendance and subscription lists and once among those approving Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius*. But Schwartz points to the speech at that session by Hesychius of Parium, claiming to be

10 Another Coptic text that adds to our knowledge of the council is Shenoute, *ep.* 31 (*Vita et opera omnia*, 3, 94–6), which mentions a decision at the council to mark Christmas with a two-day celebration; Shenoute himself attended the council. Cf. Leclerq (1935), cols 922–6, who argued on the basis of other evidence that Alexandria and Antioch adopted the celebration of Christ's nativity on 25 December around the time of the council.

11 Dalmatius was at this stage on the anti-Cyrillian side: he signed the protest against the premature opening of the council (p. 211 above), but he must have changed sides very soon after the session of 22 June, since he attended none of the sessions of John of Antioch's rival council.

12 See the Index of Names for the documents that show this.

the only bishop from Hellespontus present (p. 235, n. 27), and concludes that John's presence was a later fiction.[13]

Bolotov judged this letter to be 'genuine or almost genuine', but Schwartz, while recognizing an authentic core in it, was more critical of other parts of the letter.[14] He pointed out that its references to Cyril and his allies as 'the holy council' cannot be original as a way of referring to them before the first session of the council on 22 June. He also drew attention to the reference at the very end of the document to an eagerly awaited response from the emperor, which was being held up (the bishops suspected) by Candidianus' keeping the courier who brought it under guard; as Schwartz pointed out, this must refer to the imperial *sacra* of 29 June.[15] How, he points out, could an authentic document of this date have failed to mention the condemnation of Nestorius on 22 June?

Yet until this very final sentence, the letter gets no further than the eve of the session of 22 June. Especially indicative is the complaint two thirds through the letter about Candidianus still refusing to read out the *sacra*, for this *sacra* is a different one, namely the one that he was tricked into reading out at the beginning of the session of 22 June. In all, the final third of the letter is a composite text that cannot be trusted. But the earlier part of the letter preserves what may be taken as authentic information about clashes between the pro-Cyrillian bishops and Candidianus.

Text

[18][16] Copy of the memorandum sent by the council on account of the actions of Count Candidianus.[17]

On 22 Paoni[18] Count Candidianus came to Ephesus very quietly. No

13 Schwartz (1928) 34–5.

14 Bolotov (1892) 361; Schwartz (1928) 30–36.

15 The eagerness of the Cyrillian bishops to receive this *sacra* and their suspicion that Candidianus was suppressing it implies that they expected this document to express the emperor's acceptance of Nestorius' condemnation, although, as it turned out, the *sacra* deplored both the condemnation and the premature opening of the council. The Coptic text may here preserve a genuine historical datum.

16 The page numbers are those in Bouriant, which are also included in Kraatz's translation.

17 The addressees are not named, but in the final section of the letter (which is not certainly authentic) they are asked to 'go to the palace and inform the emperor': this confirms what could in any case be guessed, that they were the agents, or allies, of Cyril in Constantinople.

18 16 June. Bolotov (1892) 68 and Schwartz (1928) 33 accept this, but it is not credible that he arrived so long after the Pentecost deadline (7 June) set by the emperor.

one knew of his arrival, because he did let anyone come to meet him; for he entered the city by night, since he did not wish to enter in a hubbub. Early on the morrow he went to Nestorius and spent many hours with him, while he conversed with him and received instructions from him, as [his] actions have revealed. Afterwards he came to the holy council, [where] likewise he spoke about how his journey to Ephesus had gone. He then began to ask about Claudius, Philotheus, Eusebius the *scholasticus*, Charasius the presbyter, Serapion, Romanus the deacon and his companion Zoilus the monk,[19] saying this: 'I have received orders from the emperor to drive them out of the city.' We replied to him: 'The emperor is pious and orthodox and loves Christ. He gave orders that a council is to take place, so that a sound definition of the faith would be produced [19] by the holy fathers, while he laid down that no civilian or monk was to take part in the council; but he did not give orders about the clergy, to whom the issue of the faith is of great concern. For you were sent purely to secure good order and not to disturb the holy council. But you have now revealed that you received instructions of this kind not from the emperor but from Nestorius, [although] you were not sent to give help to that man, but to secure good order in the city.'[20] We then proceeded to say to him in addition: 'Behold, we testify to you that the whole city was in good order until the day of your arrival; in particular, the whole council enjoyed great tranquillity. May you not now be found causing disturbance in the city, for the pious emperor did not command you to carry out a persecution of the clergy.' But he did not utter a single word in reply; nor did he allow the great number of bishops to speak further. Instead, in a decree he ordered them[21] to depart from the city, and added a threat to have them thrown out of the church. In the decree he published he laid down as a deadline that, if they did not leave the city within three

19 As Schwartz (1928) 33–4 notes, four of the names have support elsewhere: Claudius = Claudianus (also mentioned later in the Coptic Acts on p. 55), known from the Latin Acts as a priest of Alexandria who was acting as one of Cyril's agents in Constantinople (mentioned several times in CC 293–4). Philotheus is one of the clergy of Constantinople who sent CV 86 (doc. 102) to Cyril. Eusebius the *scholasticus* is the future Eusebius of Dorylaeum, famous as an early and outspoken critic of Nestorius. Finally, Charisius appears as an opponent of Nestorianism in the Greek Acts of the session of 22 July, ACO I. 7, CA 76.1–3.

20 This shows knowledge of the instructions Candidianus had received from the emperor, which are referred to in the *sacra* from the emperor to the council (CV 31, doc. 38, p. 215 above). Candidianus must have justified his conduct to the bishops by informing them of these instructions (see n. 22 below), but he did not read the actual *sacra* to them till 22 June.

21 That is, Claudius and the other clergy listed above.

days, they would be subjected to the penalty of the law. As a result of these words that were uttered, we all longed to die for the true faith of our fathers. [20] Perish the thought that this should happen because of our pious and Christ-loving emperor, and that, as we have already said, he was sent to serve Nestorius!

On the morrow clerics of Dalmatius bishop of Cyzicus seized clerics and servants of John bishop of Proconnesus and rained blows on them, leaving them for dead. He, however, went straight to the council and lay the blame on our men for disorderly affray. The religious bishops were greatly distressed at what had happened. They told the count that he should punish the disorder, and instructed him as follows: 'If it is clerics who caused the disorder, you should send them to their bishop, namely the devout Dalmatius; and if he finds them guilty, he has the power to impose a penance. But if it is the servants who caused the disorder, instil in them a degree of fear, so that others take fright and stir up no discord in the city. For there were some in this place, namely those of Zeuxippus,[22] who go round the city and insult people for no reason, so that an affray may occur and the cause of the disorder be attributed to us.'

What ensued was the following. Bishop John was summoned in front of the *praetorium* together with the clerics of Dalmatius, and instead of punishing the person responsible for the violence they seized [John] instead, [21] in order to expel him from the city, while the count said, 'It is the lord Dalmatius who told me that he is in truth no Christian and deserves to be driven out of the city.' The bishops replied to him: 'It is not for you to judge cases of this kind, for you were sent to secure the good order of the city, and not to be a judge of church affairs.[23] For the holy council is competent to investigate matters among ourselves after the decree on the faith had been established.' This is what happened, and the bishop was detained. The council sent bishops to the count, and they said: 'Deign to release the bishop and the clerics, and do not show yourself

22 These are men from the baths of Zeusippus in Constantinople. For their presence with Nestorius at Ephesus cf. CV 101 (doc. 58, pp. 336–7 above).

23 Cf. the emperor's instructions to Candidianus as revealed in his letter to the council (doc. 38): 'He is to use every means to expel from the city laymen and monks who have already gathered for this reason [the council] or are about to do so, since it is essential that those who are quite unnecessary for the coming examination of doctrine do not stir up trouble and thereby obstruct that which your holinesses ought to decree peaceably' (p. 215 above). In suppressing the strife between Dalmatius' men and those of John, Candidianus was carrying out these instructions.

to be doing these things to favour Nestorius, for this is improper. The God-loving emperor summoned us to this place, yet you yourself persecute those whom Nestorius wishes to pursue.' When he had heard them, he replied, 'Unless my lord Dalmatius orders it, I shall not release them,' with the result that we ourselves at once replied to him, 'Do not reveal yourself in this way as being so favourable to Nestorius, for we know that our emperor is pious and orthodox and has not given you instructions to do any of the things you are now doing.' After a long discussion he gave orders for the release of the bishop while forbidding him from remaining in the city.

Because for Nestorius' sake he did not now wish to read the emperor's letter [22] to the council, he found the following excuse that the bishop of Antioch had not yet arrived. The bishops who had gathered were greatly discouraged, because they had waited fifteen days beyond the appointed deadline of Pentecost,[24] and still more because their modest resources had run out, and we knew for a certainty that Nestorius had written to the bishop of Antioch that he should delay on the journey and not reach the city in haste, so that in this way the council would be postponed for the reason that the bishops had not yet arrived from the East.

Be so good as to go now to the palace and tell the pious and God-beloved emperor, prostrating yourselves before him, not to give attention to the deceptive reports that have been sent; they are utterly mendacious and, out of friendship for this blasphemer, relate nothing that is true. May the *magistrianus* and the orders of the emperor be sent to us in haste; for we are utterly unable [to communicate] what we would report should be done. Before everything we beg you to redouble your prayers for us before God, that the violence of men may be powerless and the actions of the council not come to nought. For the whole of the holy council has judged these matters as we have already said, not to mention the little annoyances they have suffered because of Nestorius, [who wanted them] to share in death [23] and eternal perdition, that is, to betray the holy faith. Since Count Candidianus has uttered many words to unsettle us – he not only unsettles us, but does things as if he had been ordered to do them by the pious emperor – may your holinesses be so good as to urge the emperor because of this to write to Count Candidianus to seek nothing except good order, especially since this city enjoyed great peace until the day he came here. The religious Bishop Memnon said in writing: 'May the soldiers be peaceful and not rob

24 With inclusive counting this is 21 June, the eve of the first session of the council.

the city. It is I myself who take responsibility for order and quiet in every respect. Be aware of this fact, too, that Count Candidianus has had the approaches kept under watch and has ordered the soldiers to be posted on the ships because of those who will travel by sea, so that no one will be able to take reports of what happens here. Moreover, the order that was sent to us by the pious and God-beloved emperor has still not been relayed to us. We do not know what has happened to the one who brought it to us. The report is that he may have been stopped on the way, and perhaps a close watch is being kept on him.'

A DEMONSTRATION IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Note

The second passage we give from the Coptic Acts offers a vivid account of popular demonstrations against Nestorius in the capital. The words 'after four days' with which this passage opens place it shortly after the immediately preceding episode,[25] which is the similar demonstration led by the 'father of the monks' Dalmatius of which the Greek Acts provide a full account,[26] and which took place early in July. The dating of this later demonstration to 'four days later' must be an editorial addition by the compilers of the Coptic Acts, since chronological details of this kind are singularly rare in the Greek Acts. It was doubtless suggested by the long series of acclamations that follow immediately and which concentrate on Nestorius' deposition, as the demonstration led by Dalmatius had done.

A significantly later date is implied, however, by the fact that immediately after the first set of acclamations it is reported to the crowd that Cyril and Memnon have also been deposed. K.G. Holum thinks this dates to the end of June, as soon as news reached the capital that John of Antioch and his supporters had declared Cyril and Memnon deposed.[27] But the emperor would not have sent one of his officials to announce the depositions until he had himself approved them. This implies a date in August, after the dispatch (early in the month) of Count John to Ephesus, to announce the emperor's confirmation of all three depositions. A later

25 Bouriant 46–7.

26 CV 66–7 (doc. 50), pp. 315–16 above.

27 Holum (1982) 168.

date is also implied by the references to a victory in Africa.[28] This can only refer to the expedition from Constantinople to Africa against the Vandals led by the *magister militum* Aspar – also referred to obliquely in CA 64, which dates to autumn 431.[29] Can the chronology be made more precise? According to Possidius, *Life of Augustine* 28–29, the siege had lasted for 'almost fourteen months', and Augustine died (on 28 August 430) in the 'third month' of the siege: this implies that it ended in July 431. Procopius, *De bellis* III. 3.35, places the arrival of Aspar and his army to shortly after (or at the least around the time of) the raising of the siege; one may surmise that his arrival was the cause of the latter, which could even be the victory, or part of the victory, referred to in the acclamations in our text. This dates the victory to July, probably late July, 431. News from Africa by the swiftest mode of travel (using horse relays where possible) would have taken a few weeks to reach Constantinople. It is reasonable to deduce that news of Aspar's first successes in Africa cannot have reached the city earlier than mid-August 431.

It was in late August 431 that the emperor finally abandoned his support of Nestorius and 'accepted' his resignation. A massive anti-Nestorian demonstration in the capital at the same time or shortly before would provide an explanation for the emperor's abandonment of Nestorius at precisely this juncture. Even though the exact chronology is conjectural, it is attractive to propose a close connection – both of time and of cause and effect – between these two events. It is this that makes this account in the Acts an important addition to the story of the council.

The references to a victory in Africa not only help to date the demonstration in question but are also telling evidence for the authenticity of the account. For soon after its arrival in Africa Aspar's army was utterly routed by the Vandals. A later forger of these acclamations, his mind on the Nestorian controversy, would either have been unaware of this military expedition or aware that it had proved a disaster. He would not, as we find in this text, have presented 'victory' in Africa as God's reward for the condemnation of Nestorius that the council had decreed and the emperor was being strongly pressed to ratify.

This does not, however, mean that every detail in this text is authentic. Schwartz regarded these acclamations as beyond doubt largely genuine,

28 Schwartz (1928) 48 realized the importance of this, but failed to note the chronological implications.

29 Doc. 122, p. 585 above.

though, in view of the habit of the Coptic Acts of adding 'nonsense' to genuine material, not wholly to be trusted.[30] Bolotov, though judging them to be manifestly authentic in the main, noted some suspicious features, particularly the omission of any mention of the emperor's consort Eudocia.[31] It is notable that, where we would expect Eudocia to have been mentioned, the emperor's sister Pulcheria has been inserted instead and praised for her orthodoxy.[32] This corresponds to the myth, circulated only a few years after the council, that she had been the leading opponent of Nestorius from the start. In fact, we have a letter to Maximian of Constantinople from his *syncellus*, written in 432, lamenting the fact that, despite the lavish bribes she had received, Pulcheria still showed no enthusiasm for the anti-Nestorian cause.[33]

One theme that appears in these acclamations is the accusation that Nestorius and his friends had been purloining the wealth of the church. This charge appears in the Greek Acts only once and in passing, in Cyril's Sermon against Nestorius (p. 341 above). It was a natural, almost inevitable, accusation for opponents of the bishop of a wealthy see to bring against him.[34] One bizarre detail is the assertion attributed to members of the clergy that the bishops who had condemned Nestorius at Ephesus numbered 264, when in fact the attendance list of the session of 22 June at which he was condemned gives 155 names, while the total number of signatories to the condemnation in the Greek Acts, after many bishops had subsequently added their names, is still only 197.[35]

The passage translated here is followed by a further series of acclamations,[36] delivered on the following day, after Cyril's name has been read out liturgically in the diptychs (if this implies a Sunday,

30 Schwartz (1928) 47.

31 Bolotov (1892) 88. Bolotov is also suspicious of the lack of a mention of two supporters of Nestorius notorious in Constantinople, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis and the presbyter Photius. However, both Count Irenaeus and Nestorius' *syncellus* Anastasius are repeatedly named.

32 Bouriant, pp. 52–3.

33 CC 293, ACO I.4, p. 223, 13–16. See Price (2004) 32–4.

34 For such corruption charges, compare those brought against Ibas of Edessa by some of his own clergy, in the Acts of Chalcedon, Session X. 73, trans. Price and Gaddis, 3, 283–6.

35 The origin of the 264 figure is not ascertainable, but it can scarcely be a coincidence that at the end of its list one of the Coptic manuscripts states the total figure to have been 263 (Bouriant, p. 72), despite the fact that the preceding list gives only 158 names.

36 Bouriant, pp. 54–5.

the chronology is confused). Cyril is again hailed as the champion of orthodoxy, whose name must remain in the diptychs, while Nestorius and his helpers and the '30'[37] are anathematized. Again the demand is made that the people's acclamations be reported to the emperor. A standard way by which government informed itself about public opinion was for its agents to invite acclamations (which must have been chanted by a crowd in unison), have them written down, and pass them on to those in authority. A classic example, near in date, are the acclamations relating to Ibas of Edessa that were invited and recorded in his city by the governor Chaereas in 449 for transmission to Constantinople, and which were read out later in the same year at the Second Council of Ephesus and included in full in its proceedings.[38]

After this, the Coptic Acts narrate a reading aloud of documents relating to the opening of the council on 22 June. It is here that they embark on the full Acts of that session, in the middle of which our two substantia manuscripts come to an end.

It should finally be noted that the demonstration recorded here is to be considered in combination with that narrated in CV 86 (doc. 101), a letter to the pro-Cyrillian bishops at Ephesus from the archimandrite Dalmatius and other supporters of Cyril in the capital, which mentions a rapturous reception 'in the holy church of God, with all the people assembled' of the reading out of a letter to the clergy and laity of Constantinople from the pro-Cyrillian bishops in Ephesus (doc. 71), written back in July and finally released by the emperor, which demanded the election of a new bishop to replace Nestorius. It was this release of the letter that revealed the emperor's acceptance of the need to ditch Nestorius. It may well have been stimulated by the demonstration recorded here in the Coptic Acts.

Text

[49] After four days, while the minutes of the deposition [of Nestorius] were in the hands of the emperor and he was reading them with care, the people of the city assembled in the great church – the day was a Saturday – and

37 The number 30 appears repeatedly in the Greek Acts as that of the bishops in John of Antioch's rival council according to Cyril's grossly minimizing calculation. See, for example, pp. 505 or 553 above.

38 English translation in Robert Doran, *Stewards of the Poor* (Kalamazoo, 2006), 139–44, 148–50. See too Roueché (2009).

they appealed to the emperor and asked for the deposition of Nestorius to be read out to them, since the whole city was full of discord and strife, with the orthodox in dispute with the adherents of the wicked heresy of Nestorius. And when the crowd persisted in unison, the emperor sent Domitianus the *referendarius* to report as follows to the crowd: 'I have given orders that the depositions that were sent to our piety by the holy council through the will of God are to be taken to the church tomorrow, that is on Sunday, and read out to you.'[39]

[50] On the morrow, which was Sunday, the people gathered in the great church and cried out in unison, all at one time:[40] 'You will triumph always, Theodosius! You will triumph always, because Nestorius has fallen! The holy council has struck down Nestorius! The one who gave birth to God in the flesh, the holy Virgin Mary, has deposed Nestorius!' And after the gospel had been read, they raised their voices in unison all at one time and said: 'Christ our God, you have triumphed! O Cross, you have triumphed! Bring here to us the letters of the holy council! One faith, one council! May Nestorius the Jew[41] be burnt and Anastasius[42] with him! There is one God, and Nestorius has been deposed! May Anastasius be burnt and Irenaeus with him! May Irenaeus the magician be burnt! Cast out the sorcerer! Remove the shame from the palace! Cast out the Jew! Anastasius must be watched! Give the goods of the church to the poor! Give to the church what belongs to her! Throw them into the Tiber and the Rhone! Many years to Pulcheria, for she has strengthened the faith! Bring the letters of the council before the people! One faith, one council! Report our acclamations to the emperor!'

39 The letter from the council to the clergy could be CV 105 (doc. 99); cf. also CV 99 (doc. 95). But a letter of protest against the emperor's deposition of Cyril and Memnon would not conceivably have been read to the people by a representative of the emperor. Domitianus would surely have read out the emperor's *sacra* accepting all three depositions (CV 93, doc. 87). Schwartz (1928) 46–7 mistakenly understood the reference here and in CV 86 (doc. 101) to be to a reading out of the Acts of 22 June.

40 The meaning is not simply that the crowd was shouting in agreement, but that they chanted acclamations in unison so that they could be written down and reported to the emperor. Cf. the request in the letter of the monks to the Synod of Constantinople of 518 that 'the acclamations of the whole Christ-loving people in the most holy great church', manifestly recorded in writing, be 'confirmed' by the council and the emperor (ACO III, 67–8).

41 Nestorius' opponents likened him to the Jews in his denial (in their view) of the divinity of Christ. Cf. docs 60 and 93, pp. 344 and 505 above.

42 For Anastasius, a cleric of Constantinople and assistant of Nestorius, see p. 32 above.

When they had stopped their tremendous shouting, the presbyter Maximian[43] reported to the crowd as follows: '[51] Since good news from Africa has been announced to the pious emperor and all are seated in the consistory holding themselves back, I urge you to defer to them now and give them this evening so that their reply may be read to you in the morning.' They then raised their voice in unison as follows: 'It is because of the faith that Theodosius has triumphed! He will triumph forever because of the faith! He has triumphed: the Jew has been cast out, and the barbarians have fallen! We shall stay here till the evening.'

The people were still crying out when Domitianus the *referendarius* arrived and reported to the crowd as follows: 'The pious emperor has sent me, and I have brought the letters of the council to the clergy, and he has given them the opportunity to judge what is right in this affair, because the deposition of Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon is recorded in them.'

When the people heard about this deposition of Cyril and Memnon, they cried out again with a loud voice: 'God is one, and one is the God of Bishop Cyril! Cyril is bishop, Nestorius is anathema! Cyril and Memnon have not sold the votive offerings of the church! Cyril and Memnon have not taken money! Christ, you have triumphed! Christ has triumphed! He will triumph forever! The bishops are orthodox! [52] The emperors are orthodox! Many years to the emperors! There is one council, that of the orthodox bishops! There is one faith and one council! The orthodox bishops have deposed Judas! The Holy Trinity has struck down Nestorius the betrayer! The holy bishops have destroyed the Antichrist! Christ has triumphed! He will triumph forever! Many years to the emperors! Many years to Pulcheria! Many years to the empresses! Many years to Pulcheria! She has confirmed the faith! Bring us the holy ones into the city! Nestorius has been deposed, and the barbarians have fallen! The emperor has triumphed; he will triumph forever! Nestorius and Anastasius have denied Christ! They have used the wealth of Christ to fight against Christ! Return to the church what belongs to her, give the treasures of the church to her! It is because of money that they make war on the faith! They have taken what belongs to God! They have made war against God! The pagans and the Jews are those who have received the offerings of the church; it is for this that they now fight against the faith! The emperors are Christians; why do they allow them to fight against the faith? Christ has triumphed and will triumph forever!'

43 Nestorius' successor as bishop of Constantinople. See pp. 572–3 above.

The clergy of the church of Constantinople reported to the crowd as follows: 'In the papers we have been sent it is clearly [53] written that only 30 men – and there are many heretics among them and others who have been deposed – who have pleased themselves by drawing up the deposition of Cyril and Memnon. But the majority, made up of 264 holy bishops, have drawn up the deposition of the utterly impious Nestorius.'

The people again raised its voice in unanimity: 'God is one, and one is the God of Cyril and Memnon! They have protected the faith! Cyril and Memnon have not taken money! Bishop Cyril has not scorned Christ! Cyril and Memnon have not denied Christ! The 30 men are Jews! The 30 men worship a man and have neither land nor city nor faith! May the clergy cry out, "Anathema to the 30 and to Nestorius!" Many years to Pulcheria, many years to the orthodox one! The great council is accounted orthodox! May our acclamations be reported to the emperor! It is because of the prayers of the saints that the emperor has triumphed! It is because of the prayers of the saints that Nestorius has been struck down! The prayers of the council have slaughtered Nestorius! May Irenaeus be roasted alive! Remove the shame from the palace! The great council has deposed Nestorius! May the clergy cry out, "Cyril is bishop, and Nestorius is anathema!" May the clergy cry out, "Memnon is bishop, and the 30 [54] are Pelagians!"'

And the clergy cried out: 'Cyril and Memnon are the bishops of orthodoxy! Nestorius and the 30 are Pelagians! May the impious be anathema!'

Again the people cried out in unison: 'God is one, and one is the God of Patriarch Cyril! Many years to the emperor! May the clergy keep a watch on Anastasius the magician! Bishop Cyril has not forgotten to anathematize him! Bishop Cyril has not taken money! God is one, and one is the God of the orthodox Cyril! Christ has triumphed! Gold has brought shame! Give the Jew to the Jews! A Christian always triumphs! O Cross, you have triumphed! Give the goods of the church to the poor! May the clergy cry out, "Anathema to Nestorius!"'

GLOSSARY

318 fathers, the The bishops of the Council of Nicaea (325). The figure does not represent the actual number of bishops who attended (which was under 300), but was inspired by the 318 servants of Abraham at Gen 14:14.

Adoptionism The heresy that regarded Christ as a mere man 'adopted' by God as his Son.

Agens in rebus An agent of central government entrusted with delivering dispatches and with police work.

Alexandrian Christology The teaching originating with Athanasius (d. 373) and developed by Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) that stressed both the full divinity of Christ and a union between Godhead and manhood in Christ so close (that is, on the level of 'nature' or 'hypostasis' (qq.v.)) that the Godhead directed the manhood and made all its experiences its own.

Anathema To be anathematized, or declared anathema, was the most serious condemnation for heresy, leading for a condemned cleric to degradation from his rank and excommunication (q.v.).

Anthropotokos 'Mother of the man': a title for the Virgin Mary used by Antiochene (q.v.) theologians, usually in conjunction with, rather than in opposition to, Theotokos (q.v.).

Antiochene Christology This was developed in its classic form by Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), whose thinking was foundational for Nestorius (d. 450/1) and on which others such as Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. *c.* 460) also built. Its main concern was for protection of Christ's divinity from any notion of passibility incurred in the incarnation, and the simultaneous preservation of the full reality of Christ's humanity. Christ remained dual in his inner constitution, while being one individual 'person' as the result of the 'conjunction' of his two natures.

Apocrisiarius The representative of a bishop; at the time of the council not yet the formal and permanent representative of a patriarch or metropolitan at Constantinople.

Apollinarian(ism) The heresy, associated with Apollinarius of Laodicea (d. *c.* 390), which taught that in Christ the divine Word took the place of a rational human soul.

Apostolic see The see of Rome, as founded by Sts Peter and Paul.

Archdeacon The senior deacon (q.v.) of a diocese, acting as the bishop's chief assistant.

Archimandrite The superior of a monastery or group of monasteries.

Arian(ism) The heresy of Arius, condemned at the Council of Nicaea for denying the full divinity of Christ. The word was often applied loosely to all non-Nicene formulations of the Trinity, e.g., Homoean (q.v.).

Augusta A title conferred on female members of the imperial family.

Canon A church rule, either issued by a council, whether ecumenical or local, or by a bishop (such as Basil of Caesarea) and then accepted in the whole church, though without any formal act.

Chapter Generally a short statement, citation, article, or anathema. Q.v. 'Three Chapters' and 'Twelve Chapters'.

Chorepiscopus Assistant bishop in a diocese, serving rural parishes.

Christology Doctrine about Christ. The word appears to have been coined by the Lutheran theologian Friedrich Balduin (1535–1627) in his *Commentary on Romans* (1611).

Christotokos 'Mother of Christ', proposed by Nestorius as a title for the Virgin Mary that was more comprehensive and balanced than either Theotokos (q.v.) or Anthropotokos (q.v.).

Communicatio idiomatum The 'sharing of attributes/characteristics' between the two natures of Christ (e.g., the ascription of Christ's experiences in the flesh to God the Word and conversely the ascription to Christ the man of the functions of the eternal Son). It was a mode of speaking intended to bring out how, even though the two natures remain radically different, they are conjoined and make up the one Christ. The classic exposition of the notion is in Cyril of Alexandria's Second Letter to Nestorius (doc. 10).

Consistory The chief state council in Constantinople, which debated matters of moment and advised the emperor. All the chief imperial officials were members *ex officio*; other members were specially appointed by the emperor.

Consubstantial The Greek word ὁμοούσιος can also be translated 'of the same essence'. A special concern raised in an Antiochene document drafted during the council (doc. 90) and reappearing in the later Formula of Reunion and the Chalcedonian Definition (451) was to secure Christ's 'dual consubstantiality', according to which he is both consubstantial with the Father in his Godhead and consubstantial with all human beings in his manhood.

Count (*comes*) A rank held by those holding high office in the imperial service.

Count of the Sacred Largesses (*comes sacrarum largitionum*) The senior imperial fiscal official, with responsibility for mines and mints and for cash payments to soldiers and civil servants.

Cubicularius A eunuch who served in the imperial bedchamber. A *cubicularia* was a maid with the same function.

Deacon The third clerical rank, after bishop and presbyter (q.v.). Though their liturgical functions were restricted, deacons could serve as the principal assistants of their bishops, often overseeing the church's finances and administration; the more senior were sometimes called 'archdeacons' (q.v.).

Diocese A group of secular provinces: the eastern dioceses were Dacia, Macedonia, Thrace, Asiana, Pontica, Oriens (q.v.), and Egypt.

Dispensation This translates οἰκονομία ('economy'), meaning the dispensation (or divine plan) of salvation, concretely the Incarnation of the Son.

Docetism The heresy that attributes to Christ only the semblance of a human nature.

Domesticus A personal assistant to an officer of state.

Ecumenical When used of a council, the term meant worldwide, or general, as contrasted to local. The key criterion of what constitued 'worldwide' was not the inclusion of representatives from all parts of the Christian world, but a summoning by the emperor, viewed as God's appointee with worldwide responsibilities.

Eunomian(ism) A fourth-century heresy, called after Eunomius of Cyzicus (d. 393), that taught that the Son is 'unlike' the Father, whence its alternative name 'Anomoean'.

Excommunication Exclusion from the communion of the church, that is, from participation in worship or the sacraments. This was the penalty for laymen or monks guilty of a serious offence; the corresponding

penalty for clergy as laid down in canonical literature was lifelong deposition from office without excommunication. Named bishops condemned of heresy at Ephesus were sometimes subjected only to deposition (e.g., Nestorius) but at others to excommunication as well (doc. 74).

Fathers Either (1) the bishops attending a council or (2) those earlier churchmen who had a special place in the church's tradition as the champions and expounders (in a few cases the anticipators) of the Nicene faith (q.v.). This is to be distinguished from the modern use of 'the Fathers' to refer to all the (more or less orthodox) theologians of the early church.

Florilegium The Latinate equivalent of the Greek-derived word 'anthology', either of excerpts from the Fathers (q.v.) or of heretical excerpts deserving condemnation. The Acts of Ephesus contain two contrasting florilegia of the Fathers and of Nestorius in the protocols of the sessions of both 22 June and 22 July.

Formula of Reunion A Christological statement based on a document composed originally by the Antiochenes (q.v.) in Ephesus (doc. 90). It was accepted by Cyril of Alexandria in early 433.

Hegumen Monastic superior.

Homoean A doctrine, promoted in the mid-fourth century, that called the Son of God 'similar' (*homoios* in Greek) to the Father (generally adding 'in all respects') rather than 'consubstantial' as in the Nicene Creed (q.v.).

Homoousion 'The homoousion' is the statement in the Nicene Creed (q.v.) that the Son is 'consubstantial [ὁμοούσιον] with the Father'. The meaning is that the eternal Son (or God the Word) possesses the divine attributes just as fully as the Father and in union with him.

Hypostasis/hypostatic Cyril of Alexandria spoke of 'one hypostasis' in Christ, meaning a single being, viz. the eternal Son of God who took on manhood in the incarnation. 'Hypostatic union' meant a real union of natures in Christ, whereby the Word of God incarnate is the sole personal subject to whom all Christ's actions and attributes are to be attributed. A looser use of hypostasis as a synonym of essence or nature (q.v.) can also be found in Cyril and other writers.

Impassible Incapable of suffering or (more broadly) of being changed or affected by other realities. This was regarded as a key attribute of divinity.

Impiety Used to mean 'heresy', as the antonym of 'piety' (q.v.).

Lector Alternatively translated 'reader', this was the junior clerical rank, held by those appointed (sometimes in childhood) to read the scriptures in church.

Magister General or senior imperial official.

Magistrianus Member of the staff of an imperial official.

Martyrium A martyr's shrine, or simply a church or chapel commemorating a martyr.

Master of the offices (*magister officiorum*) He had control over a number of government departments, and among civilian officials ranked only after the Praetorian Prefect of the East and the prefect of the city of Constantinople.

Messalians An ascetical sect dedicated to constant prayer and repeatedly accused of being dismissive of the sacraments, regular practices, and rituals of the church.

Metropolitan Metropolitan bishops were the bishops of cities that were provincial capitals (known as *metropoleis*). According to Canons 4 and 5 of Nicaea, the metropolitan had to confirm all episcopal elections in his province and to chair the provincial synod that was supposed to meet twice a year.

Mother of God In the form *dei genetrix* this was the Latin translation of Theotokos (q.v.).

Nature (φύσις) The Godhead and manhood of Christ were to be defined at the Council of Chalcedon (451) as constituting 'two natures' (δύο φύσεις). The pre-Chalcedonian use of the term was flexible, and its use, whether in the plural or the singular, was not central in the debate. Cyril could speak of two natures in Christ, and his use of the 'one nature' formula (as a synonym for one *hypostasis*, q.v.) was rare before 433.

Nestorian(ism) The heresy of which Nestorius was unjustly accused that separates the two natures of Christ, Godhead and manhood, into two distinct persons, two distinguishable 'Sons of God', associated with each other in harmony of will and status but not united ontologically. It was a misrepresentation, conjured up by its opponents, of Antiochene Christology (q.v.).

Nicaea/Nicene The Nicene Creed issued by the Council of Nicaea (325) was regarded as the fundamental expression of Christian dogma. The 'session' of 22 July defined the exclusivity of this creed as doctrinal

norm, and all later formularies or statements of dogma claimed to be faithful expositions of the Nicene faith. The reference in the Acts is always to the original form of the creed and not to the variant version associated with, though probably not issued by, the Council of Constantinople of 381, which was the version later adopted for liturgical purposes.

Notaries Imperial notaries were secretaries and civil servants. Ecclesiastical notaries, generally deacons, acted as secretaries and assistants to bishops.

Oriens The diocese (q.v.) or group of provinces, made up of Syria (with south-eastern Anatolia), Mesopotamia, Cyprus and Palestine.

Pelagian The western heresy, condemned at Carthage in 411 and at Rome in 417, which gave an arguably inadequate account of divine grace as necessary for salvation.

Person 'Person' (πρόσωπον) was the favourite Antiochene (q.v.) expression for the locus and character of the individuality and unity in the incarnate Christ. Since the term originally referred principally to a 'person' in his role and relationship to others, Alexandrian (q.v.) theologians criticized it for allegedly lacking clear expression of inner ontological structure and personal integrity.

Physis See 'nature'.

Piety, pious Most often used in conciliar texts and related literature to refer to doctrinal orthodoxy.

Praepositus Head of a government department or regiment.

Praetorium Official residence of a governor.

Prefect The praetorian prefects were the heads of the civil service in the various regions of the empire. The Prefect of the East supervised the administration of all the provinces from Thrace to Egypt, resided in Constantinople, and was the emperor's chief civilian minister.

Presbyter The second clerical rank, intermediate between bishop and deacon (q.v.). The divine liturgy could only be celebrated by a bishop or presbyter.

Primicerius Head of a department or military unit.

Priest This English word derives from 'presbyter' (q.v.), but is the standard translation of ἱερεύς (*sacerdos* in Latin), a term applied to bishops as well as presbyters.

Prosopon See 'Person'.

Psilanthropism The heresy (initially associated with Paul of Samosata) of which Nestorius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia before him, stood accused, that reduced Christ to a 'mere man' (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος).

Quaestor Senior imperial official.

Referendarius Official dealing with reports and petitions.

Sacra An official letter sent by the emperor.

Scutarii Imperial guardsmen.

Suffragans Bishops of non-metropolitan sees, who were consecrated by their metropolitan (q.v.) and met regularly with him at provincial synods.

Synaxis A term for a church service that was used most often, although not exclusively, of the eucharist.

Syncellus The right-hand man of a bishop, akin to a modern vicar-general in a major diocese.

Symbol A synonym of 'creed'.

Synod A church council. The distinction in English between 'council' and 'synod' (the latter term being reserved for local councils) does not exist in Greek, where σύνοδος is used for both. Latin texts use *synodus* and *concilium* as synonyms.

Synodos endemousa Often translated as 'home synod'. An ad hoc synod convoked and chaired by the bishop of Constantinople. It was attended on invitation by bishops living in or near Constantinople or on a visit to the city.

Theotokos A title of the Virgin Mary, meaning 'God-bearer' and normally translated into English as 'Mother of God'. The first undisputed use of the term in extant texts was by Bishop Alexander of Alexandria in 325. It was used far from universally but quite frequently in the fourth century as a term neither emphasized nor controversial. Nestorius did not reject it but thought it open to misunderstanding unless supplemented by other expressions, notably Christotokos (q.v.) or Anthropotokos (q.v.).

Three Chapters The emperor Justinian in 544/5 and then the Council of Constantinople of 553 issued a condemnation of three items (the 'Three Chapters'): the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the writings of Theodoret against Cyril of Alexandria, and the purported letter of Ibas of Edessa to Mari the Persian. The controvery provided the main context for renewed interest in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus and the creation in particular of collections of documents translated into Latin.

Tribune A rank held by various government officers, military or civil, including notaries.

Twelve Chapters Cyril of Alexandria's 'Twelve Chapters' (or 'Twelve Anathemas') were appended to his *Third Letter to Nestorius* of November 430 (doc. 20). They summed up Cyril's Christology in a series of anathematizations.

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I. Abbreviations

ABAW.PH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
ABAW.PPH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AHC	*Annuarium historiae conciliorum*
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
Byz	*Byzantion*
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
ByzZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
BZNW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
ChH	*Church History*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DR	*Downside Review*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
ER	*Ecumenical Review*
EThL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
EvTheol	*Evangelische Theologie*
FC	The Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*

NF	neue Folge
NPNF	Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana periodica*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. Migne
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RevSR	*Revue des Sciences Religieuses*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RThL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
SBAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica*
SGLG	*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*
StP	*Studia Patristica*
TRE	*Theologigsche Realenzyklopädie*
TS	*Theological Studies*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*

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BBKL	Bautz, Friedrich Wilhelm and Traugott Bautz, eds (1975–), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 39 vols (Nordhausen).
CHC	(2005–09), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, 9 vols (Cambridge).
CPG	Geerard, Maurice et al. (1974–2018), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 4 vols and supplements (Turnhout).
CPL	Dekkers, Eligius (1995), *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Turnhout).
DNB	Stephen, Leslie, Sidney Lee et al. (1885–), *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford).

EAC	Di Berardino, A., Thomas C. Oden, Joel C. Elowsky, and James Hoover, eds (2014), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, 3 vols (Downers Grove).
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Loofs, *Nestoriana*	Loofs, Friedrich (1905), *Nestoriana. Die Fragmente des Nestorius*, gesammelt, untersucht und herausgegeben (Halle).
LSJ	Liddell, Henry G. and Robert Scott. Revised by Henry S. Jones, Roderick McKenzie, et al. (1996), *A Greek–English Lexicon*, ninth edition, revised and augmented (Oxford).
ODCC	Livingstone, E.A., ed. (2005), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition, revised (Oxford).
PCBE	*Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*
Afrique	Mandouze, A., ed. (1982), Vol. 1: *Prosopographie de l'Afrique Chrétienne (303–553)* (Paris).
Asie	Destephen, Sylvain, ed. (2008), Vol. 3: *Diocèse d'Asie (325–641)* (Paris).
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PGL	Lampe, G.W.H., ed. (1969), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford).
PLRE	Jones, Arnold H.M., John R. Martindale, and John Morris, eds (1971–92), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols (Cambridge).
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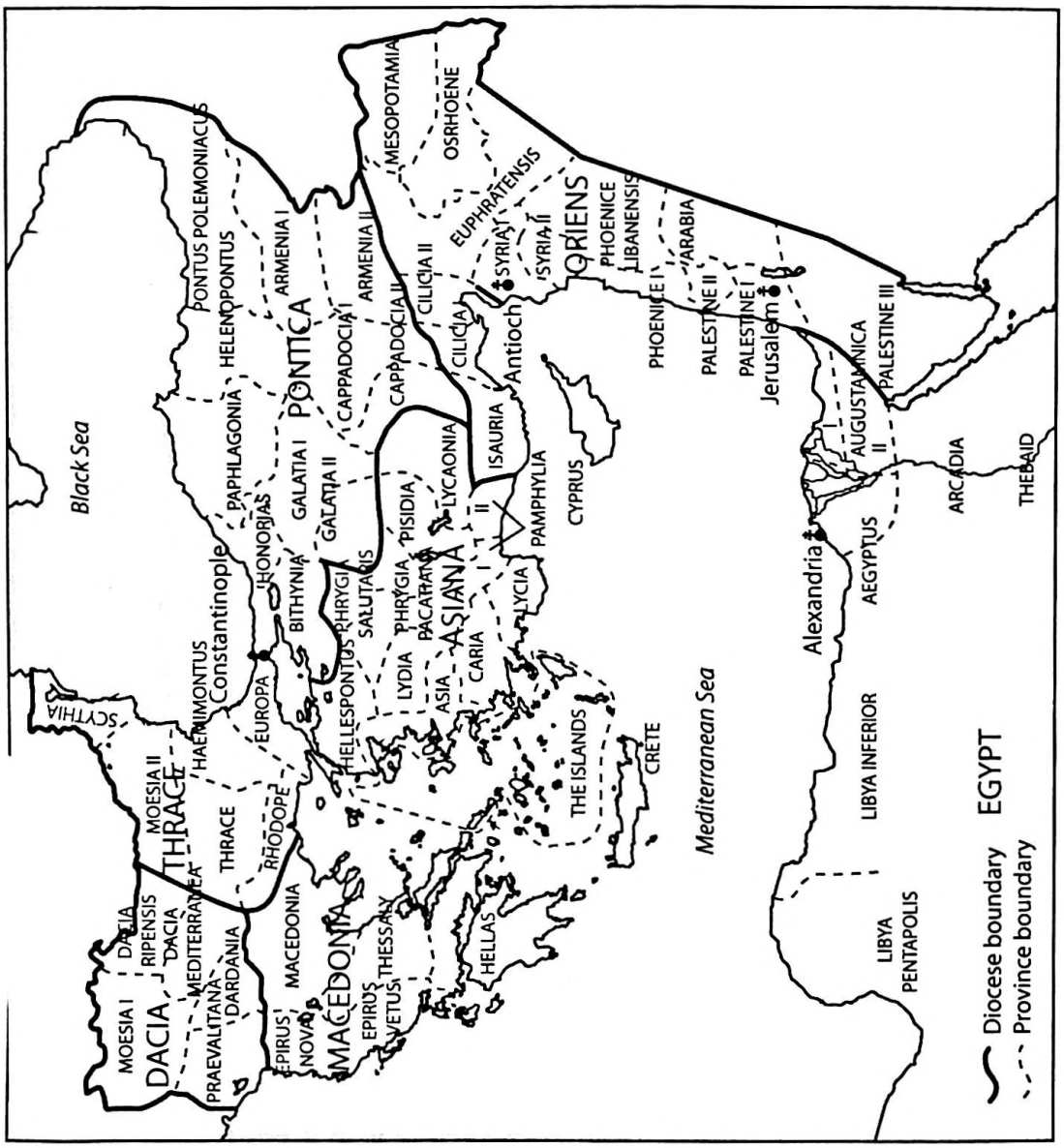
MAPS

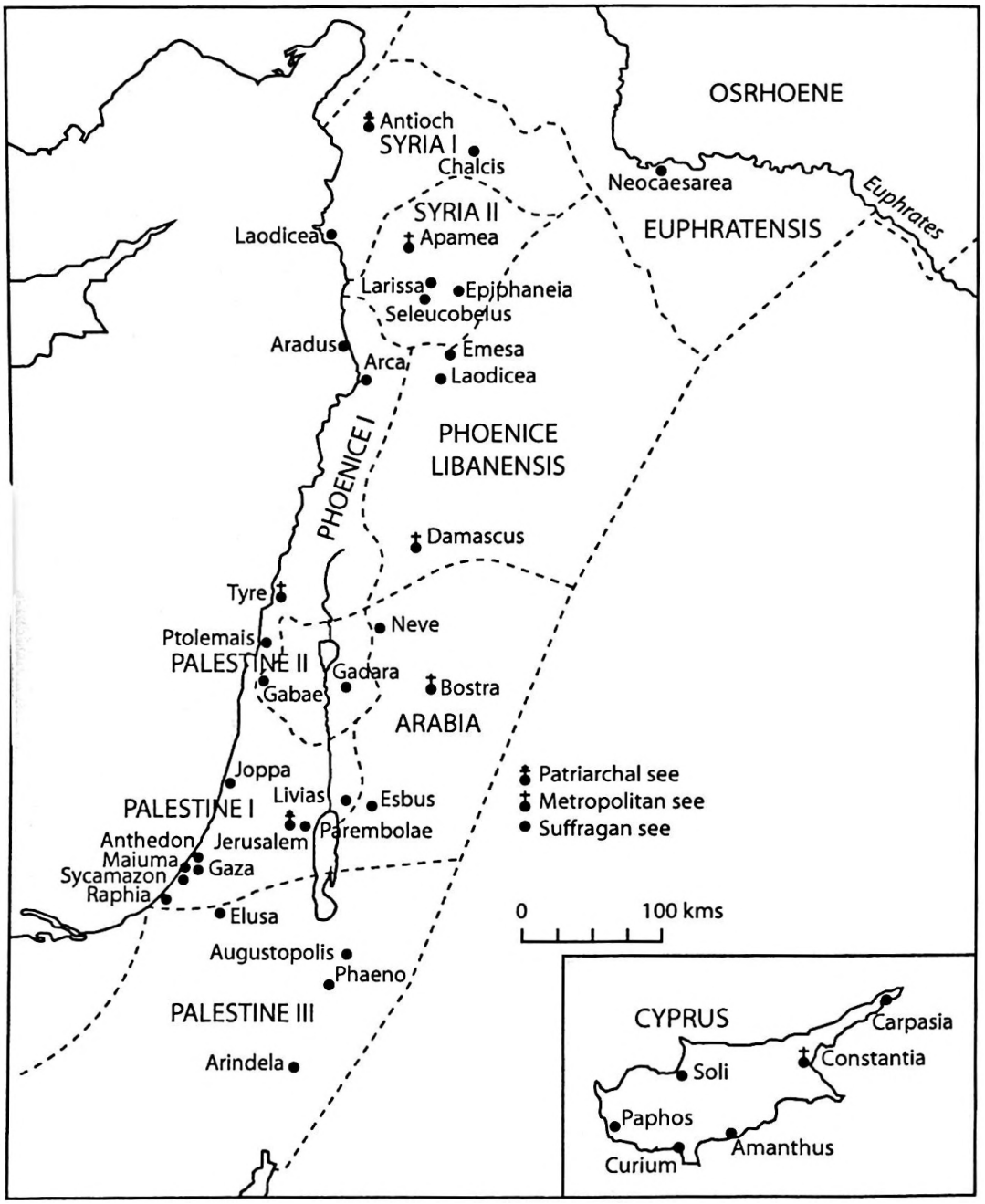


Map 1:
Dioceses and
Provinces

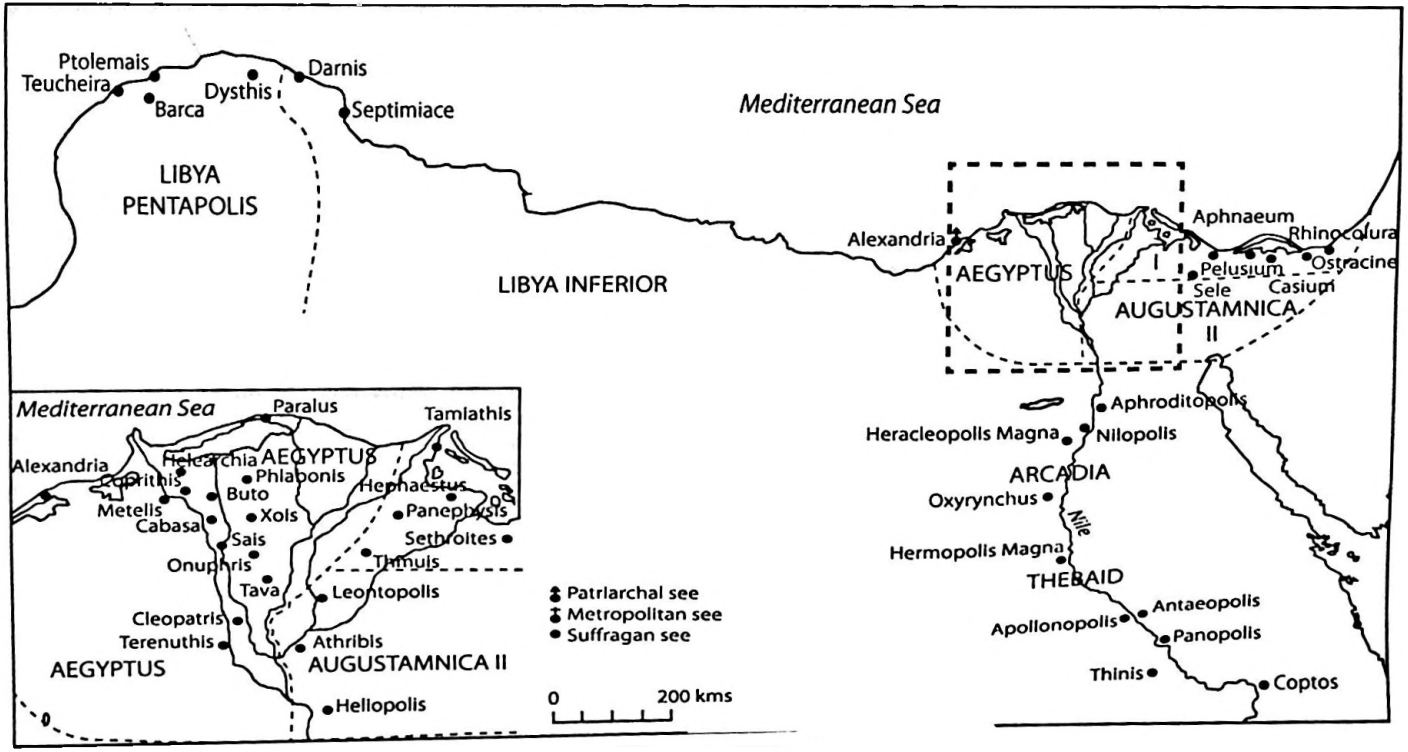
Map 2: The Balkans

Map 3: Western Asia Minor

Map 4: Eastern Asia Minor



Map 5: Syria, Palestine, Cyprus


Ptolemais
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Barca
Dysthis
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Septimiace
Mediterranean Sea
LIBYA
PENTAPOLIS
LIBYA INFERIOR
Alexandria
AEGYPTUS
Aphnaeum
Rhinocolura
Pelusium
Ostracine
Sele
Casium
AUGUSTAMNICA
II
Aphroditopolis
Heracleopolis Magna
Nilopolis
ARCADIA
Oxyrynchus
Nile
Hermopolis Magna
THEBAID
Antaeopolis
Apollonopolis
Panopolis
Thinis
Coptos
Mediterranean Sea
Paralus
Tamiathis
Alexandria
Heleachia
AEGYPTUS
Phlaboonis
Buto
Hephaestus
Metelis
Cabasa
Xois
Panephysis
Sais
Sethroites
Onuphris
Thmuis
Tava
Leontopolis
Cleopatris
Terenuthis
Athribis
AEGYPTUS
AUGUSTAMNICA II
Hellopolis
Patriarchal see
Metropolitan see
Suffragan see
0
200 kms

Map 6: Egypt

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